

THE
YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
JOURNAL.

THE
YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE COUNCIL
OF THE
Yorkshire Archæological Society.

VOL. XXII.

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PREFACE.

THE Council of the Yorkshire Archæological Society has pleasure in placing the twenty-second volume of the *Journal* in the hands of members, and in doing so desires to thank the writers of the various papers for their valued communications.

The article on the Church in Ripon by the Rev. Canon Fowler, with which the volume commences, takes us back to very early times; and the same may be said of Mr. Baring Gould's two papers on the Battle of Brunanburh and Eric Bloodaxe.

Howden Church and manor-house, which were visited by the Society in July, 1912, have been ably dealt with by Mr. Bilson and Mr. Brown; and many other churches, notably in the Thirsk district, are fully described in the "Proceedings." But it has been well observed that whilst we have many experts not only in Yorkshire but throughout England who lavish their labour and their skill on ecclesiastical edifices, those are comparatively few who have devoted themselves to the study of our castles.

In a series of articles which we are promised within the next six or eight years, Mr. W. M. I'Anson is to give us an account, historical and structural, of the castles of the North Riding, in which we shall trace the evolution under the Plantagenet kings of the stone fortress from the earthen mounds of the Normans. The first of this series is contained in the present volume, and deals with the state of the castles at the accession of Henry II (*anno* 1154). It will come as a surprise to many, that out of some thirty such strongholds at that time existing in Yorkshire, only two—Richmond and Scarborough—possessed any defences in masonry; the rest were constructed entirely of earth and timber. The castles of the rectangular keep type, which in this district present unusual variety and interest, will form the subject of future communications.

Heraldry, ever popular, meets with considerable recognition in different parts of the volume—notably in a paper on heraldic stained glass by Mr. Wm. Brown, with coloured plates drawn by the Rev. C. V. Collier.

Sir George Armytage, Bart., F.S.A., having been compelled, owing to the pressure of other engagements, to resign the President's chair, this was accepted with regret; and Col. John Parker, C.B., F.S.A., was elected President.

With the year 1913, the Society completes the fiftieth year of its existence, and fitting measures have been taken to mark so interesting an occasion. An account of these will form the opening chapters of Volume XXIII.

H. B. McCALL.

10, PARK STREET, LEEDS,

November 1st, 1913.

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- Page 55*n*. Col. 1, last line. *For* J. G. Clark *read* G. T. Clark.
- „ 58*n*. Col. 1, line 7. *For* Cartalarium *read* Cartularium.
- „ 59. Line 14. *For* Totam *read* Totum.
- „ 59. Line 24. *For* unium *read* unum.
- „ 59. Line 28. *For* quoet *read* quolibet.
- „ 61. Line 13 from bottom. *For* caracata *read* carucata.
- „ 62. Line 17 from bottom. *For* danarios *read* denarios.
- „ 80. Line 2. *For* Galivanus *read* Galwanus.
- „ 168. Line 8. *For* Walter de Gray *read* Walter Giffard.
- „ 222. Line 3. *For* tent *read* tenement.
- „ 222. Note, col. 2, line 1. *For* Monstervillers *read* Moustervillers.
- „ 229. Add after line 15 :—Henry le Scrope, chamberlain 1346 and bailiff 1349–50, was still living in 1394. Free of the city of York in 1342 as “Henricus le Skrope de Manfeld.” In 1377 the city chamberlains received 4*s*. rent de “Henrico de Manfeld pro terris Galfridi Lescrop super Byshopeshill” (*Corp. Records*, A.y., p. 3). On 25 April, 1394, John de Manfeld, rector of a mediety of St. Mary's Bishophill senior, bequeathed the residue of his estate “Henrico de Manfeld consanguineo meo,” to Julian his wife, and to Alice, daughter of the said Henry de Manfeld (*Reg. Test.*, i, fo. 65*b*). Julian was the daughter of John de Briggenhall [Brignall], of York, whose brother, Richard de B., mercer, free in 1337, died in 1362, leaving an only child, Agnes, who by deed made 9 July, 1366, in the church of St. Mary-in-the-Strand, London, gave all her property in York to Henry de Manfeld of that city.

ROBT. H. SKAIFE.

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THE
Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

THE CHURCH IN RIPON.¹

BY REV. CANON J. T. FOWLER, D.C.L., F.S.A.

WE know comparatively little of the Church in Ireland before the fifth century, in Scotland before the sixth, or in England before the seventh century. St. Augustine came over from Rome to the south of England in 597, and St. Aidan from Iona to the north in 635. The known history of Ripon begins about twenty-five years after this, for about 660 a Celtic monastery was founded here by Alchfrid, prince of Deira, Eata being the first abbot.² This old abbey, according to Leland³, stood on lower ground than the present Minster, about two hundred yards away to the north, where was afterwards a Chapel of Our Lady, whence the name of the street, St. Mary Gate, which forms the eastern boundary of the site. Here St. Cuthbert held the office of guestmaster, and on a certain occasion ministered to the necessities of a mysterious guest, who was supposed to have been an angel.⁴ These earliest monks brought with them from Lindisfarne the Celtic traditions with regard to the time of keeping Easter, the form of the tonsure, and other matters in which the Celtic traditions differed from those of Rome that were introduced by Roman missionaries.

Now about 664, only four years after its foundation, this first monastery was bestowed by Alchfrid upon his friend Wilfrid⁵, who had been to Rome, indeed he is said to have been the first Englishman to visit the Eternal City⁶, and he came back full of Roman ideas. He was a man of great ability and determination, and insisted on the Roman Easter, tonsure, etc., being

¹ This paper was read before the Yorkshire Archæological Society in the Minster on July 12th, 1911, but as some matters had to be passed over for want of time, these and other additions are here included, together with references to authorities.

² Bede, *Vit. S. Cuthb.*, vii; Memorials of Ripon, i, 2.

³ Itin., 1745, i, 89; M.R., i, 83.

⁴ Bede, *Vit. S. C.*, vii; M.R., i, 2; *Metrical Life of S. C.*, 42.

⁵ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, xxv; M.R., i, 3.

⁶ *Ripon Psalter*, Whitham's ed., p. 6. *Eddii Vita*, cap. 3.

observed in the old abbey. The Celtic monks were unwilling to change their immemorial customs, and being then given their choice either to conform or to depart, they adopted the latter course, leaving Wilfrid, backed by Alchfrid, master of the situation. He at once introduced the Roman customs¹ to a new set of monks, who were willing to be ruled by him, and it is more than possible that he established here the Benedictine Rule.² The controversy at Ripon was no mere local affair. The whole of the Church in Northumbria was divided on these same points, and the different times of observing Easter were causing the greatest inconvenience.³ In this same year, 664, a council or synod was held at Streonshal, where Whitby now is, in order to settle, if possible, the points in dispute, and to arrive at unity in practice. On the one side were Colman, the Northumbrian Bishop, and other leaders of the Celtic party, on the other, the ecclesiastics who took their ideas from Rome, among whom was Wilfrid, then a priest, and he was the chief speaker on the Roman side. He was the man of by far the greatest ability on either side, and it was he, practically, who won the victory. Colman retired with his monks to Ireland.⁴ Wilfrid was not long after elected to be bishop in Northumbria. He would not receive consecration from Celtic bishops, but went over into France, and was consecrated at Compiègne, twelve bishops being present on the occasion.⁵ He appears to have been in no hurry to return to England to take charge of the see of York, to which he had been consecrated, and he remained so long away, that when he did come he found the Celtic party again in the ascendant, and Chad established as bishop in his place.⁶ Wilfrid appears now to have retired to the old monastery in Ripon, of which he was still abbot, and at one time he acted as a missionary bishop in Kent and Mercia.⁷ But happier circumstances were in store for him.

In 669 Theodore of Tarsus, that "grand old man," as Dean Hook calls him⁸, was enthroned as Archbishop of Canterbury, and he immediately began a general reorganisation of the Church in England. He found that for three years Chad had been ruling the Church of York in a manner highly commended by Bede, but from his rigidly Roman point of view, he noted a flaw in Chad's consecration, and moreover he

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, iii, xxv; M.R., i, 3.

² M.R., i, 7n, 28n; Raine, *Fasti Ebor.*, 58 and note x.

³ Raine, *F.E.*, 58. Many references to authorities will be found in Raine's notes, *passim*.

⁴ Raine, *F.E.*, 59, and notes.

⁵ Raine, *F.E.*, 60, and notes; M.R., i, 6, 7.

⁶ M.R., i, 7.

⁷ Eddii *Vita Wilfridi*, xiv; Eadmeri *Vit. Wilfr.*, xiv; M.R., i, 7, 8

⁸ Lives of Abps of Cant., i, 150.

regarded Chad as having wrongly intruded into a see to which Wilfrid had been consecrated. Chad did not care to retain a position that was so called in question, and though Theodore said he was not bound to resign, he insisted on returning to his monastery at Lastingham, whereupon Wilfrid was put into possession of the see.¹ His remarkable energy at once showed itself. As one of his biographers says, "he was a quick walker²." That graphic touch brings before us the strenuous, determined man. "Allegorically, he was a quick walker his whole life through³." At once he built at Hexham three churches, one of which, at least, was among the finest that had been seen in England. At York he put the church into thorough repair, and whitewashed it so that it was whiter than snow, and at Ripon he raised a church worthy to rank with the great church at Hexham. He chose a better site for his new church at Ripon than that of the old abbey, which, indeed, may have stood and remained in use long after the new church was built. The site of Wilfrid's new church was that of the present Minster, on higher ground than that of the old abbey, and in every way suitable. We only know what this church was from the glowing descriptions given by Wilfrid's biographers.⁴ None of it now remains to be seen, unless the crypt commonly attributed to Wilfrid was really made by him, and that it was is highly probable, for there is a very similar crypt still left at Hexham, and these two are the only crypts in England of this particular kind. Both, moreover, are quite what might have been suggested by the Catacombs in Rome, which Wilfrid would be sure to have visited. Wilfrid was now at the height of his prosperity, but it did not last very long. As Fuller says, "his *Life* was like an *April-day* (and a Day thereof is a *Moneth* for variety), often interchangeably fair and foul, and after many alterations⁵, he set fair in full lustre at last." I cannot now enter at any length upon the many changes and chances of his most eventful life⁶, but only touch on certain matters that are specially connected with Ripon.

In Wilfrid's lifetime, about 670, we hear of an infant raised to life, and baptised by him. The child was promised to him to be adopted when seven years old, but the promise was not kept. Nevertheless, Wilfrid obtained the custody of the child at last, and he went by the name of the bishop's "son," a mode of speaking

¹ *Fasti Ebor.*, 61, 62, and notes.

² "Pedibus velox." Eddii *Vita* S.W., iii.

³ *Lives of English Saints*, 1844; St. Wilfrid, p. 7n.

⁴ Eddius and Fridegode, in M.R., i, 8-13; *Fasti Ebor.*, 63.

⁵ So printed in Fuller's *Church History*, 1655 and 1656, p. 94, and in edd. 1837, 1845, and 1868, perhaps by mistake for "alternations."

⁶ M.R., i, 15, note 4.

familiar to us in Biblical language, and he lived in the service of God in Ripon, until his death took place in a great pestilence.¹

In 678 appeared the great comet, which has reappeared about every seventy-five years, and is known as Halley's comet, from Dr. Halley's having rightly calculated on its appearance in 1759. In 678 it made a great sensation in Ripon, where it was supposed to have betokened the driving of Wilfrid from his see by King Ecgfrid. Its appearance in 1066 was connected at the time with the Norman Conquest, and in the Bayeux tapestry there is a representation of it, with men gazing at it, and the inscription: *ISTI MIRANT STELLAM*.² We all remember its coming last year.

During Wilfrid's exile, namely in the comet year, 678, one Eadhaed was consecrated as bishop for Lindsey, and was soon translated to Ripon.³ There never was another bishop of Ripon until modern times. In the same year again we hear of Wilfrid preaching in Friesland, and laying the foundation of a great missionary work there, continued by St. Willibrord, another "son" or pupil of Wilfrid, who had been brought up under him at Ripon.⁴ From 681 to 686 Wilfrid was labouring among the South Saxons in what is now called Sussex, and in the latter year, 686, he was restored to his see in York, and his monastery in Ripon.⁵ Bede informs us of one Æthelwald, who succeeded St. Cuthbert as hermit on Farne Island, having for many years worthily exercised the office of a priest in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon. He died in Farne in 699.⁶

There is mention of a pastoral staff that had belonged to St. Columba and St. Kentigern, and had long been preserved and revered in the church of Ripon; it is on record that Ripon still possessed it, covered with gold and jewels, as late as the fourteenth century.⁷

In 703 it was proposed at a great synod, probably held at Austerfield⁸, that Wilfrid should resign all his public offices, and retain only his monastery in Ripon; but two years later, Wilfrid having meanwhile made a personal appeal at the Papal court, it was decided at the synod of Nidd, that though he should not be restored to York, yet Ripon and Hexham should be given up to him.⁹ There had been a time when he would not have acquiesced in this compromise, but age and trouble had at last robbed him of his old fire, and probably he was not now such a "quick walker" as he had been in his earlier days.

¹ Eddii *V.W.*, xviii; *M.R.*, i, 14, and note 1.

² *A.S. Chron.*, An. 678; *M.R.*, i, 14, and note 2.

³ Bede, *H.E.*, iv, xii; *M.R.*, i, 14.

⁴ Eddii *V.W.*, xxvi; *M.R.*, i, 15.

⁵ *M.R.*, i, 16, and reff. there.

⁶ *H.E.*, v, i; *M.R.*, i, 17.

⁷ *M.R.*, i, 18, and Fordun, *Scotichron.*, iii, 30, in Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, 116n.

⁸ Eddii *V.W.*, xlvii; *M.R.*, i, 18.

⁹ Eddii *V.W.*, lx; *M.R.*, i, 19.

His connexion with Ripon, as head of his monastery, was never severed until towards the end of his life, when he appointed his kinsman, Tatbercht, as ruler of the house.¹ On the 12th of October, 709, he fell sick and died in the monastery of Oundle, in Northamptonshire, and at his own request, his body was brought to Ripon, where it was entombed on the south side of the altar, forty years having passed since he had consecrated the church.²

And with Wilfrid's death closes the most important chapter in the history of the church of Ripon. After the time of his biographers the records become very scanty. There is a letter from one Botwine, abbot of Ripon, unless it was from an abbot of Peterborough of the same name, to Lullus, archbishop of Mayence, about 786, proposing mutual intercession, and sending three "lacernæ," probably ecclesiastical vestments enriched with embroidery, as a present. Botwine, the abbot of Ripon, died in 786, and was succeeded by Albert, who died in 787, and was succeeded by Sigred and Wildeng.³ In 790, Ethelred, King of Northumbria, was supposed to have slain one Eardwulf outside the gates of the monastery; the body being brought into the church, was found to be alive after midnight, having been raised from death, as was thought, by the prayers of the brethren assembled round him.⁴

It is with the history of the church that we are at present concerned, still I may perhaps be expected to say something about the alleged incorporation of the town by King Alfred the Great, in commemoration of which the "Ripon Millenary" was celebrated with much enthusiasm in 1886.⁵ But all I can say is, that there is no historical foundation whatever for any such supposition, and that it is moreover inherently impossible. The sole ground for it is that in Gent's "Rippon" the author makes a remark to that effect, which he says is from "an antient manuscript⁶." He does not say what this "antient manuscript" was, but there can be little doubt that he is referring to a MS. by Alderman Theakston, who was mayor in 1615, 729 years later than the alleged date of the supposed incorporation. Then if we are to accept the statement in the MS., we must believe that an English town was incorporated by Royal Charter in 886, and that a West Saxon king exercised kingly authority in Northumbria at that time.

¹ Eddii *V.W.*, lxii; *M.R.*, i, 22.

² *M.R.*, i, 19-30; *A.S. Chron.*, an. 709; Bede, *H.E.*, v, xix; Eadmer, liv; Eddius, lxii; Fridegoda, lines 1355-9; *Ripon Psalter*, Whitham's ed., pp. 25-27; *Fasti Ebor.*, i, 79, and notes.

³ *M.R.*, i, 31, 32, 42, 43, and notes.

⁴ *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 139; Sym. Dunelm., *Hist. Regum*, sub anno; *M.R.*, i, 32.

⁵ See the quarto volume, *Ripon Millenary*, Ripon, 1892.

⁶ *Rippon*, 1733, p. 101.

To historical scholars I need say no more. To E. A. Freeman it sounded much as the statement that the earth is flat sounds to an astronomer¹, and I should think that by this time there must be few indeed who think that there is any historical value in a statement that rests solely on the authority of Alderman Theakston and good old Thomas Gent.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that Athelstan conferred the right of sanctuary and other privileges on Ripon in the former half of the tenth century, although the charters that purport to convey these rights must be two or three centuries later. Charters of this kind were often fabricated after the Norman Conquest, not for the purpose of establishing new and unfounded rights, but to place on record old and undoubted rights, and to protect them from the cavils of Norman lawyers.² In later times, the benefits believed to have been conferred by King Athelstan were kept in mind by special commemorations held in the church.³

Soon after Athelstan's time, namely towards the middle of the tenth century, Northumbria was harried, Wilfrid's church burnt, Ripon laid waste, and, we may suppose, the monks slain or dispersed.⁴ According to Eadmer the monk of Canterbury, Archbishop Odo, during a vacancy in the see of York, about 952, visited Ripon, and, finding the church in ruins, carried the bones of St. Wilfrid to Canterbury, leaving the dust at Ripon.⁵ In Leland's time it was a common opinion that Odo then began a new church at Ripon, where the Minster now stands.⁶ But an anonymous biographer relates that Oswald, Archbishop of York, found Wilfrid's bones in his grave on the south side of the altar, and enshrined them on the north side, brought back monks, and rebuilt the Minster.⁷ Eadmer in his life of Oswald, says that it was the bones of a later Wilfrid that Oswald found, those of the great Wilfrid having been previously removed by Odo to Canterbury.⁸ However, it was always believed in Ripon that the relics of the great Wilfrid were enshrined in his own church, and that it was those of the second Wilfrid that had gone to Canterbury.⁹ There was a later translation by Archbishop Gray in 1224, when the head was enshrined separately. There are stones with interlacing work on them, built into the north-west corner of the present north transept,

¹ *The Spectator*, Sept. 11, 1886.

² M.R., i, 33-35, and notes; 89-93, and notes.

³ M.R., iv, 144 bis.

⁴ *A.S. Chron.*, an. 948; Eadmer, lvii; M.R., i, 36.

⁵ At the last references.

⁶ *Ilin.*, 2nd ed., i, 89; M.R., i, 84.

⁷ M.R., i, 41.

⁸ M.R., i, 42.

⁹ *Ripon Psalter*, Whitham's ed., pp. 10, 11; M.R., i, 30, and note; *Fasti Ebor.*, i, 80, 93, and notes.

and there is a portion of a cross similar in character ; these have probably belonged to the tenth-century church of Odo or of Oswald, whichever it was ; they cannot be of Wilfrid's time, the style of work is too late. This tenth-century church probably received St. Cuthbert's body when it was brought to Ripon in 995 ; it remained here for three or four months.¹

The nature of the ecclesiastical establishment connected with this church is unknown. Archbishop Oswald is said to have brought back *monachi* of some sort.² There may have been half-secular clergy as at Durham, Hexham, and elsewhere. However this may have been, we never find monks at Ripon at any subsequent period. Whether the conversion of monks into secular canons was silently effected, or whether any sort of monks were abolished and secular canons put in their place, we do not know. According to an uncertain author quoted by Leland in his *Collectanea*, Archbishop Ealdred (1060–1069) founded prebends in York, Beverley, and Ripon³, if so, that would seem to have been the beginning of the medieval foundation. In Domesday, we find the canons of Ripon holding fourteen bovates.⁴ Early in the next century we again find mention of canons, and Archbishop Thurstan founds the prebend of Sharow.⁵ The south-eastern chapel of the present Minster has been attributed to this same Archbishop Thurstan, but Mr. Bilson thinks with good reason that it has formed part of Archbishop Roger's church. I must, however, leave the architectural history of the church entirely in his hands, and proceed at once with its constitutional history.

In and after 1140, the canons and chapter are constantly mentioned, but we cannot assign any stalls until the York registers begin to give us information towards the end of the thirteenth century.⁶ In the earliest charters we find as witnesses not only canons, but chaplains and deacons.⁷ The chaplains officiated at particular altars, in connection with which chantries were afterwards founded, and the chantry priests are commonly described as “capellani,” up to the time of the suppression. The deacons may sometimes have remained in deacons' orders all their lives, discharging such duties as deacons might. The canons of Ripon, “septem personæ⁸” as they were called, were, like those of the mother church of York, and the sister churches of Beverley and Southwell, not “Augustinian canons,” as has been erroneously stated, but seculars, being under

¹ Sym. Dunelm., *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, lib. iii, cap. i ; M.R., i, 44.

² M.R., i, 42.

³ Lel. Coll., 1770, i, 337 ; M.R., ii, 182.

⁴ M.R., i, 46.

⁵ M.R., i, 93, 94, 95.

⁶ M.R., ii, 2, etc.

⁷ e.g. on M.R., i, 101.

⁸ M.R., ii, 148.

no monastic rule, and forming a chapter which, like that of Southwell, was acephalous, not having dean, provost, or other regular president under the archbishop. The senior canon present would naturally preside. The prebendary of Stanwick was *ex officio* precentor,¹ and the prebendary of Monkton, treasurer.² There was no chancellor, the chancellor of York would discharge the duties. In the later middle ages, Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell were often classed with York as the four mother churches, and were all in some sort cathedral churches of the Archbishop of York. Ripon, at least, was sometimes so styled.³ The archbishops of York had their throne at the eastern end of the south range of stalls up to the formation of the see of Ripon, when the bishop's throne took the place of the archbishop's. The property of the Ripon chapter was, as was usual, of two kinds, the *communitas*, which they held in common, and the seven prebends or endowments which the seven canons held separately, namely those of Stanwick, Monkton, Givendale, Sharow, Nunwick, Studley, and Thorpe, so named after the places from which the revenues were derived, by order of Archbishop Corbridge in 1301.⁴

In 1228, Galfridus de Lardare appears as *canonicus præbendæ beati Andreae*,⁵ and in the will of William Cawood, prebendary of Thorp, dated February, 1419, he speaks of his prebend as that of St. John of Beverley in Ripon.⁶ In some other churches, as at Beverley and at St. Mary's, Warwick, the prebends were named after saints up to the dissolution. Besides the common fund and the seven prebends, there were the endowments of nine chantries, held separately by the chaplains who served them.⁷ Brian Batty made provision for a chantry of St. George as late as 1515, but his intention does not appear to have been carried out, as no such chantry appears in the chantry certificates. In connexion with this chantry would seem to have been the very curious agreement between John the son of Brian Batty and William Bronflet of Ripon, carver, for "a George upon horseback and a dragon accordyng to a Georg at Crystall (Kirkstall) Abbay, and a loft in the Minster." The George was to have two heads and three arms, the extra ones were doubtless meant to be screwed on and off for different occasions.⁸ There were also chaplains serving parochial chapels, some of which had their own endowments.⁹

¹ M.R., ii, 2.

² Chapter Acts, 323; M.R., ii, 224, n.

³ M.R., ii, 177n, iii, 8.

⁴ M.R., ii, 32.

⁵ M.R., i, 51.

⁶ M.R., iv, 190.

⁷ M.R., iii, 15, etc., 56, etc., iv, Index under Chantries.

⁸ M.R., iv, 294n.

⁹ M.R., i, 196, etc.

On certain great festivals these outside chaplains attended at the Minster in their copes, together with their parishioners.¹ The last survival of this was the early communion on Easter Day, attended by parishioners from the outlying chapelries. There was a fund called the common of the fabric², proceeding from certain rents, oblations, etc., and the farm of indulgences. Lastly, there were what are now called surplice-fees, and some other small receipts recorded in the treasurer's rolls.³

The hospitals of St. Mary Magdalene and of St. John the Baptist were attached to the church much in the same way as were the chapels and chantries. Both were founded in the twelfth century. It was supposed, in 1342⁴, that St. Mary Magdalene's had been founded by Archbishop Thurstan (1114-1140).

At a visitation of this Hospital held in 1317⁵, it was found that whereas according to the foundation there should be two chaplains, the master had been having one only, that hospitality had been neglected, and alms withheld from the poor, who had been put off with a saucer of beans or of flour, that the master seldom resided, and that everything had "gone to the dogs," as we say; they said, "omnia subtrahuntur et adnichilantur." At another visitation, held in 1341⁶, the jurors swore that a certain Archbishop of York, whose name they did not know, had founded the hospital, and that the archbishops were the patrons, but that the patronage rested with the king during a vacancy in the see. The site was called Dunscewith, and was surrounded by ditches. The hospital was to have fuel and pasture in Northscogh, and was to find a chaplain, and sustain lepers born in Riponshire. Each leper was to have a garment called *Bak*, two pairs of shoes a year, a loaf of bread, half a gallon of ale, and a piece of flesh on flesh days, or three herrings on fish days. The jury did not know whether the chapel had been dedicated, but there had been burials there. The then master was only in acolyte's orders, the charity was not duly administered. The archbishop had robbed the hospital of lands, common rights, and fuel rights. The master said that there were no brothers or sisters in the hospital at that time, and maintained that he was not bound to have more than one chaplain. In 1342⁷, another visitation was held, at which the jurors swore that Archbishop Thurstan founded the hospital for secular brothers and sisters, and one chaplain. It was to receive blind priests and lepers.

¹ M.R., iii, 164, 258; see also, i, 196-202.

² M.R., iii, 2, 23, and Fabric Rolls in iii, 88, etc.

³ M.R., iii, 207, etc.

⁴ M.R., i, 228.

⁵ M.R., i, 211.

⁶ M.R., i, 223.

⁷ M.R., i, 228.

One William Homell had afterwards provided for a second chaplain, and then another archbishop had annulled the old foundation, and made new provisions for the duties of the two chaplains, the distribution of alms by the master on St. Mary Magdalen's Day, and for the residence of the master. Yet there was only one chaplain, who did not reside. Alms were not properly distributed, though some had been given to blind priests. A long dispute followed, ending in John of Bridlington being confirmed in his mastership, although he was only in minor orders. There is a great deal more about this ancient but long mismanaged hospital, in "Memorials of Ripon," to which collection I beg to refer any who are interested in the subject.

Archbishop Thurstan was the reputed founder also of the hospital of St. John the Baptist,¹ but he only confirmed an earlier foundation by his predecessor, Thomas II² (1109-19). We have a long account of proceedings in the King's Bench in 1341, reciting proceedings in Chancery, with a Royal Visitation enquiring into abuses in this hospital, affording much curious information respecting it.³ There is also a short inventory of its goods in 1277,⁴ For the revenues and property of both hospitals in the sixteenth century see *M.R.*, iii, 5, 8, 29-32. A chantry of two priests in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene's was founded in 1334.⁵ Both hospitals still exist, and the ancient chapel of St. Mary Magdalene's, with its stone altar *in situ*, will be visited. St. John's has been rebuilt.

The hospital of St. Anne, which is to be visited, was not connected with the church, and I know nothing about it beyond what is to be seen in the large edition of Walbran's *Guide to Ripon*, where we find extracts from a short account published by the late Mr. Lukis in 1872, the historical part of which is based on a "document" found after Mr. Walbran's time, but to which no reference is given. It appears that this hospital was founded for four men, four women, and one priest, and that there were two beds for wayfarers. There was no endowment, the hospital was supported by the alms of the public, solicited from time to time in archbishops' letters, on application. On one occasion the applicants were Seth Snawsell, of Ripon, and Robert Stokes, of Bykerton, who stated that the chapel and massendew were founded by their ancestor, who is not named. It must have been before 1438, in which year a sum of

¹ *M.R.*, i, 217.

² *M.R.*, i, 323.

³ *M.R.*, i, 212-223.

⁴ *M.R.*, i, 205.

⁵ *M.R.*, iii, 30.

money was bequeathed for a mass in the chapel called "le masen-dieu." Mr. Bilson thinks that the half-columns of the chapel-arch are of the twelfth century, the date of the foundation of the other hospitals. Maison Dieu, God's House, was a common name for a hospital. In Ripon the term has been corrupted into "Maiden's due," as if it were thought that the hospital had been founded for single ladies, who looked upon it as their right. Mr. Bilson will no doubt show you how the architecture corresponds with the probable dates of foundation and reconstruction, and whatever traces there are, or have been, of the original arrangements. The ruined chapel is all that is left now, the hospital itself, adjoining on the west, was most unfortunately pulled down in 1869, when indications of four fire-places were found.

I have not yet mentioned the seven vicars. Their office and status, in Ripon as elsewhere, arose out of non-residence and other neglect of duty on the part of the canons, who were sometimes Italian ecclesiastics, whom the archbishops were compelled to appoint under the corrupt system of papal provisions. And when they were not foreigners, they were not always averse to the performance of their duties by deputy. At first, they employed men to do their work who, like the unbeneficed and unlicensed clergy of our own time, had no statutory position or income. It was much the same everywhere, and the bishops, despairing of reforming the canons, made provisions for the perpetuity and maintenance of their deputies, who were called *vicarii*, or vicars, from their vicarious discharge of the duties of the canons. The history of ordinary parochial vicars is very similar. All parishes were originally rectories, but the principal endowments and tithes of many of them were given to monasteries, and the abbots and convents appointed vicars to do the work that had been done by rectors. In Ripon the canons were quasi-rectors, but as they could not be made to discharge their duties in a proper manner, or in their own persons, nor yet to make adequate provision for deputies, Archbishop Corbridge made a decree for the perpetuity of vicars in Ripon in 1303.¹ Each canon was to have a perpetual vicar, and each vicar was to have six marks a year, paid by the canon whose work he did. The canon of Stanwick, who was ruler of the choir in Ripon, was to have a vicar who should reside at Stanwick, and have cure of souls in that parish. Thenceforward, the seven vicars, to whom was assigned that cure of souls in the parishes of Ripon and Stanwick for which the canons had been

¹ M.R., ii, 44, 45.

responsible, were among the most important officers of the church. They were to live together in common¹, but there was the usual tendency in the direction of living separately, which had to be checked again and again.² Leland speaks of the vicars' houses in a "fair quadrant of square stone"³; this quadrangle was called their College, or the New Bedern, whence "Bedern Bank," but no traces of the building remain. At Lincoln the vicars still reside in a "fair quadrant," called the Vicars' Court, and there are similar provisions for the vicars at Wells and elsewhere. A brief summary of the duties of the vicars, as well as of the other officers of the church, may be found in *M.R.*, iii, Preface, pp. xiv, xv, xvii.

Something may now be said of the duties of the *ministri* or inferior officers of the church. The six vicars in Ripon have just been mentioned. One of them was on special duty each week. The three deacons in turn acted as deacons at high mass, singing the Gospel, in which duty was included the singing of the genealogies at Christmas and Epiphany⁴, taking their parts in the Gospels in Holy Week and reading the "Collation"⁵. The sub-deacons sang the Epistle, and acted as sub-deacons at mass. Three readers read the three lessons from Isaiah on Christmas Day.⁶ Of the six choristers, two only appear to have been on duty in each week, a sufficient number for the kind of music then used. Of the three thuriblers and three patenars, one seems to have been on duty at a time. The *patenarius*⁷ had certain duties at high mass, the thuribler attended to the incense, and there was a sub-thuribler, who probably carried the incense boat. The *ministri* helped at the Easter Communion of all the parishioners by administering the unconsecrated wine after the sacrament in one kind, holding the houselling cloths, keeping the doors, and so on. They most of them would perform in the miracle plays.⁸

Then we find regular payments to the schoolmaster, to the minstrels, to the man that carried the dragon in the Rogation processions, to the shrine-bearers, to the archbishop's park keeper for palms and ivy for Palm Sunday, to the chapter-clerk for writing out rolls, and to an auditor of accounts.⁹

The sacristan cleaned the church, including floors, walls, windows, gutters, etc., attended to a bell called the klank knoll, and to the clock, and to the setting up and taking down of St. Wilfrid's tent in

¹ *M.R.*, ii, 46, 60, 178.

² *M.R.*, i, 123-129, ii, 178.

³ *Itin.*, in *M.R.*, i, 85.

⁴ *M.R.*, iii, 232.

⁵ *M.R.*, iii, 274.

⁶ *M.R.*, iii, 232.

⁷ *M.R.*, iii, 232*n*.

⁸ *M.R.*, iii, 235, 240.

⁹ Chamberlains' Rolls, in *M.R.*, iii, 224, etc.

Rogation tide.¹ The Margler or sexton rang the curfew, and helped the clerks of the vestry in the washing of the relics. The vestry clerks cleaned the choir, made wafer-bread, and from the old palms made ashes to be used on the following Ash Wednesday. Certain clerks went to York for the holy oils, helped to take down the paschal candle, and filled the font twice in the year.² The first payment for playing on the organs is in 1447³, after which it occurs regularly, but there were organs, the bellows of which were then mended, in 1399.⁴ The chapter had their own plumber and glazier, and other artificers referred to in the Rolls.

Such, then, was the mediæval constitution of the church, and it continued up to the time of the dissolution, when all was swept away. In the first year of Edward VI, the chantries went as a matter of course, and as collegiate churches were included in the Act, the fact of Ripon Minster being collegiate proved to be a deplorable calamity at that time. That it was also parochial did not save it, and while other parishes retained their endowments, Ripon was left wholly destitute. All its possessions were annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster, and leased out to various persons.⁵ We do not know how the parish was worked during the unhappy times of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. The old vicars appear to have continued in office into Elizabeth's time, and as late as 1567 to 1580 we find repeated proceedings against them promoted by the Archbishop of York and the Court of High Commission, for their reluctance to comply with the new regulations for public worship.⁶ In October, 1567, five of them were accused of refusing to read or cause to be read the lessons in the body of the church, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel and the Homilies. They were accused also of not communicating together when the communion was ministered, and of conveying forth out of the church by night all the images and other "trumpery," and bestowing them it was not known where. It was said that they suffered the stones and rubbish of the altars to remain in divers closets in the church, and that they did never after any homily or divine service exhort the people to remember the poor. Furthermore, it was alleged that there were in a vault of the said church reserved vj great tables of "alablaster" full of images, and xlix books, some antiphoners, and such books as were condemned by public authority. What would we not give to have those forty-nine books now? Perhaps one of

¹ M.R., iii, 99n, 110n, 120, 133.

² M.R., iii, 209.

³ M.R., iii, 239.

⁴ M.R., iii, 132.

⁵ M.R., iii, 33, etc., 331, etc.

⁶ M.R., iii, 344, etc.

them still exists, namely the "Ripon Psalter," which was presented by the late Marquis of Ripon to the Chapter Library. And it may have been preserved for the sake of the genealogical notes that had been added to its calendar.¹ In the following February² the courts decreed that St. Wilfrid's Needle was to be stopped up, and that an altar standing in a little chapel in the vault where the said needle was should be taken down and defaced, and Sir Thomas Blackburne, the vicar, was to do public penance, and read a declaration from the pulpit describing himself as a most blind guide of an old and superstitious custom, in drawing people from the choir to the Ladyloft for the rites formerly practised, and he was to renounce his said evil and superstitious dealings, being penitent for the same, and was to confess that he, unto whom the charge of the fabric was committed, had suffered that old, abominable, and superstitious vault called the Wilfrid's Needle, and the altar therein, and certain other altars, to remain undefaced, undestroyed, and untaken away. He had a day on which to certify of the performance of this penance, but we do not know whether it ever came off or not, or what became of Sir Thomas Blackburne, at last. But in March, 1571³, he was proceeded against for hearing mass in the Rebellion time, that was, during the rising in the North in 1569, and taking part in other papistical service. It is interesting to note that a portion of one of the alabaster tables or sculptures that Blackburne tried to preserve still exists in the Minster, as do the foundations of the altars in the crypt and in the south-eastern chapel.

John Jackson, the parish clerk in 1567, was then in trouble for still making bread for the Holy Communion with the picture of the Crucifix and other pictures upon the same, contrary to the Queen's Majesty's injunctions. And here we note that the wafer-bread was not objected to, only making it with pictures upon it. John Jackson also used many times to scoff and scorn at the Queen's proceedings.⁴

A few years later, namely in 1580⁵, William Sewall, of Ripon, clerk, was proceeded against for refusing to sign children at baptism with the sign of the cross, but he denied the accusation. What were the simple folk of Ripon to think, with spiritual guides holding such widely diverging views? One of the old vicars was accused of notorious incontinency, and John Birkbie, rector of More

¹ Chapter Acts, 382; M.R., i, 26-30. The local portion was reprinted, with a translation, etc., by Mr. John Whitham, and published by Mr. W. Harrison of Ripon in 1893, 4to, pp. 10 and 36.

² M.R., iii, 346.

³ M.R., iii, 348.

⁴ M.R., iii, 346.

⁵ M.R., iii, 349.

Monkton and chaplain of Lord Latimer, was said to be of very dissolute life and lewd conversation, and to wear great bumbasted breeches cut and drawn out with sarcenet and taffety, and great ruffs with laces of gold and silk. And of late he said Divine Service in the Minster in his coat, without gown or cloke, with a long sword by his side. He was also vehemently suspected to be a notable fornicator, and had been taken abroad in the town by the Wakeman with lewd women, and he used to dance very offensively at ale houses and marriages. But he denied it all.¹ Anyhow, it would seem that one way or other, during the reign of Elizabeth, the church in Ripon, as elsewhere, was in very evil case. And this state of things continued until the time of James I, under whom the chapter was reconstituted, and re-endowed to a great extent out of the old endowments.² It now consisted of a dean, sub-dean, and six prebendaries, with two vicars choral, organist, parish clerk, six lay-clerks, six choristers, and a vergier.³

The chapter was again remodelled when the collegiate church rose to cathedral rank by the formation of the new bishopric in 1836. The dean and prebendaries were thenceforth to be styled dean and canons, the latter to be eventually reduced in number by suspension of vacant canonries, from six to four, and the sub-deanery was to be suspended at the next avoidance. As in other cathedrals of the New Foundation, twenty-four honorary canons were added about 1860. The two vicars were continued under the name of minor canons, and the rest of the officers remained as before.⁴ Such is the constitution of the church at the present time, though the chapter have augmented the staff by providing for a succentor and a choir-chaplain.

We have now touched on various phases in the history of the church of Ripon during about 1,250 years. I hope I have not detained you too long. I would gladly have made this paper much shorter or much longer, but I could hardly make it shorter without omitting matters of great interest and importance, as it seemed to me, nor could I have made it longer without wearying my hearers.

P.S.—It should have been mentioned above that the temporary offices of Keeper of the Fabric, Treasurer, Subtreasurer, and Chamberlain, were usually held by chaplains.

¹ M.R., iii, 345.

² M.R., ii, 257, 258.

³ M.R., ii, 259-325, 354.

⁴ M.R., ii, 325, 326.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH.

BY REV. S. BARING GOULD.

ATHELSTAN, who had succeeded his father in 925, had obtained such a reputation for wisdom and valour, that Sigtrigg, King of Northumbria, had sought his alliance, and was given in marriage a sister of the English monarch. He died in 927. Athelstan, seizing the opportunity, immediately annexed Northumbria to his domains. Sigtrigg had left two sons, Olaf Cuaran, or "the Sandaled," and Guthrod. Immediately after the death of their father, both hastened to enforce their claims. But they were unable to succeed, and Olaf fled to Ireland, after having held his own for just six months. Guthrod surrendered to Athelstan, and then escaped. He died in 934. In that same year, Athelstan undertook a campaign in the north. He led his army into Strathclyde, routed Owain of Cumbria, and marched through the territory of Constantine, King of the Scots, whom he compelled to submission, and to acknowledge him as his over-lord.

As he was returning south he encountered Eric Bloodaxe, who had been expelled from his kingdom of Norway, and Athelstan in that same year, 934, appointed him his viceroy in York.

But the quiet life in York did not satisfy Eric ; moreover, the people disliked him, and after a year he mounted his ships along with his followers, and spent his time in piracy. Meanwhile Constantine meditated revolt. He had married his daughter to Olaf Cuaran, and when Olaf suggested to him an attack upon England, and revenge upon Athelstan, he was ready to join in the undertaking.

The *Aigla* or Saga of Egill Skallagrimsson gives a very graphic account of the defeat of the allies by Athelstan, but it does not agree with the account of the battle of Brunanburh, as given by William of Malmesbury, and I cannot but think that the English historian has confounded two battles.

The *Aigla*¹ was committed to writing towards the end of the twelfth century, and William of Malmesbury wrote in 1142.

¹ The Egils Saga was published at Hrapsey in 1782 ; again at Copenhagen, 1809 ; again at Reykjavik, 1856. Danish and Latin translations in 1738 and 1839.

Previous to the writing of the *Aigla*, the story had been told traditionally in the family descended from Egill. William of Malmesbury seems to have based his account on ballads. In the Saga is an important account of the condition of affairs in Northumbria at the period (926-8). "Olaf the Red¹ was the name of a king in Scotland. He was Scot on his father's side, but was Danish on that of his mother, and he was of the stock of Ragnar Lodbrog.² He was a mighty man. Scotland is considered to be a third part of England, and Northumbria constitutes a fifth. It lies north, towards Scotland, and on the east side of England. Danish kings held rule over it from ancient times. York was the capital. This Northumbrian realm Athelstan now acquired. He placed over it two earls, Alfgeir and Gudrek (Godrich). They were placed there as Margraves to defend the country against the attacks of the Scots and Danes and Norsemen, who ravaged the land, for they claimed a right to it, for in Northumbria they were the only colonists. Moreover, the majority of the inhabitants were Danes on either the father's or the mother's side, and many on both sides. Towards the frontier of the Britons (Welsh) were placed two brothers, Ring and Adils, and they paid tribute to King Athelstan, and were bound to attend him when summoned to war, and were required to stand in the forefront of the host with those about the royal standard. These brothers were great warriors, and not particularly young men. King Alfred had taken away the name of king from all those who hitherto had paid tribute. Now they were entitled earls, who before had been kings or the sons of kings. And the same rule remained in force after his death, under his son Edward. But, inasmuch as Athelstan came to the throne when quite young,³ men thought that they could take liberties; and many who had previously been submissive turned restless.

"Olaf, the Scots' King,⁴ drew together a large force, and marched south into England. When he entered Northumbria he began to ravage. Now, when the earls who ruled the country learned this, they gathered their forces and went against King Olaf. When they met, a great battle ensued, and it so fell

¹ There is a mistake here, partly owing to the confusion between Scots and Irish, which latter till the tenth century were called Scots. Olaf Cuaran, or, as the Norse writers call him, "the Red," was king of the Norse colony of Dublin. The Saga writer omits mention of Constantine.

² Another mistake. Olaf Cuaran, on his father's side, was descended from Ragnar Lodbrog. Constantine II was son of a Scottish father.

³ He was not "quite young," but aged 30.

⁴ Understand Constantine.

out that Olaf gained the victory. Earl Gudrek fell, and Alfgeir fled with most of his men. Alfgeir made no stand anywhere, and King Olaf subjected the whole of Northumbria to himself.

“Alfgeir went to Athelstan, and told him how ill it had fared with him. And when King Athelstan heard that so mighty an army had invaded his land, he at once summoned troops to his aid, and sent word to the earls and other men in authority. Then the King proceeded with those he had collected against the Scots. But inasmuch as the news spread that Olaf had gained a great victory, and had brought into subjection a larger slice of England than that possessed by Athelstan, many men of note flocked to him.

“Ring and Adils drew together their forces, and went over to the side of Olaf. And his army swelled to a great size. Now, when Athelstan learned this defection, he summoned a council of all his chief men and advisers; and they examined into the circumstances, and with one accord declared that Alfgeir had behaved in an unworthy manner, and merited to have his honours taken from him. And the council further advised that Athelstan should go south through England, and collect all available forces to accompany him in his campaign in the north.”

The plan of the invasion, as devised by the Confederates, was ingenious. Olaf Cuaran was to lead the Danes and Northmen of Ireland and the Isles, along with their Irish allies, in a fleet that was to sail to Cornwall, double the Land's End, rouse the West Welsh to revolt, and coasting along the south, ravage there, causing a diversion, whilst Constantine advanced along the Watling-street, the great road of communication between Berwick, York, and London, and unite with Owain of Cumbria, who was coming along the old Roman road from Carlisle to York.

Then Olaf, after having thrown Wessex into confusion, and so delaying Athelstan, would hurry north to the mouth of the Humber, and effect a junction with Constantine at or near York.

Such seems to me to have been the plan, and in its execution we have an explanation of what has perplexed historians, for there are two entirely distinct accounts of the great battle that led to the complete rout of the invaders. If we accept the solution that there were two battles, one in the south and one in the north, the difficulties disappear. By all accounts,

Athelstan hastened through Wessex to collect forces before proceeding against Constantine. Whilst so doing, he was alarmed by hearing that the Britons of Dumnonia were in revolt. He heard, moreover, that a fleet of 615 ships, filled with Danes, Norsemen, and Irish, was on its way up the Channel, and soon after he learned that it had entered the mouth of the Axe, and was ravaging on the frontiers of Dorset. Athelstan at once despatched a body of Norse mercenaries, under the command of two Icelanders, Thorolf and Egill, and, against the advice of his council, the discredited Alfgeir, at the head of a Mercian contingent, to hold Constantine in check, but with instructions on no account to engage in a pitched battle. They were to use every artifice short of a battle to delay the advance of the enemy. He himself mustered all he could call together to attack Olaf and his force, and quell the insurrection in the west.

He fell on the marauding band from Ireland near Axminster, the invaders camping on what is to this day called the Danes' Hill. Olaf was defeated, and fled to his ships, but in the engagement the two Ethelings and the Bishop of Sherborne were killed, together with a whole contingent of Sherborne men who had come up under their bishop. Another prelate who headed a contingent was the Bishop of Wilton. Immediately after the defeat of the Danes from Dublin, Athelstan had to put down the revolt of the West Britons, and he could not immediately hurry into Northumbria to prevent the junction of Olaf with Constantine. Olaf sailed through the Straits of Dover, and arriving in the mouth of the Humber, as Simeon of Durham tells us, there disembarked the remainder of his army.

In the interim, Thorolf and Egill, together with the incapable Alfgeir, were hovering on the borders of Northumbria. They were not in a position to prevent the disembarkation of Olaf with his Danes and Irishmen, nor their junction with the united host of Constantine and Owain. Perhaps they were taken by surprise at the arrival.

To gain their end—delay till Athelstan should arrive—Thorolf and Egill sent a message to Olaf, purporting to come from Athelstan, appointing a meeting on Vinheath, to which they now advanced. Olaf, with his shattered forces, had not been able to attempt the reduction of the walled city of York; and Alfgeir, Thorolf, and Egill, by proceeding north, hoped to cover it as Constantine had not as yet reached so far south.

The proposal, as if from Athelstan, was to this effect: That instead of engaging both armies in a great battle with effusion of much blood, the dispute should be settled between the kings, each attended by a band of picked warriors, to fight within a ring staked out with hazel rods linked together by a rope; and that this should take place after the interval of a week. The proposal was acceptable to Olaf. Now, it was the custom of the time, when an agreement had been concluded to settle a dispute by a holmgang, a duel between two or more, that both sides should abstain from ravaging.

Accordingly, Olaf remained inactive, and he was the more inclined to delay proceedings, as numerous partisans came in from the country round, filling gaps in his depleted ranks.

Alfgeir and the two Icelandic brothers were encamped to the south of the great plain of Vinheath, with a river on one side and a forest on the other; and the united forces of the invaders lay to the north of the same desolate tract. The brothers and Alfgeir had set up innumerable tents on their side of the waste, but in some of these were but one or two men, and in others none at all.

When the delegates of Olaf and Constantine came to the army they saw this goodly array of tents, but were not suffered to enter any of them, nor to draw near to the camp. They were informed that Athelstan would arrive shortly. The messengers returned to the kings to inform them that an immense host was already encamped beyond the heath, and that the English king was hourly expected at the head of a second army.

Olaf and Constantine occupied a fortified position to the north of Vinheath, and sent forward men who met others commissioned by Thorolf and Egill to plant hazel rods, and demark the arena for the proposed combat.

Day after day passed, and Athelstan had not arrived. When the week had elapsed, the brothers had to have recourse to other devices. On the day on which the conflict was to have been engaged fresh messengers approached Olaf, and announced that Athelstan was close at hand, still reluctant to shed more blood, if that might be avoided, and he was prepared to come to terms with the invaders, and to pay a shilling for every acre of ploughed land. On these terms friendship could be concluded and both forces be withdrawn. Olaf called his council together to discuss the offer. Various opinions were

expressed. Some urged the acceptance of the offer, and pointed out that if it were, the Confederates might return home, not only covered with honour, but laden with riches. Others as strenuously opposed acceptance, and declared the terms too unfavourable. The opinion of these latter prevailed, and the legates pretending to come from Athelstan requested a delay of three days, till they could bear the message to their master and return with his reply. To this Olaf (or Constantine, or both together) consented. Accordingly they rode back, and three days later arrived in the camp of the Confederates with fresh proposals, to the effect that Athelstan would maintain his former undertaking to pay a shilling for every acre of ploughed land, and in addition would grant a shilling a head to every free-born man in the invading army, a mark to every captain over twelve or more, and five marks in gold to every earl. The council considered this proposal, and again opinions differed. At last Olaf decided to accept the conditions, if there was added Athelstan's confirmation to him of his sovereignty over Northumbria.

Once more the delegates solicited a delay of three days, and this was accorded; and on this occasion Olaf sent some of his own men with the ambassadors. They met Athelstan "in the burgh that was nearest to the heath on the south side." The delegates privately informed the King of the artifice they had employed, by negotiations to delay the advance of the Confederates, and then introduced the messengers of Olaf, who delivered the ultimatum of their master. Athelstan flared up in wrath, and exclaimed: "Bear these my words to Olaf, that I am prepared to allow him to withdraw unmolested, if he will make compensation for the havoc he has wrought in my lands. Henceforth there shall be no peace between us, and the Scottish king must consent to hold his realm under me as his over-lord."

That same evening the legates returned to the camp of the kings, and arrived in the middle of the night. Olaf was roused from sleep, and the words of Athelstan were repeated to him. The council was at once summoned, and all with one consent declared for battle.

Then said Earl Adils, who had deserted the English cause: "Now has that fallen out which I anticipated. The English have proved too astute for us. Here have we been wasting our time, put off by them from day to day, kept inactive

to allow them time to muster in full force. Their king was not near, but far away in the south, when we arrived here. There was then not a handful of men opposed to us, which might easily have been brushed aside. Now it is otherwise. It is my advice that my brother Ring and I this very night should attack the enemy so soon as sufficient light appears in the sky to distinguish them, and before the king and his main army can come up. If we succeed in routing them, and send them flying to the rear, they may spread a panic through the host that is with the king."

Olaf approved of the proposition, and at once the brothers Ring and Adils collected their men, and marched in silence by the light of the stars over the heath till they reached a position at striking distance of the Norse vanguard, and there paused, awaiting the first streaks of dawn. Before proceeding further, it will be as well to state where the place was where the decisive battle was to be fought. That place is called by the Norse writer Vinheath, by Simeon of Durham, Wondune, and by the Chronicle and English historians who followed the Chronicle, Brunaburh. Many sites have been suggested, but the balance of probability is in favour of Boroughbridge, with the Swale on one side,¹ and hills, once clothed by a forest, on the other. The reasons for this determination shall be given later.

The date of the battle was 937.

As soon as daylight appeared, the word to advance was given, and the men under Ring and Adils dashed forward.

The outposts of Thorolf gave the alarm, the cow-horns brayed, and the Northmen sprang to arms. Alfgeir, the earl, commanded the English contingent, that had been swelled by new arrivals, and the body of men under his command greatly outnumbered the Norse mercenaries under Thorolf.

Thorolf was thus armed. He carried a broad and thick shield on his arm; on his head a stout helmet; by his side his sword, named "Long"; in his hand he bore a spear, with a head two cubits in length, and four-edged—in fact, composed of four blades welded together, and tapering to a single point. Egill was similarly equipped; he wore at his side a sword called "the Adder." Neither of the brothers was protected by a breastplate. Theofrid Strangi was the name of Thorolf's standard-bearer. All the mercenaries bore Norse shields, and were armed and harnessed in the Scandinavian fashion.

The body of men commanded by Thorolf had the forest on one side, that of Alfgeir had the river on the other. Adils and Ring perceived that they had failed in their attempt to take the enemy by surprise, and they accordingly prepared to engage in a pitched battle—not, be it understood, with the whole of the English army, but with the vanguard some miles in advance. They marshalled their forces in two columns, or, to use the old English expression, “battles,” each under its own standard; one, that of Adils, was to attack the body of English under Alfgeir, and that of Ring to contend with the Norse mercenaries.

To the winding of the cow-horns Adils charged, and with such impetuosity that Alfgeir gave way, after having made but a brief stand; his men were put to the rout and fled. Alfgeir, with his horsemen, galloped over the plain without drawing rein, till they reached the burgh where was the King. But into that Alfgeir did not venture, fearing to encounter the reproaches of Athelstan and the derision of his councillors. He continued his flight to the south, not halting till he reached the coast, where he took boat, and escaped into France, never to show his face again in England.

Now, when Thorolf saw the rout of Alfgeir, he bade his brother move his standard against Adils, whilst he remained with his flank protected by the wood, contending against Earl Ring.

Such a fury of battle took hold of Thorolf, that he flung his shield behind his back, and grasping his four-edged spear with both hands, he drove in among the enemy like a plough-share, piercing, mutilating, prostrating all before him. He forced his way to the standard of Earl Ring, killed the standard-bearer, and cut down the ensign. Then, rushing forward on the Earl, he skewered him with his terrible spear, so that the point came out at Ring’s back. He did more; putting his foot on the butt of the shaft, he levered the quivering Earl into the air in the sight of his followers, then cast him down, and wrenched the weapon out of his body.

Thorolf now drew his sword, and smote with it all who stood in his way. The followers of the Earls, bordermen, some Britons, some Angles, seeing that the banner was down and that the Earl had fallen, gave way and took to flight, and to escape pursuit took refuge in the wood. Adils, unable to stand against Egill, lowered his own standard so as to allow the Norse

mercenaries to suppose that he had fallen, and he also, flying, found a place of concealment in the wood. There was much slaughter among the fugitives, but the pursuit could not be carried far, lest the Norsemen should rush upon the main body of the army of the Confederates.

Thorolf and Egill withdrew their men and returned to the camp, to which, in the meantime, Athelstan had come up. Tents were pitched, the battlefield visited, that the wounded might be removed to the rear, and the dead be suitably interred. Although the body of Adils could not be found, it was believed that he was dead, as well as his brother Ring.

The brothers Thorolf and Egill received thanks from Athelstan for the gallantry they had displayed, and the King bade the entire army rest that night, and prepare for a general engagement on the morrow.

Next morning, early, Athelstan reviewed his host, and appointed Egill to command one wing and Thorolf the other. To this arrangement Egill did not readily consent. Said he: "I have no desire to be parted from my brother. We have ever fought side by side; place us together where is the greatest danger, and we will do our duty, only let us be together."

However, Thorolf said: "We must let the King decide according to his judgment, and submit."

"I will submit," replied Egill, "if you desire it, but I do not relish being separated from you."

When the army was drawn out, Thorolf was placed in the wing covered on one side by the forest, and the wing commanded by Egill was covered on the further side by the river.

Olaf disposed his army in two "battles." He had his standard erected in that confronting Athelstan and Egill; his other "battle" was disposed over against Thorolf. This latter was commanded by the Scottish king,¹ and most of the men in it were Scots. Thorolf's object was to break up this wing, then turn, describe a semi-circle, and take Olaf Cuaran and his Norse and Irishmen in the rear. But he was unaware that Adils and the remnant of his men had concealed themselves in the wood, and as he advanced against the Scots, these latter broke out of cover, and took him unexpectedly in the flank whilst fully engaged with the enemy in front. He was by this means overpowered, and fell pierced by many spears. His standard-bearer had to beat a hasty retreat to save the banner from capture. When the

¹ The *Aigla* says "Scottish earls," but it ignores Constantine.

Scots saw that the commander of the Northmen in the pay of Athelstan had fallen, they raised a shout of triumph that reached the ears of Egill, and when he, looking across the field, saw his brother's ensign in retreat, he made sure that Thorolf was dead. Then rushing to that part of the heath where Thorolf had been, stung with fury and mad with grief, he urged his men to follow him, and striding before them, whirling his sword, "the Adder," he flung himself upon the foe. The standard-bearer, Thorfrid, at once pressed forward and attended him, so that his advance was marked by the progress of two ensigns. Before his long blade the enemy were mown down as grass before a scythe, and he cut his way to Adils, whom at one blow he cleft from the head to the shoulders.

On the death of the Earl, the men of the ambush gave way, and fled among the Scots, pursued by Egill and his Vikings. The flying men broke the Scottish line, and the men constituting it made no determined stand. They wavered, then broke and fled. Then, when this wing of the enemy was routed, Egill and his mercenaries wheeled about and went to the aid of Athelstan. A great slaughter ensued. Bursting through the bodyguard of the King of Dublin, Egill cut down, as he supposed, Olaf the Red.¹ The rout now became complete. Every man of the invaders who could be overtaken was slaughtered without compunction, and no quarter was given. The wide grey plain was strewn with corpses. The lay of Brunaburh says :—

There lay many a warrior
By javelin strewed;
Northern man
Over shield shot;
So the Scots eke
Weary, were sad.
West Saxons onward,
Throughout the day,
In bands,
Pursued the footsteps
Of the loathed nations.
They heaped the fugitives
Behind, amain,
With swords mill-sharp.

It was related that five kings and seven earls were slain. Constantine, "hoary warrior," escaped north. The poem in the Chronicle calls Olaf always Anlaf. He fled, according

¹ Olaf Cuaran was not killed in the battle, but his son was. Egill, in his lament for his brother, speaks of the fall of "the young Olaf." In the lay of the battle in the Chronicle, it is said that Constantine lost his son in it.

to the same authority, to his ships, which had probably coasted north from the Humber. Returning from the field, Athelstan entered the burh from which he had set out, there to pass the night. Egill, however, had followed the fugitives, dealing slaughter among them, till the night fell. But even then he would not rest till he had discovered the body of his brother.

Next day he had Thorolf buried with all solemnity, girt in his harness, and with his sword and spear at his side. Taking off his own golden armlets, he thrust them above the wrists of his brother. Then a mound of earth was heaped above him, and Egill sang the following lay:—

Forth the never fearing
Fared the Earl slayer.
Valiant in soul fell
Thorolf in war fierce.
Green will the grass grow
Now on Vinheithe,
Over my brother.
We the survivors
Smother our sorrow.

Here have I heaped mold
High in a West land,
High among standards.
Headstrong with blue blade
Sought I Earl Adils;
Young Olaf lies slaughtered,
Circled by Angles;
Full fed are the ravens.

Then Egill, with his followers, entered the hall where sat Athelstan on his high-seat drinking ale. The King welcomed him, and bade room be made for him so that he might be placed over against himself.

The hall was a long building, with seats running parallel with the walls, and facing each other across the hearth, a stone trough in the floor in which burnt the fire.

Egill seated himself, cast his shield at his feet, and laid his sword, half unsheathed, across his knees. He sat bolt upright, speechless, and wearing a stern countenance. “Egill was broad-faced, broad-browed, heavy-eyebrowed. His nose was not long, but was remarkably broad; the lips thick and large; his chin was very broad, and so all his jaw, thick neck and broad shoulders, so that when he was angry he appeared more savage than other men. He was well-grown, and taller than any other man; his hair grey as a wolf’s

fell and thick, but he was early bald.¹ And as he sat, as described, down went one of his brows towards his cheek, and the other up towards his hair. Egill was black-eyed and dusky-skinned. He would not drink, though it was offered him, and his brows went up and down. King Athelstan sat in the high-seat. He had his sword laid across his knees. And when they had sat thus awhile, the King drew his sword out of its sheath, took a gold ring off his arm, great and good, put it on the point of the blade, stood up, went on the floor, and extended it to Egill across the fire. Egill stood up, drew his sword, and went on the floor. He thrust his sword into the hoop of the ring and drew it to himself, then went back to his place. The King resumed his place on the high-seat. And when Egill had reseated himself, he drew the ring over his hand, and his brows resumed evenness. He laid aside his sword and helmet, and took the wildbeast's horn that was brought to him and drank of it, and he sang:—

My brows were downward drooping,
I mourned the slasher of chain-mail.
The King on whose hand sits the hawk
Has handed me armlet of gold.
Well is it worthy the giver.²

Thenceforth Egill drank his share, and spoke to the other men. After that, the King had two chests brought in, two men bare each. They were full of silver. The King said: 'These chests, Egill, you shall have, and when you go to Iceland, you must convey this money to your father as compensation for his son. I send it him; and some of the money you shall distribute among the relatives of yourself and Thorolf; and as compensation for the loss of your brother, you shall have of me either land or cash, just as you please. And if you will remain with me I will confer on you honour and office, such as you desire.' Egill accepted the money, and thanked the King for his gifts and his friendly words. Then Egill became cheerful, and sang:—

The grief of my heart made my eyebrows
To hang as a threatening cloud,
But now is my sorrow dispersed.
The King, by his liberal presents,
Has lifted my eyebrows once more.
My savageness from me is gone."

¹ The description of wolf grey hair and baldness applies to Egill at a later period of life.

² A difficult and almost unintelligible stave. This is a loose rendering of its probable meaning.

We must now consider some of the points that have been taken for granted in the preceding narrative. First, as to the battle fought at Axminster. In the register of Newnham Abbey near by, is a statement made in the reign of Edward III, recording an ancient tradition that a great battle was fought by Athelstan and the Ethelings "at Munt S. Calyxt en Devonsyr," and that it ended at Colecroft, near Axminster. S. Calyxt is now Coaxdon. We know from William of Malmesbury that on the night before the battle a relay under the Bishop of Sherborne arrived, and that the Bishop of Wilton was with the King. After the battle the bodies of the Ethelings were laid in the Church of Malmesbury. Athelstan, moreover, endowed a chapter at Axminster, that prayers might ever be said there for the souls of such as had fallen in the fight. It is not possible to reconcile the story of the battle, as told by William of Malmesbury, with the account in the *Aigla*. William, no doubt, gave the traditional account of the battle prevalent at Malmesbury, where were laid the bodies of the Ethelings who fell in it. William has confused the two battles, and calls that he describes Brumford. He says that Constantine fell in it. There are serious difficulties in the way of accepting the story as given by the Saga writer as exact history. He makes grave mistakes. According to him the battle of Vinheath is given too early in the life of Egill, in 927, instead of 937. What has occurred is that the writer has confused the order of events. Egill was twice in the service of Athelstan, in 927, and also in 937, and the writer has put the battle as occurring during the first period in place of the second.

It must be remembered that the narrative was traditional till committed to writing. A tale told again and again, in the long winter nights, among the descendants of Thorolf and Egill would present the minute particulars—such as the personal appearance of the hero, his armour, etc., but would be liable to confuse the sequence of events. Egill was born in 904, and had the battle been in 927 he would have been aged but 23, too young to be given command of a battalion, whereas in 937 he would have been aged 33. We do not get much aid as to the circumstances of the battle and its site from the poem in the Chronicle. As Freeman says: "There is in the song nothing like a story or legend, nothing, if you strip it of its poetic language, except a few plain facts which the writer might have put into three or four lines of prose. King Athelstan

and his brother, the Etheling Edmund, fought a battle at Brunanburh against the Scots, under Constantine, and the Danes from Ireland, under Anlaf (Olaf), and gained a great victory. Five Danish kings, seven earls, and the son of the king of the Scots were killed, whilst Constantine and Anlaf escaped. Then Athelstan and Edmund went back in triumph to Wessex."

With regard to the site of Brunanburh or Vinheath, the broad dreary flat by Boroughbridge to Raskelf suits the description admirably. Brunanburh means the burgh at the bridge, and at Aldborough was the Roman bridge to Watling-street. Later, when this was broken down, another bridge was built in a different place, and the present town of Boroughbridge grew up by it, and Aldborough was deserted. If Vinheath was the waste north extending to Easingwold and Thormanby, and the wood described was a spur of the forest of Galtres, then the burh where Athelstan rested before and after the battle was Aldborough. Although Brunanburh was a great victory, yet Athelstan was unable effectively to enforce his supremacy in Northumbria, and after his death, which took place two years later, the Danish King of Dublin was able again to assert, and in a measure maintain, his claim over it.

SOME OLD WEST RIDING MILESTONES.

By JOHN J. BRIGG, M.A.

It is well known that there was in use in this country down to modern times a customary mile which was longer than the statute mile, by an amount varying from one-third to one-half. The origin of this measure has been discussed by Professor Flinders Petrie and others, and was occupying the attention of the late Dr. Seebohm up to the time of his death. My purpose in this paper is to record, at his request, a number of instances in which the customary mile has been used as the measure of length and engraved on milestones which have remained to our own day.

In some matters, the West Riding of Yorkshire is as little conservative as most places, and it is, therefore, somewhat surprising to find, as I shall show, that there are milestones still standing on main roads which beguile the traveller into the belief that he has only, say, six miles to go when he really has to go nine.

The Quarter Sessions Order Books of the West Riding go back to the early part of the seventeenth century; but the earliest reference to the erection of milestones is in the record of the Sessions held at Rotherham on August 6th, 1700:—

“Stoops to be sett up In pursuance of an Act of Parliament
in crosse highways. made in the eighth and ninth years of
 his present Majesty King William,
intituled an Act for enlarging comon highways. It is ordered
by this Court that for the better convenience of travelling in
such partes of this Ryding, which are remote from Towns and
where severall highways meet, the surveyors of the highways of
every parish or place within this Ryding where two or more
crosse highways meet, do forthwith cause to be erected or fixed
in the most convenient place where such ways joine a stone or
post, with an inscription thereon in large letters, containing the
name of the next Market Town to which each of the said
joining highways leede, upon paine to forfeit by the said Act
the summe of ten shillings to be employed for the purposes
aforesaid.”

To be sent by the clerk of the peace to the chief constables, and by them to the surveyors of highways within their respective divisions.

This order was repeated in 1733, and again in 1738, in these words :—

“Whereas it has been reported to this Court that several public roads divide into several branches and cross one another upon large Moors and Commons and other places, where intelligence is difficult to be had, to the peril and great inconvenience and delay of travellers, for remedy whereof it is ordered that the Chief Constables of the several weapontakes do, with all convenient speed, give notice to their respective petty constables to erect stones and Guide-posts, with Indexes and directions ingraved or written thereupon in the plainest and most intelligible manner and in the most proper places of their several Constableries.”

The constables are to view the places and to present the same, or indict the persons neglecting to carry out this order.

Again, at Sheffield, October 11th, 1738 :—“For explaining and amending the order lately made about Guide-posts. It is ordered that besides the name of the next Market Town or other notorious place, every such guide-post shall express how far such town or place is distant therefrom.” Petty constables are to make oath within eight weeks after receiving notice of this order, before a Justice, as to how it is being carried out.

At Doncaster, January 17th, 1749, the order as to guide-posts is repeated, and a further order was passed :—“To erect Mark-stones and Guide-posts with full directions, from one to another over such Moors and Commons in times of snow.” The order was again repeated at Sheffield in October, 1750, and at Doncaster on January 23rd, 1754, with the words :—“Erect renew and repair Guide-posts with Indexes or directions engraved or written thereupon in the plainest and most intelligible manner.”

At Pontefract, on May 7th, 1754, the Justices repeated their order, and decided to hold a Special Sessions on April 1st following, and to have all the several constables before them to answer a series of questions :—

“Are guide-posts erected in all places where highways meet, divide, or cross one another, with proper directions ? ”

“In what places are they wanting ? ” etc.

Eleven years later, in 1765, at Barnsley, the same procedure was repeated, and again in 1787, at the Pontefract Sessions, with a reference to a "late Act of Parliament for amendment and preservation of public highways."

The last references to the subject are in the record of the Sessions at Pontefract in 1796, and at Sheffield in 1798; but in this case the chief constables are ordered to erect guide-posts at every convenient place, and such posts with the boards affixed at the top to be painted white, with large black letters. The same order enjoins them to put up boards at the entrance to each village, the boards to be white, with the name of the village in large black letters.

From the instances I am able to give, it will appear that the constables and surveyors tried to carry out these orders. The stones set up by them are to be found at the crossings and junctions of roads—in one instance in a place of busy tramcar traffic, in others by the side of main roads, in lanes once the main arteries of traffic, in lanes now quite disused, and again on "large Moors and Commons," where "intelligence is difficult to be had." In these last the traces sometimes remain of the pack-horse routes, but in others the stone stands lonely in a swampy moor with no track visible.

The execution varies from the rudest work to lettering in the best style of the time. Dates are few, and it would be misleading to attempt to date the stones from the style of the lettering, as every surveyor would have his own ideas on the subject.

I have recorded some stones which have the distances in statute miles to show how the two standards are intermingled. It is interesting, for example, to compare the stone on Pinhow, dated 1730, showing statute miles, with one near Shipley of about the same date showing customary miles, and again with the Hellifield one showing customary miles as late as 1783. The surveyors must have been utterly confused which measurement to adopt.

My first example (given me by Mr. J. Horsfall Turner) is near Shipley, where the tramway tracks from Thackley and Idle join, and go on to Bradford:—

(1) To Leeds, 6 miles [9 statute miles]

1739. John Denbigh, Constable.

The two following were given me by Mr. Abm. Newell, of Todmorden:—

(2) In Shurerack Lane, near the boundary of Langfield and Walsden—

Halifax,	9 miles	....	[12 statute miles]
Burnley,	7 „	....	[10 „]
Rochdale,	6 „	....	[ 8½ „]

(3) In Walsden—

Halifax,	10 miles	....	[14 statute miles]
Burnley,	9 „	....	[11¾ „]
Rochdale,	5 „	....	[ 6½ „]
Todmorden,	2 „	....	[ 2⅔ „]

The two following are on the old road through Halifax and Keighley to Richmond :—

(4) At the foot of Dolphin Lane, near Cullingworth—

Kighley,	2 miles	[3 statute miles]
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(5) This road is now lost upon Harden Moor, but appears again running down into Keighley by way of Hogholes, and here at the junction of this road with the old road from Bradford is a stone—

Halifax,	8 miles	....	[12 statute miles]
Bradford,	6 „	....	[ 8 „]

(6) In Farnhill, where the old Otley road falls into the old Keighley-Skipton Road—

Skipton,	3 miles	....	[ 4 statute miles]
Kighley,	4 „	....	[ 5 „]
Otley,	10 „	....	[14 „]

(7) The next is by the side of a main County road, and by a miracle has escaped the attentions of the County surveyor and the vengeance of misled and footsore wayfarers. It is at the junction of the road from Carleton with the main Skipton-Gisburn Road— I ?

To Skipton, ?

To Gisburn, 6 [8½ statute miles]

(8) In a by-lane behind Gledstone on the *old* Skipton-Gisburn Road—

Gisburn,	3 miles	....	[4 statute miles]
Skipton,	„	....
Gargrave,	3 „	....	[4½ „]

(9) On the *main* road, Skipton-Gisburn, at the cross-roads near Monk Bridge, is a stone which has been altered to statute measurements—

Skipton,	9 M ^s	Altered from	6 ..	[9 statute miles]
Gisborn,	2 M ^s	„	1 ..	[2 „]

Settle, 11 M^s [The figures being more recent than the
lettering.]

Colne, 7 M^s Altered from 5 .. [7 statute miles]

The next examples are mostly from the old trade route between the manufacturing district of Halifax and the rural country about Settle, where, before the age of machinery, wool was sent to be spun by hand in the farmhouses and brought back to be woven. The road crosses many steep and rugged hills.

(10) In Carr Head Lane, above Malsis, where the old Halifax-Settle Road crosses the old road to Colne, is a stone (rude and very much defaced)—

Halifax, 12 miles [22 statute miles]

Settle, 12 ,, [18 ,,]

The road ascends Glusburn Moor and crosses Carleton Moor before descending to Elslack.

The stone at Stone Gap cross-roads is approximately correct in statute miles—

Skipton, 4 miles.

Colne, 7 miles

And so is another stone very much defaced—

Kighley, 7 M.

(11) A little further, on Carleton Moor, is a stone now used as a gate-post, and perhaps, therefore, not quite in its original position—

Settle, 11 Ms [15 statute miles]

Kighley, 5 Ms [7 ,,]

Thornton, 3 Ms [4½ ,,]

At the crossing with the old road, Skipton-Colne, near Pinhow, is a well-executed stone, dated 1730, nicknamed the “Porridge Stoop,” with the distances in statute miles.

Again, at East Marton—

Settle, 11. Skipton, 5½. Gisburn, 5½.

(12) Near Hellifield, at the junction of the main road, Keighley-Kendal, with a road to Otterburn, etc., is a dated stone—

1783

To Griston

H C

(? Grassington) 7 Miles [12 statute miles]

To Settle, 4 ,, [6 ,,]

This stone is almost on the same route as the “Porridge Stoop,” and it is worthy of note how the statute mile was used in 1730 and the customary mile in 1783. “H.C.” was clearly a conservative person, whoever he was.

(13) At Long Preston Vicarage is a stone "believed to have come from the 'High Grounds' on Langber Glebe," *i.e.* on the old Skipton-Settle Road—

To Skipton, 7 M.	} 10 miles	[15 statute miles]
To Settle, 3 M.		

(14) On the Skipton-Barnoldswick Road, where it is joined by a road to West Marton and Clitheroe, is a stone—

Clitheroe, 8 miles [About 12 statute miles]

(15) On the Moors behind Embsay (crossed by the "White Doe of Rylstone") is an old pack-horse road and a stone still standing—

To Paitley	To
Bridge, 7 Ms.	Skipton, 3 Ms.
Total, 10 miles	[14 statute miles]
(Mr. Rawleigh Humphries.)	

(16) In the Settle district there is a stone between Armitstead and Eldroth, on the old Lancaster Road—

Settle, 2 M	[3 statute miles]
Lancaster, 16 M	[21 „]

(17) In the other direction from Settle, at Grains Bridge, near Acraplatts—

Settle, 3 M } 4 M. . . .	[5 statute miles Settle to
Kirkby, 1 M }	Kirkby Malham]

In Rathmell is an old stone with statute measurements—

Wigglesworth, 2.	Settle, 3.
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And similarly near Grindleton—

To Slaidburn, M 5	} All approximately statute
To Clitheroe, M $4\frac{1}{2}$	
To Newton, M 4	
measure.	

And at Annel Cross, on the slopes of Pendle Hill—

Clitheroe, 5.	Gisburn, 5 }	All statute
Colne, 6.	Burnley, 7 }	measure.

(W. Anderton Brigg.)

(18) In the Hodder Valley, between Whalley and Slaidburn, is a very fine dated stone on a much-frequented road—

Lancaster, 16 M. . . .	[20 statute miles]
Whalley, 3 M. . . .	[$4\frac{1}{2}$ „]
Preston, 10 M. . . .	[15 $\frac{1}{2}$ „]
Gisburn, 8 M. . . .	[10 $\frac{1}{2}$ „]

Near Sedbergh, on the borders of Yorkshire and Westmorland, I have found two stones. The distances are given in words instead of figures.

(19) On the road to Howgill—

Kirkby Lonsdale, eight miles	....	[11 statute miles]
Sedbergh, one mile	....	[1½ „]
Orton, eight miles	....	[11 „]

(20) On the main road, Sedbergh to Kirkby Stephen, where the lane to Dowbiggin joins it:—

Kirkby Stephen, nine miles	....	[12 statute miles]
Garsdale, four miles	....	[6 „]

The moorlands and rough pasture lands lying north of Otley and the Wharfe valley were crossed by pack-horse roads, which have been superseded by good roads that take routes less direct than the old ones. On the old tracks are many old milestones.

(21) At Hill Top, on the old Otley-Knaresborough Road, between Farnley and Beckwithshaw—

Otley, 3 M. [4 statute miles]

(W. Anderton Brigg.)

(22) At the cross-roads east of Red House on Penny Pot Lane, the old road from Skipton to Knaresborough, corresponding roughly with the Roman Road from Ilkley to Aldborough—

To Knaresborough, 4 m. [5¼ statute miles].

(W. Anderton Brigg.)

(23) On the Ilkley-Beamsley Road, near the golf links and in the valley, is a well-cut stone, now removed a few yards and used as a gate-post—

To Ottley, 5 miles	....	[7½ statute miles]
To Boulton Bridge, 2 „	....	[3 „]

(T. S. Carter.)

(24) This stone is possibly at one end of a track whose other end comes out on the Otley-Blubberhouses Road, where there is a very rough stone—

To Boulton	To
Bridg	OTL
6 M .. [9 statute miles]	? X M .. [4 statute miles]

(25) On Langbar Moor under Beamsley Beacon, and near Wards End Farm, is a stone, now prostrate—

To Ottley, 5 Ms	....	[8 statute miles]
To Skipton, 6 Ms	....	[About 8 statute miles]
To Knaresbrough, 11 Ms	....	[About 16 statute miles]

(Arthur L. Knight.)

This stone is on an old track called Badger's Gate (Badger="a trader in corn"—*Skeat*), and is presumably on the old track from Skipton to the corn-growing districts of Knaresborough and Ripon.

(26) On the Otley-Pateley Bridge Road, at a point marked 575 on the 1 in. ordnance map, is a stone—

To Otley,	4 M	....	[6½ statute miles]
To Paitley Bridge,	6 M	....	[9 „]
To Ripley,	V M	....	[7 „]

A paved pack-horse track runs here for a short distance.

On the same road, but nearer Otley, is a stone with statute measure—

To Otley,	To Otley
5 Miles	on by
To Paitley	Dog pa(rk)
Bridge, 11	Bridge (a very fine arched
	5 pack-horse bridge).

The traveller from Otley must have been very much cheered to find that in going 1½ miles from a stone marked "Paitley 11 miles," he had diminished the distance to 6 miles according to the next stone.

A good example of an old pack-horse trade-route is that from Keighley in Airedale to Ripon—following pretty closely the Roman way to Aldborough. The following old milestones occur along its course:—

(27) At High Ash, above West Morton, is a stone which formerly stood at the junction of the lane with the Bingley-Silsden Road—

Bingley,	2 Ms	....	[3 statute miles]
Otley,	6 Ms	....	[8 „]
Skipton,	6 Ms	....	[9 „]
Kighley,	2 Ms	....	[3 „]

(28) The old road is completely lost on Morton Moor, and the next stone appears standing in a marshy place in the Moor in the Great Allotment—

To Skipton,	6 Ms	....	[9 statute miles]
To Otley,	5 Ms	....	[7 „]
To Keighley,	3 Ms	....	[4 „]
To Eighlei,	2 Ms	....	[2¼ „]
[Ilkley]			

(29) Perhaps these cross-roads have been connected laterally with an almost obliterated cross-roads on Hawksworth Moor,

where is a carefully-executed stone still standing. Some of the distances seem to be customary miles and others guesses at statute miles—

To Kighley,	4 Mile	....	[6 statute miles]
To Burley,	2 Mile	....	[2½ „]
To Bingley,	3 Mile	....	[4½ „]
To Ilkley,	3 Mile	....	[2½ „]

Note the colloquial “mile” for “miles.”

(30) There is a stone near the top of Alma Hill, above East Morton, where the road enters what was formerly unenclosed moorland—

JOHRK, 28 M [from 32 to 34 statute miles to “York”]

(31) On the Keighley-Ilkley Road, across Rombalds Moor, below “Weary Hill,” is a stone with the figures nearly obliterated—

Kighley,	4	....	[5 statute miles]
Ilkley,	1	....	[1 „]

(32) Crossing the Wharfe by Ilkley Old Bridge, and ascending past Middleton Lodge, we find a rudely-carved stone—

Kighley,	5	....	[7 statute miles]
Rippon,	15	....	[About 20 statute miles]

(33) Following the line of the Roman Road northwards, at the point called Hunger Hill, where we enter Middleton Moor, we cross the old Skipton-Otley track (see No. 24), where is a stone—

To Rippon,	12 M	....	[20 statute miles]
To Ilklee,	1 M	....	[ 2 „]
To Skipton,	6 M	....	[ 9 „]
To Ottley,	7 ¹	....	[ 7½ „]

(Dr. Villy.)

The 6 in. ordnance map shows a track running hence north-north-east across the moor, but it is practically obliterated, and the following three stones on the line of it are all prostrate—

(34) Bracken Ridge—

To Rippon, 13 M [18¼ statute miles]

(35) Cliffords Bent—

109918 OT [18¾ „]
M 11

To Ilklea, M 2 [3¼ „]

The designer of this stone appears to have thought that the letters should read in the direction they refer to: rather a Chinese form of reasoning.

There is here a considerable length of track laid with large flat stones.

¹ (?) Altered from 5 to 7.

(36) Gawk Hall Ridge—

To Rippon, 12 M [nearly 18 statute miles]

Ilkley, 3 M [„ 3½ „]

The wayfarer on this track coming from Keighley would travel 3 miles to the High Ash stone—the stone would say he had travelled 2 miles from Keighley.

Thence, after passing the milestones in the Great Allotment and at Weary Hill, the Middleton Lodge stone ($7\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Keighley) tells him that he has come only 5 miles from his starting point. The Middleton Lodge stone says that it is 15 miles to Ripon (20 statute miles). Thence to the Hunger Hill stone is 1 mile, the stone says 12 miles to Ripon (20 statute miles). Thence to the Bracken Ridge stone is $1\frac{1}{3}$ miles, the stone says 13 miles to Ripon ($18\frac{3}{4}$ statute miles). Thence to the Cliffords Bent stone is $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, the stone says 11 miles to Ripon ($18\frac{1}{4}$ statute miles), always supposing that the traveller can read the inscription backwards.

Thence he travels $\frac{1}{4}$ mile further to Gawk Hall Ridge, and finds that he has lost ground, for the distance to “Rippon” by milestone is still 12 miles (really 18).

There is nothing to show that these stones were not all in position at one time, and they must have been very puzzling. The wayfaring man, though no fool, might have erred therein. Travellers on the Continent are often surprised at the accuracy with which the peasants will give the distance of any place in hours, while ours are often quite at sea as to the distance in miles. Can we wonder when for five or six generations they have been brought up on a system of milestones like the one described above?

There must be many other stones like those recorded above, and I shall be grateful for any information about them before they disappear.

ROSEBERRY TOPPING.

By R. B. TURTON.

UNDOUBTEDLY, Roseberry Topping is the most striking natural feature that Cleveland possesses. Standing like a circular fort at the north-western angle of the Cleveland Hills, and apparently towering above the neighbouring table-land, although, in reality, a few feet lower than the highest point on the Guisborough Moor, it cannot fail to have early impressed itself upon the imaginations of the inhabitants. It is sad to think that recent mining operations have shattered its frame, and that in a few years its glory will have departed. From time to time attempts have been made to delve out as much of its history as is hidden in its name.

The name appears in many forms in ancient documents. Canon Atkinson gives the following list:—"Otneberch, Ohtnebercg, Othenbruche, Othenbrugh, Othenesbergh, Ornbach, Onesbergh, Ohtneberg, Ounsberry, Theuerbrugh, Theuerbrught, Hensberg, and Hogtenburg."¹ The list might be considerably increased, but many of these forms are obviously corrupt, and the true readings not very difficult to replace.

It is interesting to note that the form Roseberry does not occur until the seventeenth century, and this fact adds to the difficulties.

Graves' *Cleveland*, page 213n, gives us an early etymology which, though impossible to accept, may serve as an introduction. "Rosebury is a word of British origin, denoting *a fortified hill*; and was probably used as an exploratory station; it was so named of the British *ross*, a heath or common; and the Saxon *bury* or *berg*, a *castrum* or fortress. *Oonsbury* is a word of similar import, from *oon*, which signifies *a hill*. The word *topping*, which is frequently annexed, is evidently Danish, from *toppen*, an apex or point, as descriptive of the peaked summit of the mountain, which is now used as a beacon to give an alarm to the country in times of public danger. Othenburgh, the name which sometimes occurs in ancient records, is conjectured to be derived from Othan or Odin, the same as Woden, which signifies *fire*, and by our Saxon ancestors esteemed

¹ Atkinson, *Cleveland*, i, 95.

and honoured for their *God of battle* as the Romans did their god, *Mars*. But this conjecture will be considered by some etymologists, perhaps, as more ingenious than conclusive."

On the other hand, it is possible that other etymologists may consider the conjecture in the last paragraph less inconclusive than the authoritative statements in the earlier paragraphs, although these are generally followed by writers of popular local histories.

Let us next turn to a historian of Cleveland, whose word is entitled to more weight, and from whom we cannot differ with a light heart.

At page 96 of his *Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*, Canon Atkinson shows a decided leaning towards the view taken by Mr. Haigh (*Anglo-Saxon Sagas*, p. 45), namely, that Roseberry is the Hreosnabeorh of the poem of Beowulf. In particular he calls attention to the fact that the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon adjective, *hreose*, is rushing on, violently approaching, and, therefore, that in point of signification "Hreose beorh," or "Hreoses beorh," would be an exact equivalent of Odinberg or Othenesberg, meaning equally the "hill of the rager, or rusher."

Canon Atkinson suggests the probability of the notion that the name Othenberg or Othenesberg was simply a translation of an old, and Anglian (or English), name, and that the present form is merely a reassertion by that older English name of its ancient rights over its mediæval Danish supplanter.

At page 166*n* of his *Whitby Cartulary* (Surtees Society, vol. lxix) he goes a little further. Finding it difficult to account for the change from Othenesbergh, Oonsbergh, etc., to Roseberry on any supposition, he thinks that not the least probable may be that there is in the latter the popularly preserved recollection of the old Anglian name.

The idea that Cleveland is the scene of one of the oldest English poems is no doubt peculiarly fascinating as well as flattering to our local pride. I find it, however, equally difficult to believe that an old Anglian name like *Hreosnabeorh*, as that a Celtic name like *Ros*, could have lain hidden for six, seven, or more hundred years, no trace of it during that period ever having come to light, and then suddenly be reproduced, in the seventeenth century, by a people to whom Celtic, Anglian, and Danish were alike sealed languages. It is, therefore, unnecessary to consider Mr. Haigh's theory, which is not followed by modern

commentators on Beowulf. Nor, with great respect to the learned Canon, do I find the transition from Othenesburgh to Roseberry quite so inexplicable as he does. On the contrary, I venture to think that by a close attention to date the transition is fairly apparent.

In arranging any series of names found in ancient documents in order of date, it is true that as most of the documents are known to us by means of copies only, we can never be sure whether the form of the name is that existing at the date of the original or of the copy, or what the copyist *believed* to be the form at the date of the original. On the other hand, unless we assume one or the other, we can have no theory to work upon, and I shall assume that the deed is correctly copied unless the contrary appears.

Now, as a rule, a natural feature such as a mountain or a river is only mentioned in legal documents in connection with boundaries, in other words, is very rarely mentioned. Fortunately for us, the nearest village to Roseberry contains so common a name that it is known either as Newton-under-Roseberry or Newton-in-Cleveland, whenever there is the slightest possibility of a misunderstanding otherwise occurring. The full phrase is not used in the common speech of the country; to those living near it, it is Newton, and Newton only.

This is the first record that we have of it; in Domesday it is called *Neueton*, and we can only identify it and distinguish it from the many other places of the same name by its collocation and by tracing its history. Nor have I been fortunate enough to find the fuller name in any of the Pipe Rolls.

The earliest notice of our subject appears to be contained at pages 2 and 4 of the *Guisborough Cartulary* (Surtees Society, vol. lxxxvi), and is there attributed to the year 1119. These are the two foundation charters of the Priory. In what is probably the earlier, certainly the less liberal, the form is Othenesberg; in the other it is Ohensberg; the omission of a "t" by the copyist would explain the difference, but the difficulties do not end here. A contemporaneous form of the same date, if we can trust the recital in a fine of 1239, was Outhenesberg.

Possibly the most convenient form in which to consider the gradual change of name is in the list on pages 47 and 48. I have arranged the form of the name in three columns for reasons which will appear later.

The date in the first column is obviously approximate only ; but I venture to think is never fifty years out, and a closer approximation is immaterial.

With regard to abbreviations, *Guis. Cart.* stands for *Guisborough Cartulary*, *Whit. Cart.* that of *Whitby*, *Riev. Cart.* that of *Rievaulx*, all published by the Surtees Society, whose other volumes are referred to as S.S. N.R. Records are the first series of the North Riding Records. The others speak for themselves.

The collocation of these names in order of date leads one to the view that the earliest form was Othensberg (O.N., Osin). The omission of the genitive termination seems to have been so general at all times in Yorkshire that Othenberg is practically contemporaneous. Hensberg, which Canon Atkinson gives as the form in the Guisborough foundation charter, is not found in Mr. William Brown's edition of the *Guisborough Cartulary*, and is probably due to the learned Canon having followed Dugdale's misreading in his *Mon. Angl.*¹, without referring to the original. Theuerberght, the form that appears in Kirkby's *Inquest*, is clearly corrupt ; it was, no doubt, copied from rough notes taken at the time, and if we assume that an initial *o* had been made so small (not uncommon at that period) as to be lost in the termination of the preceding word, and that a long *s* had been mistaken for a long *r*, as there are very few words where we can distinguish *u* and *n*, we eventually get *Othenesberght*, or only a supernumerary *t*.

The alternative form, *Onesberg* (*Guis. Cart.*, i, 168), in the year 1231 does seem a little premature, probably the compiler of the Cartulary having first correctly copied the form in the Charter (*Utheneberg*), when the word occurred a second time put the form then coming into use. If so, the Cartulary would be written in the fourteenth and not the thirteenth century.

Apart from these difficulties, there seems to be a fairly uniform list of practically similar names up to the end of the thirteenth century. The vowel sounds are not absolutely identical, but they do not vary, with one exception, from *o*, *ou*, and *u*. The one exception, in 1288, is *Hoyphensberg*, and in addition to the unusual diphthong sound, we see that the *th* has changed into *ph*.

In the fourteenth century we appear to have three perfectly distinct lines of development.

¹ Vol. vi, p. 267.

First, the local form. The *th* has changed into *ph*, thence into *v*, which is indistinguishable from *u*; so we get *Othensberg*, *Ophensberg*, *Ovensberg*, *Ouensberg*, *Ounsberg*, with occasional returns to the long vowel *o*, as in *Onesberg*.

Where we get *ou* to the north of the Cleveland Hills, we often find *au* to the south. Dowson is the usual Cleveland and Bilsdale form of the name, which elsewhere is Dawson; again, Broughton is pronounced Browton to the north, Brawton to the south.

It would not, therefore, be surprising if we should find *Ounberg* transformed by the monks of Rievaulx into *Aunberg*, and thence *Aumberg*, the diphthong *au* being more labial than *ou*, and therefore assisting, rather than preventing, the transition of *n* into *m* before *b*. The actual written form is *Auhmberghe*, and in later times about Thirsk, Malton, and Helmsley (see North Riding Records), the same word occurs under the forms *Ormesbrough*, *Ormesburghe*, *Ormsburie*, and *Oram*, probably a contraction for *Oramburgh*.

But there is a third form, and it is one that I venture to suggest was that of the Normans. To them *th* was always a stumbling block; in an early Pipe Roll the township of Lythe appears as *Liz Comitis*;¹ it is not a very violent presumption to suggest that *Othenberg* had gone through a similar transformation, and was known to the Norman portion of the population as *Osenbergh*.

A double form of the same name, the one used by the better educated and the other by the worse educated class, is certainly not uncommon. *Stokesley* and *Stowsley*, *Roxby* and *Rowsby*, are two pairs of instances that are found in the immediate neighbourhood.

The earliest form of *Osenbergh* that I have been able to find is in a Fine of 1340; but it is not improbable that further search may be more successful. No less than four several instances occur from 1340 to 1424, and they are confined to Fines and Lay Subsidies. Where a local jury have to give their verdict, the name of *Ounesbergh* is used. The Patent Roll of 3 Henry VI (see p. 48) affords a good example. The name occurs four times: twice in the recital of a fine, when *Osenbergh* is used; twice in the recital of an inquisition, and

¹ And see 28 Hen. II, rot. 4, m. 1 (Pipe Roll Series, vol. xxxi, p. 37). "Idem vicecomes reddit comp. de xxij^{li} et xj^s de

exitu de Liz et de Eggeton quas Comes de Albemar tenuit."

the name used, once certainly, and apparently on both occasions,¹ is Ounsbergh.

During the next century Newton-in-Cleveland comes into fashion, and I find no reference to Rosebury till it is mentioned in the list of beacons at the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or beginning of that of King James I, as Oseburye Toppinge; the *n* of an unaccented syllable having dropped out.

From Osebury to Rosebury is not a far cry, especially when we remember that it usually followed the word "under"; Newton-under-Osebury and Newton-under-Rosebury are practically indistinguishable.

Whether the first instance of the form Roseberry occurs in the 5th edition of Camden's *Britannia* (it does not occur in the four earlier editions), or in the very interesting account of Guisborough preserved in the British Museum as Cott. Julius, F. vi, at fol. 431, depends upon the date which we assign to the latter. Graves, in his *History of Cleveland*, fixed it as 1550, or thereabouts; and Canon Atkinson gave the preference to 1640. There are difficulties to be faced, because certain of the *indicia* of age appear absolutely contradictory. The kinsman of Sir Thos. Chaloner interested in the Island of Lambaye, and mentioned in the MS., can surely be none other than John Chaloner,² Secretary of State for Ireland, who died in 1584, and, if so, the Sir Thomas Chaloner, to whom the account was addressed must have been the original purchaser, who died in 1566. On the other hand, the mention in the account of Doctors Lea and Muffet, both of whom died in 1604, would seem to point to a date either shortly before or shortly after their death when their reputations were established, but had not yet been forgotten.

I assume the date as 1610, but it is not very material whether the date is accurate to a few years.

There seems to me, therefore, sufficient evidence to show that the hill was originally known as the hill of Odin, whether because the clouds which so continually rested upon it seemed to make it a fitting abode for the greatest of the gods, or because it reminded the early settlers of some hill in their old country, where possibly sacrifices were offered to the god.

There are many old customs connected with Roseberry, but in none can I trace any resemblance to the Cult of Othinn (see that work by Mr. H. M. Chadwick).

¹ The word in one place is difficult to decipher.

² Possibly his son.

Thus from the old name, Othenesbergh, we get a Norman Osenbergh, Osebury, and eventually Roseberry, while the two local forms, one in Cleveland, Ounesbergh,¹ and the other more widely extended in Yorkshire, Aumbergh or Ormsburgh, have alike died out.

Just as Roseberry stands out to the west of the Guisborough plateau, so is the east side flanked by a smaller hill of like shape, Freebrough, and though the usual derivation of this name leads one to the consideration of *frithborh*,² and other institutions that have no connection with our subject, it does not seem absolutely impossible that the hill may have really derived its name from *Frigg*, the wife of Odin.

It would be interesting to know whether there are any, and, if so, what place-names in Scandinavian countries that are derived from these two deities.

Othensberg, now Onsberg, in the Danish Island of Samsøe, and Odensberg in Schonen, are given by Canon Atkinson on the authority of Grimm. There is also Osenbergh,³ in Spalten, where the Viking ship was recently found; but whether the name has any connection with Odin must be left to Norse scholars to decide. All that I have attempted to show is that the various names by which Roseberry has been known are all directly derived from one form. From Othenesbergh we got in the Cleveland district Ounsberry; in the Vale of Mowbray, Ahmberg; and amongst the most cultivated classes, Oseberry. Whilst the two former have in course of time become obsolete, the latter has stolen an unnecessary R, and has now developed into Roseberry.

This is the suggestion that I venture to submit; even if it does not find universal acceptance, I trust that the references that follow will assist towards the true solution of the problem. In any case, the Protean shapes that the name has at times assumed should afford a salutary warning to those who from an analysis of a twentieth century name alone believe that they can conjecture its original meaning and the history of its various modifications.

¹ Cf. *Dan.* Onsday for Wednesday.

² Atkinson's *Cleveland*, i, 78, 79.

³ See Gustafson, *Norges Oldtid*.

Date.	Cleveland and Whitby.	Thirsk and Malton.	Official.	Reference.
1119 (recital in fine dated 1239)	Outhenesbergh	.. ..	.. ..	Guis. Cart., i, 114
1119	Othenesberg	.. ..	.. ..	" " i, 4
1119	Ohensberg	.. ..	.. ..	" " i, 2
1119	Hensberg	.. ..	.. ..	Atkinson's Cleveland, ii, 4
1125	Othnebergc	.. ..	.. ..	Reference unknown. ? Brid. Cartulary
1145-7	Ohtnebergc	.. ..	.. ..	Whit. Cart., i, 164, 165
1145-7 undated	Odeneberga	.. ..	.. ..	" " i, 165 ⁿ
1180 (?) undated	Otheneberg	.. ..	.. ..	Guis. Cart., i, 12
1220 (?)	Othensberg	.. ..	.. ..	" " i, 172
1231	Utheneberg Otheneberg Onesberg	.. .. .. .. .. ..	.. .. .. .. .. ..	" " i, 167 " " i, 168
1239 (see above)	Outhenesbergh	.. ..	.. ..	" " i, 114
1284	Othenbruche	.. ..	.. ..	Kirkby's Inquest, S. S., xlix, 128
1284	Theuerbrught	.. ..	.. ..	" " xlix, 131
1288	Hoyphensberg	.. ..	.. ..	Y.A.S. Rec., xxiii, 76
1300	Othenburgh	.. ..	.. ..	Pedes. Fin., 27-29 Edw. I, No. 130
1301	Othenesberyge	.. ..	.. ..	Y.A.S. Rec., xxi, 44
1302	Othenesbergh	.. ..	.. ..	S.S., xlix, 236

Date.	Cleveland and Whitby.	Thirsk and Malton.	Official.	Reference.
1308	Othenburgh	.. ..	.. ..	Rot. Fin., 2 Edw. II, m. 4
1310	Onenesbergh	.. ..	.. ..	} Whit. Cart., ii, 361, 399
to	(? Ovenesbergh)	.. ..	.. ..
1312	Ounesbergh	.. ..	.. ..	.. .. ii, 358
1316	Onesberghe	.. ..	.. ..	.. .. ii, 360
1332	Onesbergh	.. ..	.. ..	Surtees Society, xlix, 329
1333	.. ..	Auhmberghe	.. ..	Riev. Cart., 281
1334	Ouenesbergh ¹	.. ..	.. ..	Inq. ad quod damnum, 7 Edw. III, 228
1340	Ovenesbergh	.. ..	.. ..	Guis. Cart., ii, 77 ⁿ
1345	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Feet of Fines, Y.A.S., Rec., xlii, 140
1374	Ounesbergh	.. ..	Osenbergh	.. .. xlii, 178
1405	.. ..	.. ..	Osebergh	Inq. p. m. 48 Edw. III, No. 68
1424	Ounesbergh	.. ..	Osenbergh	Lay Subsidies, $\frac{211}{45}$
1449 ²	Onesbargh	.. ..	.. ..	Pat. Rolls, 3 Hen. VI, m. 13 ^d
1591 (?)	Ounsbury	.. ..	.. ..	Wills, Sur. Soc., xxx, 138
1607	.. ..	.. ..	Oseburye Toppyne	N.R. Records, ii, 305
1610 (?)	.. ..	.. ..	Rosebery	Camd. Brit., 5th Edition
1611	.. ..	Ormesbrough	Roseberrye Topping	Cott. Julius, F. vi, 453
1611	.. ..	Ormesburghe	.. ..	N.R. Records, i, 212
1612	.. ..	Oram	.. ..	.. .. iii, 78
1633	.. ..	Ormsburie	.. ..	.. .. iii, 96
1657	.. ..	.. ..	Roseburye	.. .. iii, 353
1657	.. ..	.. ..	Roseberye	.. .. v, 237
1842 ³	.. ..	Ornebach	.. ..	.. .. v, 260
				Lawton's Collection, p. 495

¹ In the earlier Calendar this is printed Quenesbergh; the modern Index does not attempt it. In the writ the *u*, both here and elsewhere, is so clearly distinguished from the *n* that no ambiguity can exist.

² Apparently, in the sixteenth century, Newton-in-Cleveland was the more usual name of the village.

³ No doubt copied from some old MS.; see Burton, *Mon.*, p. 85.



FIGURE OF ST. MARGARET, FROM MARTON PRIORY.

ON A FIGURE OF ST. MARGARET, SUPPOSED TO HAVE COME FROM MARTON PRIORY.

BY CANON J. T. FOWLER, D.C.L., F.S.A.

THE occasion of this paper has been that my attention was directed some months ago by Mr. W. Brown to a sculptured figure preserved at Sutton Hall, near Thirsk, said to have come from Marton Priory, a small house of Austin Canons, situated in the parish of Marton-in-the-Forest (of Galtres), near Easingwold. The figure is about 2 ft. 6 in. in height, and but rudely executed; its probable date is about A.D. 1500. It is not possible for us to know in what particular part of the building it was placed, further than that it was walled in somewhere. The size of the stone is 2 ft. 8 in. by 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in., and it is 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in depth. Our illustration¹ shows the saint as if rising out of the side of the dragon, though the sculptor has had neither the skill nor the space to make this distinctly apparent. She is holding her cross in both hands, and the lower end is in the dragon's mouth; a small portion of the shaft is in her left hand, while with her right she holds the top, with the cross broken; the rest of the shaft is broken away. She is sometimes represented as piercing the dragon, or trampling on him, or with an angel protecting her, and sometimes with a dove, said to have been seen to issue from her body during her passion, and also immediately after her decapitation. When the dragon has not the end of the cross in his mouth, the skirt of the saint's robe is usually represented as trailing in at it, as described below.

St. Margaret, the supposed virgin martyr of Antioch, in Pisidia, date uncertain, was the subject of much veneration in comparatively early times. According to the ancient martyrologies, she suffered at Antioch in Pisidia, in the general persecution under Diocletian in 303-313. Her name occurs in the most ancient litanies of the west, and, under the name of Marina, in the earliest calendars of the Greeks. From the east her veneration spread into Europe, and her name is found in English litanies of the seventh century, and in a Latin martyrology of the ninth. In 966 a church was dedicated in her honour

¹ Somewhat distorted in reproduction. The stone is quite straight.

The sculpture is, however, sufficiently well shown.

in the diocese of Liege, and in the thirteenth her *cultus* prevailed very greatly in England, where no less than two hundred and thirty-eight churches have been dedicated in her sole honour, besides six where she is named conjointly with other saints. Some of these dedications, however, may belong to St. Margaret of Scotland. In the Sarum Breviary, her day (July 20) is a feast with nine proper lessons from the fabulous "Acts." York also has nine lessons, the seventh from the Common of Virgins, the other eight from the "Acts," which Baronius, in his notes on the Roman martyrology, gives up as wholly fabulous, and accordingly they disappear in all Roman Breviaries after the reform by Pius V in 1566-1572, though up to that time the lessons were taken from them. In the later Roman Breviaries, e.g. in 1582 and 1838, St. Margaret has no proper lessons, but only a commemoration from the Common of Virgins. Since 1769 the office of the day has been that of St. Jerome Æmiliani, who had been canonised by Clement XIII (1758-1769). In that great store-house of mediæval saint-lore, the Golden Legend, which was compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, who died about 1294, we find it stated, among many other things, that "when St. Margaret was in prison a huge dragon appeared, and would have devoured her, but at the sign of the cross he vanished, or," says the author, "as we read elsewhere, placing his mouth over her head and putting out his tongue over her heel, he straightway swallowed her up. But while he would have done so, she fortified herself by the sign of the cross, whereupon the dragon burst asunder, and she emerged unhurt. But this story about the dragon swallowing her and bursting asunder is reputed to be apocryphal and frivolous."¹

The apocryphal account, quoted with disapproval by the Bollandists, is to the same effect, but with more detail. The dragon is resplendent in colours and gold, his hairs and beard are golden; his teeth as iron, and his eyes as pearls; from his nostrils went out fire and smoke; his tongue shot out; over his neck was a serpent; a glittering sword appeared in his "hand," and he made a stench in the prison. He hissed loudly, and the prison was lighted up by the fire from his mouth. He swallowed up St. Margaret in the way stated in the Golden Legend, but the cross which she had made grew in his mouth and split him up; then the saint arose out of his belly unhurt.² In another account, quoted by the Bollandists

¹ Appendix i.

² Appendix ii.

with approval, the story assumes a very different complexion. There it is only the devil appearing in the form of a dragon breathing fire from mouth and nostrils, and when the saint betook herself to prayer and made the sign of the cross against the enemy, he departed for that time.¹ In a MS. copy of the *Old English Festiall*,² the dragon incident is related as follows:—

“ And anone ther com out of a corner by an horrible dragon, and yaned (yawned) upon hir, and wolde haue swallowed hir, and so he did in deed. And whan he had hir all in mouth, he also brast by cause of the crosse whiche she made in the entering in of him. And then Mergett lokid about, and see the fiend bownde with yron cheynes. And she com and thristid him downe to the erthe, insomoch that the fiend cried and saide, Allas, I am bounde for euer, and all my might is lost throwgh a wenche which is callid Merget, for she hath ouercome me. And therefor where euer ye se Saint Merget paynted she hath a dragon vndir her feet, and a crosse in hir hande. In tokenyng that she, by vertue of the crosse which she made, had the victorie of the fiend.”

In the *York Breviary*, known as “*The Church of Radby’s Book*,”³ and in that of 1493, reprinted by the *Surtees Society*, are legendary proper lessons, but no mention of the dragon. In a pre-Pian Roman *Breviary*⁴ all that is said is that the old enemy appeared as a dragon about to devour the saint, but vanished when she made the sign of the cross. In the *Aberdeen Breviary* of 1510, reprinted 1854, it is said that the dragon burst in the midst at the sign of the cross.⁵ But in the *Sarum Breviary* of 1531 (Cambridge reprint 1886), we have much more detail. We there read that while the saint was imprisoned for her faith, rising from prayer she beheld a terrible dragon, which, with uplifted head and open jaws, and with fearful hissings and rattling of its scales, sent the greatest terror into the mind of the maiden. And when now she was almost swallowed up by the yawning jaws of the beast, as soon as it came in contact with her cross, it burst asunder in the midst.⁶

In the *Sarum Breviary* of 1555, the dragon incident is related exactly as in *Aberdeen*. We have seen above that in the six-

¹ Appendix iii.

² *Durham Cosin MS.*, V. iii, 5; date about 1440.

³ *Durham Cosin MS.*, V. i, 2; date about 1440.

⁴ In the possession of J. Meade Falkner, Esq.; date about 1500. Appendix iv.

⁵ Appendix v.

⁶ Appendix vi.

teenth century the proper lessons for St. Margaret in the Roman Breviary were abolished, and that since the eighteenth she has only had a "Commemoration." In the monastic Breviaries that I have consulted, and in those which were provided for French dioceses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, legendary matter appears to be excluded, and in Cardinal Quignon's Breviary of 1549 there is no provision whatever for St. Margaret, although her name occurs in the Calendar, as it does in that of the English Prayer-Book.

In ecclesiastical art, the incident of the dragon, so graphically related in the older Sarum Breviary, in the Golden Legend, and in the Festiall, is frequently represented, with more or less of detail. I am not at present aware of any examples earlier than the fourteenth century, but probably there are such. Dom Bede Camm gives a list of ten paintings of St. Margaret on Devonshire screens alone, and in one of these the dragon is represented as a hairy beast, like a cat, with a huge tail.¹ I have seen in a *Horæ* a figure of the saint calmly and cleanly arising out of a gruesome red wound in the side of the dragon, the skirts of her robe trailing in at its mouth. In an example "from mediæval embroidery," she is standing on a winged snake-like dragon, with the end of her long cross in its mouth, and in painted glass at Landwade, Cambs., the end of the cross is also in the dragon's mouth.² In a circular panel of enamel glass³ from the Butchers' Hall at Antwerp, demolished about forty or fifty years ago, the saint is represented as emerging unhurt from the body of a great yellow dragon; she is holding up her cross, while the skirts of her robe are trailing in at the dragon's mouth. There is a landscape back-ground, including a cruciform church with a spire, and a stream of water. This glass is of quite late Renaissance character, and that the dragon subject should be represented not only so often in mediæval times, but so late as this, shows what a hold it had on popular imagination.

¹ Bond and Camm, *Roodscreens*, ii, 267, and fig., p. 223.

² *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, illustrated, 1851, 89, 90.

³ In the collection of J. Meade Falkner, Esq., of Durham.

APPENDIX OF ORIGINALS OF PASSAGES REFERRED TO.

I.

Jacobi de Voragine Lombardica hystoria quæ a plerisque Aurea legenda sanctorum appellatur. Nurnberge, 1496. Legenda lxxxvii.

“Deinde eam deponi fecit et eam in carcerem recludi jussit. Et mira ibi claritas fulsit. Ubi dum esset oravit dominum vt inimicum qui secum pugnat sibi visibiliter monstraret. Et ecce draco immanissimus ibidem apparuit. Qui dum eam devoraturus impeteret signum crucis edidit et ille euanuit. Vel vt alibi legitur os super caput eius ponens et linguam super calcaneum porrigens eam protinus deglutiuit. Sed dum eam absorbere vellet signo crucis se muniuit. Et ideo draco virtute crucis crepuit et virgo illesa exiuit. Istud autem quod dicitur de draconis deuoratione et ipsius crepatione apocrifum et friuolum reputatur.”

II.

Acta SS. Boll., Jul. 20, p. 31.

“Et ecce subito de angulo carceris exivit draco horribilis, totus variis coloribus deauratus. Capilli ejus et barba aurea; et videbantur dentes ejus ferrei: oculi ejus velut margaritæ splendebant, et de naribus ejus ignis et fumus exibat: lingua illius anhelabat: super collum ejus erat serpens: gladius candens in manu ejus videbatur: et fætorem faciebat in carcere. Traxit se in medium carceris, et sibilabat fortiter: et factum est lumen in carcere ab igne, qui exibat de ore draconis
draco ore aperto posuit os suum super caput ejus, et linguam suam porrexit super calcaneum ejus, et suspirans deglutivit eam in ventrem suum: sed crux Christi quam sibi fecerat beata Margarita, crevit in ore draconis, et in duas partes eum divisit. Beata autem Margarita exivit de utero draconis, nullum dolorem in se habens.”

III.

Acta SS. Boll., Jul. 20, p. 37.

“Hæc et his similia B. Margareta dum mundi Salvatorem laudans exoraret, ecce, caput nequitiae cum mille nocendi artibus, variis machinationibus atque phantasticis præstigiis illam terrificare aggressus est. Quippe in draconis specie apparens, se in diversas formas transtulit, atque ex ore simul et naribus ignem teterrimum evomens, Dei famulam vorare nitebatur. Sancta autem Virgo istiusmodi phantasmata cernens,

ad solita orationis arma cucurrit, signumque sanctæ crucis contra hostem depingens, his verbis auxilium deposcebat.” (Then follows her prayer.) “Ad hanc igitur vocem antiquus coluber confusus recessit, nihilque mali contra Virginem exercere valuit.” Soon, however, he appeared again in various forms, and each time he was repelled.

IV.

Breviarum De Camera Secundum Consuetudinem Romane Curie.

No date or place. Fo. 343v.

“Antiquus vero hostis in specie draconis quasi devoraturus eam aggreditur: sed signo crucis appposito evanescit.”

V.

Brev. Aberdon. Edinb., 1510; reprinted 1854. P.E. Sanctorale, fo. xxxvjv.

“Et surgens ab oratione vidit draconem terribilem eam faucibus absorbere volentem: sed signo crucis appposito, draco crepuit medius.”

VI.

Brev. Sarum, 1531. Cambridge ed., 1886. Sanctorale col. 506.

“Surgens ergo ab oratione draconem terrificum conspexit; qui erecto capite, rictu faucium aperto, sybilis terribilibus et squamarum stridoribus maximum metum virgini incussit. Cumque jam pæne ab ipsis beluæ hyatibus patentibus absorbere-
tur: vexillo Dominicæ crucis appposito, serpens squalidus crepuit medius.”

KILTON CASTLE.¹

BY WILLIAM M. T'ANSON.

THE Kilton Beck, which flows into the North Sea at Skinningrove, rises some five or six miles inland, in a wild and lonely region of moorland 800 to 900 feet above sea level, and taking, with many windings, a northerly course, and being augmented by the waters of two or three other becks, flows rapidly seawards down a beautiful and picturesque dingle or ravine.

Some four miles from its source, in one of a series of bold and graceful curves, it sweeps round the foot of a precipitous headland projecting outwards some 180 feet above the beck on the left or western side of the ravine. On the summit of this narrow ridge, which seems specially designed by nature for the site of a small mediæval fortress, Pagan Fitz-Walter, the second holder of what subsequently became known as the Fief of Kilton in the Barony of Percy, founded, in the reign of King Stephen, the little-known castle of Kilton.

The promontory on which the castle stands is some 300 feet above sea-level; to the west the ground rises very gently until some 700 yards from the castle it attains a height of about 360 feet; on the north the sides of the promontory fall steeply; and on the east and south precipitously towards the beck 180 feet below, and perhaps ninety yards distant. The ravine, into which the promontory thus boldly projects, is very narrow; at one point near the castle it is under 300 yards in total width from side to side.

Opposite the promontory, but at a distance beyond the effective range of artillery of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the ground rises to greater heights.

¹The writer desires to thank Lord Scarbrough, the present representative of the ancient lords of Kilton; the Rev. Canon Greenwell, of Durham; the Rev. Dr. Hodgson, of Witton-le-Wear; and Mr. Edward Wooler, F.S.A., of Darlington, for kind advice and assistance in the preparation of this paper; and Mr. W. H. A. Wharton, the owner of the ruin, for access to it at all times. He is also indirectly indebted to various books in his possession, including Mr. J. G. Clark's *Mediæval Fortress Archi-*

tecture, Mr. J. H. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Sir J. Mackenzie's *The Castles of England*, the Percy Chartulary, and to recent works by Mrs. E. Armitage, Mr. Alfred Harvey, and Mr. Charles H. Ashdown, and especially to the admirable Chartulary of Guisborough Priory for valuable hints utilised in the putting together of this paper. A personal acquaintance with some 120 castles of various dates in England, Wales, France, Scotland, and Ireland has also been of great use to the writer.

Right opposite the castle, across the ravine, and less than 200 yards distant, picturesque rocks tower above the beck, and are some fifty feet higher than the promontory on which the castle stands. Immediately behind these rocks the ground rises until at a point some 300 yards from the ruin it attains a height of some 400 feet.

The view from the eastern end of the castle is a very beautiful combination of wood and moorland scenery. Southward winds the deep well-wooded ravine; beyond the purple moorlands in long smooth billows rise to a height of 900 feet, with the curious conical mound of Freebrough conspicuous in the foreground. A few scattered moorside farmsteads are the only signs of human habitation.

The situation of the castle is wonderfully picturesque. Even now, ruined as it is, when the trees are leafless and a comprehensive view may be obtained, the long northern front is singularly imposing, and it requires but little imagination to realise how impressive in its gloomy grandeur must have been this long stately façade when complete.

No history of this picturesque but little-known ruin, perched on its rocky promontory in one of the wildest of the many beautiful Cleveland ravines " 'twixt the heather and the Northern Sea," has hitherto been written. So little, indeed, is generally known of the castle, that Mr. Alfred Harvey, in the appendix of his "Castles and Walled Towns of England," includes it among the ruins where no masonry now exists.

During the last few years the writer has collected a mass of interesting information respecting the history of the occupiers of the castle, the greater part of which, owing to lack of space, it is impossible to put on record in the compass of such an article as the present one.

The accounts given of the castle by the three Cleveland historians—Graves, writing in 1808; Ord, writing in 1846; and Atkinson, writing in 1875—are of little or no value either from an historical or archæological point of view. The two former state that it was built by Robert de Brus in the reign of Stephen, and that it descended to Marmaduke de Thweng on the Brus partition of 1271. Both statements are quite inaccurate.

Atkinson makes no attempt to give a history of the fortalice, but points out that as the Thwengs were undoubtedly in possession of the castle and fief as far back as 1257, "holding them

indisputably of a de Percy," they could not, as Graves and Ord state, have descended to the Thwengs from the Brus family.

The descriptions given by these historians of the ruins are only interesting in that they would all tend to prove that apart from natural decay, the ruins have been for over a century in pretty much the same condition as that in which we see them to-day.

Unfortunately, however, Messrs. Bell Brothers, Ltd.—the mining lessees of Mr. W. H. A. Wharton, of Skelton Castle, the owner of Kilton—are now working the ironstone beneath the castle, and it is probable that within the next few years the damage done to the ruin will far exceed in magnitude anything that has occurred within the last two centuries. It may be taken for granted that every reasonable effort will be made by the owner to preserve the ruins as they now exist; but the effects of mining operations on a building constructed on a promontory such as that on which the remains of the castle stand are almost certain to be disastrous.

It is this fact which has induced the Yorkshire Archæological Society to place on record in its *Journal* the history and description of the castle, together with appropriate photographic views.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE FIEF OF KYLTON.

William de Percy, first feudal baron of the most historic of our great English houses, "the founder of a great name, whose genuine bearers soon passed away," says Freeman (iv, p. 297), "but which has been, like that of the Cæsars, artificially handed on to later times," was one of the smaller tenants-in-capite in Cleveland at the time of the Survey.

Alan de Percy, second feudal baron, received considerable additions to the Percy estates in Cleveland, partly out of royal property, partly by grant from the Earl of Chester, but principally from lands which had belonged to the unfortunate Earl of Mortain. The augmentation of the Percy estates in Cleveland led Alan to found, apparently about 1106, what subsequently became known as the Fief of Kilton in the Barony of Percy.

This fief Alan granted in subinfeudation to a certain Walter, who, if not actually a member of the Percy family, was probably closely allied to them.¹

¹ William de Percy, first feudal baron, the founder of the abbey of Saint Hilda, at Whitby, died 1096, and was buried at Monsgaudium, in the Holy Land. He

appears to have been accompanied to England by two brothers, Serlo, first Prior of Whitby, and William (?), the father of William de Percy, first Abbot

The fief was divided into three portions, viz.:—(1) The Fief of Kilton proper; (2) the Lordship of Hinderwell; (3) the Kirkleatham property.

THE FIEF OF KILTON PROPER contained the two manors of Kilton, the two manors of Torp or Kilton Thorpe, the manor of Little Moorholm, and the soke of South Lofthouse.

THE CAPITAL MANOR OF KILTON is thus described in the Survey:—

Terra Regis. Nort Reding. Langeberg Wapent. Manerium. In Chilton Turchil iii carucatas terre ad geldum. Ibi viii acre prati.

This manor was given to Alan de Percy by Henry I about 1104, when the King also gave him the Mortain manor of Kilton.

THE MORTAIN MANOR OF KILTON is thus described in the Survey:—

Terra Comitis Moritoniensis. In Chilton ad geldum i carucata et dimidia caruca potest arare. Ibi Vctred habuit i manerium. Nunc habet Comes Robertus et wastum est.

What were the original boundaries of these two ancient manors is now quite uncertain. At a very early date, probably about 1135, a mill was built on the site of the present Kilton Mill, and is mentioned in the Inquests p. m. of the Thweng lords.

THE ROYAL MANOR OF TORP (Kilton Thorp) was granted to Alan de Percy by the King at the same time as the royal manor of Kilton, and is thus described in the Survey, viz.:—

Terra Regis. Manerium. In Torp Turchil ii carucatas terre et dimidiam ad geldum. Terra ad i carucam.

THE MORTAIN MANOR OF TORP¹ (Kilton Thorp) is thus described in the Survey:—

of Whitby. William de Percy I had issue, by his wife Emma de Porte, four sons—Alan, second feudal baron, the founder of the Kilton fief (*obit circa* 1131), Walter, Richard, lord of Dunsley, and William, a monk (see the Percy pedigree, given p. 682–683 note, *Cartularium Abbathe de Whiteby*, vol. 2). It seems improbable that Walter, the first holder of what subsequently became known as the fief of Kilton, in the barony of Percy, was the second son of William de Percy I, for had this been the case he would, almost certainly have retained the family name. If

related to the Percies, and it seems improbable that he would have received so comparatively large a fief had this not been the case, he may have been an illegitimate son of William de Percy I.

¹ Sometime about 1216, de Mauley, Baron of Mulgrave, the principal adherent in Cleveland of King John against the baronial party, seems to have compelled Alta Ripa, then lord of the Kilton fief, to give him the Mortain manor of Thorp, containing 1½ carucates of land. How this came about there is nothing to show; but that it did occur is certain, and this small manor was, previous to

Terra Comitis Moritoniensis. In Torp ad geldum i carucata et dimidia et i caruca potest esse. Ibi habuit Vctred i manerium. Nunc habet Comes et wastum est.

These four small manors comprised the present township of Kilton (1,723 acres), and aggregated eight carucates, giving an average of about 215 acres per carucate. Of the ancient boundaries of the four manors it is impossible to say anything definitely.

THE MORTAIN MANOR OF LITTLE MOORSOM is thus described in the Survey:—

“Terra Comitis Moritoniensis. In Alia Morehusum ad geldum i carucata et dimidia caruca potest arare. Ibi Vctred habuit i manerium. Nunc habet Ricardus (de Surdeval) de Comite et wastum est. Totam dimidiam leucam longum et ii quarantenas latum.”

This small manor was granted by one of the early lords of Kilton in subinfeudation to a family who took their name from the place, and were known as the de Alia Moresums. Their residence stood on the site now occupied by the house known as Little Moorsholm Farm. This family were benefactors, with the consent of their over-lords, to the Priory of Guisborough and the hospital of Hutton.

The manor was of no great value. *“Est apud Lyttel Moresom unum messuagium,”* *i.e.* the farmstead of the Alia Moresoms, *“et una carucata terrae debilis et morosae”*—the moors seem to have extended further southwards than they do to-day—*“continens lx acras de quibus duae partes possunt quoet anno seminari cum utroque semine precium acre iid et tertia pars inde jacet quolibet anno in warecto et pastura inde nichil valet quia jacet in communi.”* (Inq. p. m. Wm. de Thweng, 1341.)

This is interesting, as showing the method of cultivation adopted.

THE CHESTER SOKE OF SOUTH LOFTUS.—A considerable portion of the lordship of Lothusum (Lofthouse) was granted, soon after the Survey, by the then owner, the Earl of Chester, to William de Percy, and the soke of South Lofthouse, which from the Percy feodary appears to have contained six carucates of land, was, at an early date, incorporated in the fief of Kilton.

1230, subinfeuded by the Mauleys to a junior branch of the Nevill family, and was never regained by the lords of Kilton. In Kirkby's Inquest, Ranulph

de Nevill is named as holding certain lands in Wilton, Lackenby, Kilton Thorp, and Ellerby under Peter de Mauley, Baron of Mulgrave.

The Kilton fief proper, therefore, consisted in all of six manors, five lying on the west and one on the east side of the Kilton beck, and aggregating in all fifteen carucates of land.

THE LORDSHIP OF HINDERWELL.—This lordship extended over some 4,684 acres, and comprised the whole of the present parish of Hinderwell-cum-Roxby (4,905 acres), with the exception of the berewic of Bergebi, consisting of one carucate. In addition, the soke of Boulby, which had originally formed part of the Earl of Chester's lordship of Lofthouse, and which had, soon after the Survey, been given by him to William de Percy, was included in the Hinderwell lordship, bringing the total area up to some 5,200 acres.

Various portions of this extensive lordship were, at an early date, granted by the lords of Kilton in subinfeudation to different families.

According to Kirkby's Inquest (1284), the heirs of Robert de Seton held the manor of Hinderwell, Adam de Seton the manor of Seaton, and Wm. de Bovington that of Roxby, all under the Thwengs, whilst the families of Wyrkfauke and Dalehaus are mentioned in the Inq. p. m. of Thomas de Thweng (48 Edward III) as holding lands in the lordship under the barons of Kilton.¹

When, about 1106, Walter came into possession of the Hinderwell lordship, there were two churches upon the property, one at Seaton and the other, in ruins, at Hinderwell.

The Seaton church stood about a quarter of a mile east of Seaton Hall, and on its site three stone coffins and human bones were found some fifty years ago, one of the former bearing interlaced Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The church was probably abandoned about 1140, and allowed to go to ruin.

The Hinderwell church stood on the site of the modern cemetery of Hinderwell, the supposed dimensions of the consecrated ground attached to it being now marked out by stones

¹ The Wyrkfaukes were settled in the parish of Hinderwell at an early date, probably so soon as 1120, as feudatories of the de Kyltons. The name is spelt in different ways; Wyrkfauk, Wirfauc, Wirfald, Wirfaud, etc.; and they were still resident in the parish in 1662, when the name is spelt Worfolk. In the Inq. p. m. Thomae de Thweng (48 Edward III), Roger de Wyrkfauk is mentioned as holding lands in Hinderwell under the lords of Kilton. Wm. Wirfaud gave half a carucate of land with a house at Hinderwell (Charter No. 426, *Cart. Abbat. de Whiteby*), and

two bovates of land in the same place (*Ibid.*, No. 429) to Whitby Abbey, "concedente filio meo Willelmo." This son William gave 4 perches square of meadow in Gildhustofts between Ellerby and Hinderwell to the Abbey (*Ibid.*, No. 100), and his son Osbert Wirfauc gave half a carucate of land in Hinderwell to the same house (*Ibid.*, No. 428). William of Ochetun, another feudatory of the de Kyltons in Hinderwell, gave a toft in that place to provide for a light before the altar at Whitby Abbey (*Ibid.*, No. 227).

at the angles. It was in ruins when Walter came into possession of the property.

Historical inferences would seem to point to the fact that Walter resided at Vctred's manor-house of Seaton, which had probably been rebuilt or repaired by Sir Richard de Surdeval, who, previous to 1104, held the manor of Seaton under the Earl of Mortain. The house almost certainly stood on the site of the present farmstead known as Seaton Hall, and subsequently became the residence of a junior branch of the de Kyltons of Kilton, who assumed the name of de Seton from that of their residence, and who held considerable property in the lordship of Hinderwell as feudatories of the de Kyltons and their successors, the de Thwengs.

The lordship of Hinderwell comprised the manors of Hinderwell, Seaton, and Roxby, and the sokes of Boulby, Arnodestorp, Roxby, Hinderwell, and Rescheltorp.

THE PERCY MANOR OF HINDERWELL is thus described in the Survey:—

“Terra Willelmi de Perci. Manerium. In Hildreuelle habuit Norman iiii carucatas terre et vi bouates ad geldum. Ubi possunt esse ii caruce et dimidia. Willelmus habet et wastum est. Prati acre xiii. T.R.E. ualebat xx solidos. Soca. In Arnodestorp est soca pertinens ad Hildreuelle x bouatarum terre ad geldum et i caruca potest ibi esse.

THE MORTAIN MANOR OF SEATON is thus described in the Survey:—

“Terra Comitris Moritoniensis. In Scetun ad geldum iii carucate et ii (caruce) possunt esse. Ibi habuit Vctred i manerium. Nunc habet Ricardus (de Surdeval) de Comite (Moritoniensis). In dominio i caracata et vi villani cum ii carucis et dimidia ecclesia. Totum manerium i leucam longum et dimidiam latum. T.R.E. x solidos ualebat. Modo similiter. Ad hoc manerium iacet soca in Roscebi ii carucatarum ad geldum et ii caruca possunt esse. Silua pastilis i leucam longa et iiii quarantenas lata. Totum Roscebi ii leucas longum et dimidiam leucam latum. Vctred tenet.”

THE CHESTER SOKES.—The Earl of Chester, at the time of the Survey, held two sokes in the present parish of Hinderwell belonging to his lordship of Lofthouse. These, soon after 1087, were granted by him to William de Percy first, and were incorporated in the original fief of Kilton. They are thus described in the Survey:—

“Terra Comit̃s Hugonis (Cestrenisi). Hinderwell. Ad hoc manerium (Lochusum) pertinet soca hec Roscheltorp (i carucate) Hildreuelle (x bouatarum) Bollebi (ii carucatarum).”

The last-mentioned was not in the parish of Hinderwell, but formed part of the new lordship.

THE ROYAL MANOR OF ROXBY. — When Henry I gave Alan de Percy the Mortain lands in Hinderwell, he also gave him the small royal manor of Roxby, which was then incorporated in the Kilton fief, and is thus described in the Survey :—

“Terra Regis. Manerium. In Roxebi. Norman i carucatam terre. Terra ad i carucam.”

The lordship of Hinderwell aggregated 14 carucates and 4 bovates of land, and was the largest portion of the fief.

THE KIRKLEATHAM PROPERTY.—The lords of Kilton held about one-third of the parish of Kirkleatham, the remaining two-thirds being subsequently owned by the Priory of Guisborough. They were, however, patrons of the parish church.

THE PERCY MANOR OF WESTLIDE (Kirkleatham) is thus described in the Survey :—

“Terra Willelmi de Perci. Manerium. In Westlide habuit Norman iiii carucatas terre ad geldum. Ubi possunt esse ii caruce. Nunc habet Willelmus. Ibi i sochmannum et vii bordarios cum i caruca. Ibi presbiter et ecclesia et vi acre prati. T.R.E. ualebat x solidos. Modo v solidos et iiii danarios.”

THE CHESTER SOKE OF WESTLIDE (Kirkleatham).—Attached to the Earl of Chester's manor of Lofthouse was a soke in the parish of Kirkleatham, where the town of Coatham now stands. It was given by the Earl to William de Percy, and incorporated in the fief of Kilton. It consisted of two carucates.

All guide-books dealing with Cleveland, including works with a general circulation, such as Bulmer's *North Yorkshire*, accept as gospel, without any inquiry, the ludicrous and utterly inaccurate statements of the history of Kilton Castle contained in Graves' and Ord's *Histories of Cleveland*. But the task of compiling a really valuable history of any district is one that cannot be undertaken by one man, and would need the combined efforts of half a dozen specialists on various periods.

“Kilton Castle,” records the ordinary guide-book, “was built by Robert de Brus in the reign of Stephen, and descended by marriage to the Thwengs.” “This manor was granted by

the Conqueror to Robert de Brus, and descended by marriage to the Thwengs," etc. The Percy Feodary, the Guisborough Chartulary, and other historical documentary evidence all disprove the first statement, showing clearly that all the manors just mentioned as comprising the ancient fief of Kilton, were held from the time of the foundation of the fief in the reign of the first Henry to its seizure by the Crown in that of the eighth Henry, by knight service as part of the barony of Percy. The second statement is disproved not only by the detailed account of the Brus property given in the Inq. p. m. of the last lord of that name, but by the Domesday Survey itself.

Even Atkinson, the author of what, although unfortunately incomplete, is undoubtedly by far the best historical work yet written on Cleveland generally, confesses ignorance of the early history of both castle and fief, but proves, from the Percy Chartulary, the absurdity of Graves' and Ord's statements on this point. Unfortunately, the ordinary writer, to whom the work of compiling directories and guide-books appears to fall, is more apt to copy from the somewhat picturesque but inaccurate Ord than from the more prosaic but more careful Atkinson.

The task of putting on record, for the first time, a genuine history of the castle, has been greatly lightened by the admirable Chartulary of Guisborough Priory, published by the Surtees Society.

KILTON UNDER THE DE KYLTONS.

The newly-founded fief of Kilton was granted by Alan, second feudal Baron de Percy, to a certain Walter, to be held by knight service. Of Walter we know nothing whatever.

PAGAN FITZ-WALTER, the second holder of the fief, married a daughter of Robert Fossard, feudal baron of Mulgrave, who bore the arms Sable, a bend or. Pagan's brother-in-law, William Fossard, was one of the chief commanders of the Anglo-Norman army at the famous Battle of the Standard. His son William left a daughter and heiress, Joanna, who married Robert de Turnham, who, in turn, left a daughter and heiress, who married Peter de Mauley I.¹

¹ "Nigellus Fossard tenuit manerium de Doncastre in Com. Ebor. tempore Guillelmi Conquestoris, cujus consanguinea et haeres, Joanna—viz.: filia Guilelmi, filii Guilelmi, filii Roberti, filii dicti Nigelli—nupta fuit Roberto

de Thorneham per Ricardum primum; cujus Roberti filia et haeres, Isabella, nupta fuit Petro de Malo Lacu, qui habuit, etc." (*Ex placitis Coronae*, No. 7, Edward I, Term. Trin., Rot. 28, Ebor.).

The old Saxon church of Saint Hilda on Pagan's manor of Hinderwell being in ruins, he built a new church some little distance south-east of the original edifice. Pagan's church appears to have been a substantial building, 61 feet long, a remarkably fine Norman arch separating nave and chancel. In April, 1773, this interesting edifice was wantonly destroyed, gunpowder being necessary to effect the outrage, and the present uninteresting church erected on its site.¹

Pagan, however, is principally noted as being the founder of Kilton Castle.

The original capital of the fief was probably at Seaton, but the intestinal warfare and utter anarchy which prevailed at this time appear to have led Pagan to abandon his father's manor-house, and to select for the site of a new residence the promontory already described as existing on his manor of Kilton. Here, between 1135 and 1140, he founded the castle of Kilton, which subsequently gave name not only to the fief but to the family who held it.

Pagan probably felled the trees within bow-shot of the promontory, roughly hewing them into shape for the erection of the palisade. He then enclosed the summit of the ridge by a strong stockade of vertical-pointed beams driven well into the ground and firmly strengthened behind. The eastern and southern façades were effectually guarded by their precipitous slopes; on the north, where the ground fell away steeply but not actually precipitously, the palisading would be probably from 20 to 25 feet in height and of great strength; on the west a great ditch or fosse was carried right across the neck of the promontory until it merged into the ravine on either side, completely cutting it off from the adjacent ground.

As bearing upon the subsequent reconstruction of the castle by Sir William de Kylton, it is important to notice that the usual "Motte," or artificial mound, is conspicuous by its absence. Probably Pagan considered that the great natural strength of the site made the formation of a "Motte" unnecessary. There is practically no doubt that the "palace," *i.e.* the hall, kitchen, private apartments, etc., was situate at the eastern end of the promontory, the stabling, outhouses, etc., at the western end.

¹ It would appear that Pagan's brother-in-law, William Fossard, may have had some share in the erection of the Norman church at Hinderwell, for the patronage seems to have been held jointly by the lords of Kilton and Mulgrave. In 1246, the de Setons of Seaton

Hall—a junior branch of the de Kyltons—claimed the Kilton half of the advowson as male heirs to Pagan, but the claim would not appear to have been successful (*Pedes Finium Ebor.*, 25–30 Henry III, No. 246).

The site was one which could easily and economically be made practically impregnable, and a castle such as that founded by Pagan could be erected in a very short time. For instance, it is recorded that the erection on Baile Hill, at York, of such a castle by William the Conqueror occupied only eight days. Probably nearly all the so-called "adulterine" castles, variously estimated at from 700 to 1,000 in number, hastily run up in the reign of Stephen, were after the style of Pagan's castle of Kilton.

Pagan had issue five sons, Walter, Osbert, Galfridus, Adam, and Richard, and two daughters, Helya and Matilda (*Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, Nos. 865 and 866, vol. ii, p. 147). He was probably buried at Hinderwell in the church he had built.

WALTER FITZ-PAGAN, third holder of the Kilton fief, Pagan's eldest son and heir, does not appear to have held the fief for any great length of time. He gave a bovate of land at Kilton to the Priory of Guisborough (*Ibid.*, No. 868, vol. ii, p. 149). He was succeeded by his brother,—

OSBERT DE KYLTON, fourth holder of the fief, who was the first to assume the surname of de Kylton. He bore the arms Azure, a cross patee or. These arms were subsequently borne by Sir Simon Warde, High Sheriff of Yorkshire in the time of Edward II. There does not appear to have been any connection between the families of Kylton and Warde, but the former family was extinct by the time of Edward II. In 1875, a seal of this Osbert, showing the family arms, and bearing the inscription, "Sigillum Osberti de Kiltune," was in the possession of a Mr. Corner, wine merchant, of Whitby.

The natural strength of the castle would be so great that Osbert would probably be in no great hurry to replace his father's palisading by permanent walling. But the substitution of masonry for perishable stockading was a natural and logical sequence, and would take place gradually, yet within a comparatively short period of the foundation of the fortalice.

It may be that by 1160 Osbert had rudely walled in the entire promontory, the stones used being poor and small, and the workmanship indifferent. Roughly speaking, this walling would occupy the lines of the original stockading. The theory of masonry foundations was, however, so little understood at this time, and the sides of the promontory were so steep that it was probably found necessary, even previous to the commence

ment of the reconstruction in 1190 by Sir William de Kylton, to rebuild, or at any rate strengthen, this walling. But Osbert was quite content, in all probability, to reside in the wooden "palace" erected by his father, merely replacing the timber curtain by one of masonry.

He gave two oxgangs and a toft in Kirkleatham and two bovates of land at Kilton to the Priory (*Ibid.*, No. 865, vol. ii, p. 147). He married a daughter, name unknown, of Conan Fitz-Henry, a feudatory of the Earl of Richmond, who bore the arms Argent, a cross engrailed gules (*Roll of Arms, temp. Edward III*, ed. Nicholas). He died about 1170, and was buried in the west end of the north aisle of the chancel of Guisborough Priory, and a permanent memorial, which evidently survived the destruction of the Priory Church by fire in June, 1289, appears to have been erected over his grave.

Leaving no issue, he was succeeded by his brother,—

ADAM DE KYLTON, the fifth holder of the fief. He confirmed Osbert's gifts to the Priory (*Cart. Prior. de Gyseburne*, No. 866), and married a daughter of William de Tameton, the Seneschal to Peter de Brus, who bore the arms Sable, a lion rampant or, and who was related to the famous Mowbray family.

He was succeeded by his son,—

SIR ILGERUS DE KYLTON, the sixth holder of the fief, who gave, with the consent of William, his eldest son and heir, two oxgangs of land in Kirkleatham to the Priory of Guisborough (*Ibid.*, No. 771). He married a daughter of Alan de Wilton,¹ and had issue five sons—William, Adam, Osbert, Ralph, and Richard (*Ibid.*, Nos. 745–747, 865, and 866). He died about 1186, and was probably interred in Kirkleatham Church.

SIR WILLIAM DE KYLTON, seventh holder of the fief, was the most famous of the de Kyltons, and practically the builder of the castle, the remains of which we see to-day.

Under the iron rule of the second Henry, special licences to build castles, or to add to the defences of existing structures, had to be obtained. When, however, Richard I came to the throne, in order to raise money for his expedition to the Holy Land, he granted these licences with reckless indifference, and when he had departed many were built or strengthened without the formality of obtaining any licence at all. Kilton was one of these castles.

¹ Alan de Wilton was a man of some note in his time, and died about 1219.

In 1190, it was merely a more or less strongly-walled enclosure, without rectangular, shell, or Juliet keep, and with a "palace" constructed of timber. Consequently, William was not hampered by important existing buildings of a permanent character. He, therefore, in his reconstruction, merely made the best use of the natural features of the site, not strictly following any of the former principles of castellation. But the structure he erected may be considered a fair example of the earlier class of castles of the Enceintric or Keepless type, the predecessors of the magnificent Concentric, or, as they are commonly called, Edwardian fortresses. So far as the writer is aware, and he has visited every castle between the Trent and the Tweed, Kilton is the earliest example in the north of England of a castle of the Enceintric type, just as the neighbouring castle of Danby is the earliest example of the fortress-palace type. Both the magnificent Norman castle of Newark-on-Trent and the formidable fortress of Cockermouth are keepless, but they cannot be classed as Enceintric, as they are devoid of the bold flanking towers which are the main feature of this class, whilst Alnwick, another Norman castle, which possesses flanking towers of the drum variety, is really a fortress of the shell-keep type.

The main characteristic of the Enceintric type was that the keep was abandoned altogether, or, as in some of the earliest examples, retained in the Juliet form, but relegated to the position of being the largest of the flanking mural towers; and this new class of fortress depended for its defence on a lofty and massive wall of enceinte completely enfiladed, where necessary, by projecting apsidal, cylindrical, or three-quarter round towers of bold external but little internal projection.

This particular type of castle can only properly be studied in Wales or on the Welsh border, where the earliest and finest examples are to be found. Carreg Cennan, standing on a terrific precipice with a drop of some 500 feet, perhaps the most picturesque castle in the world. Caergwrle, Chirk, Carew, Castroggy, Grosmont, Pencoed, Llanfair, the beautiful castle of Manorbier, and the gloomy, grim, gaunt Whitecastle, are well-known examples.

Sir William reconstructed the whole of Kilton with the exception of the extreme western end. He appears to have commenced operations at the eastern end, rebuilding the private apartments there, or rather replacing the timber rooms by permanent structures of masonry. There was probably a small Norman

tower at the north-east angle; this he replaced by a very fine apsidal Early English tower, which is now the most interesting portion of the ruins. About the same time he erected a large rectangular mural tower, approximating in shape to a rectangular keep, in the centre of the northern façade. In a later or more perfect example of the Enceintric castle, the latter tower would probably have been apsidal or cylindrical, and not rectangular in shape. The north-east tower is set at an angle to the other portions of the eastern façade, which may have been caused by the presence at this angle of more permanent structures than at any other part of the fortalice. The whole of this work was apparently done between 1190 and 1200, and a chantry chapel, dedicated to Saint Peter, appears to have been erected along the northern curtain between the north-east tower and the northern rectangular tower, which is described in the charters referring to it (*Cart. Prior. de Gyseburne*, Nos. 778, 779, and 867) as being "infra castellum de Kylton."

Barely was this work finished when the danger of having the west wall of the rectangular tower, which contained a well stair, outside the walls of the enceinte was evidently realised. These well stairs had been proved to be the most vulnerable parts of a tower, consequently the northern curtain west of the tower was rebuilt and thrown boldly outwards, probably about 1205, in order to bring the west wall of the tower within the walls of the enceinte. That this was an after-thought is shown by the fact that the wall does not bond in with the tower. A little later a doorway was made into the basement chamber of the northern rectangular tower which, perhaps, was hardly an advisable thing to do. About the same time, possibly *circa* 1210, the northern curtain between the north-east and the rectangular tower was strengthened, and a small apsidal tower built a short distance east of the rectangular tower. The greater part of the northern curtain was now thoroughly enfilded in the approved Enceintric style.

As a very steep precipice fell away from the foot of the southern curtain just as it does at Carreg Cennen, the south-east tower was omitted as at Carreg Cennen, whilst at the south-west angle there was merely a solid angle buttress and not a tower, precisely as at Carreg Cennen.

Probably just before his death, Sir William constructed the ward outside the promontory to protect the entrance, this ward being defended by light walls of masonry and by an elaborate system of fosses, moats, and earthworks.

Had the portion of the castle mentioned as remaining unaltered at the extreme western end been rebuilt in keeping with the remainder of the new structure, as Sir William doubtless intended, we should have had at Kilton a castle very closely approximating to the accepted type of fortress of the earlier Enceintric class.

But Sir Richard de Alta Ripa, Sir William's successor, immediately upon his accession, would appear to have become involved in a feud with Peter de Malo Lacu, or de Mauley, Baron of Mulgrave, the chief adherent in this part of Yorkshire of King John. He may have found this particular portion of the fortalice already pulled down with a view to its reconstruction, and instead of rebuilding it of new and excellent material to match the remainder of the structure, he apparently, in a very hurried way, put it together again, using up the old materials in this rebuilding. He constructed a large block of buildings, probably used as barracks and stabling, on the site of the original Norman stabling at this point. This work was probably done about 1214.

It is somewhat extraordinary that subsequent lords of the castle did not finish the work begun by Sir William, and that the Thwengs—admittedly powerful and influential barons—did not put the western end of the fortalice into better condition. Probably, however, this large block of buildings was rarely used, and then only by inferior domestics (the basement was probably the castle stabling), so that the owners may have considered it good enough for the purposes to which it was put.

The only alteration made to the castle subsequent to 1214 was the construction, possibly about 1260, of a strong wall running north to south across the enclosure near the large rectangular tower, thus dividing the space into two wards, and the erection of a small inner gate-house tower abutting upon the southern interior wall of the rectangular tower.

It was from Sir William de Kylton that the Prior and Canons of Guisborough extorted the long-coveted grant of the advowson of Kirkleatham Church. More than half the present parish of Kirkleatham was then the property of the Priory, but the patronage of the parish church was in the hands of the de Kyltons. Time after time had the Canons endeavoured to induce the then reigning head of the house to grant them the advowson, but in vain. Of all the de Kyltons, Sir William seems to have been the most susceptible to clerical influence.

A headstrong and dissolute man, he appears to have been subject to violent fits of remorse. His domestic life does not appear to have been a very happy one, and he had no children. His wife was Alice, daughter of Conan Fitz-Henry, of Liverton, who, according to a Roll of Arms, *temp.* Edward III, bore the arms Argent, a cross engrailed gules.¹

Taking advantage of a very serious illness, when Sir William lay apparently on his death-bed, and “fuit in lecto mortali et in tali tempore quo non fuit potens sui,” Laurence, Prior of Gisborough, at length persuaded him to part with the advowson :—

“Willelmus de Kiltona me divinae intuitu Deo etc. cum corpore meo totam Ecclesiam de Lyum cum omnibus pert. suis sine ullo retenemento, in pur. et lib. et perp. elem.” (*Cart. Prior. de Gyseburne*, No. 745).

Usually, for the sake of economy, the Prior waited until a number of gifts had accumulated, and then had them all taken in a batch to receive the royal confirmation. But in this particular case, scarcely had the last witness affixed his signature to the charter, when, regardless of expense, the Sub-Prior was despatched in haste to find the King and obtain his confirmation of the grant of the long-coveted advowson. The King was found at Bristol, and on the 17th September, 1210, he confirmed the gift (*Ibid.*, No. 750).²

But on recovering from his illness, Sir William absolutely repudiated his grant, declaring that it had been extorted from him when, owing to pain and illness, his mind was temporarily

¹ Conan Fitz-Henry, of Liverton, William de Kylton's father-in-law, held the manors of Manfield and Kelfield under the Earl of Richmond, and was the father of Henry Fitz-Conan who, as William's brother-in-law, appears as the first witness to his charter of gift of the advowson of Kirkleatham Church. He was a knight of some distinction.

Henry Fitz-Conan, grandson and heir of Henry Fitz-Conan, succeeded to the family estates in 1299, at the age of 22 years, having been born at Sockburn (*Calendarium Genealogium*, ii, 597). As the holder of the manor of Liverton, he was one of the feudatories of Marmaduke de Thweng I.

² Johannes, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, et Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegraviæ, Archiepiscopus, Episcopus, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Praepositis, et omnibus Balli-

vis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Deo, etc. Ecclesiam de Lyum cum omnibus pert. suis, quam Willelmus de Kilton, patronus ejusdem Ecclesiae, dedit eisdem Can. cum corpore suo, in lib. pur. et perp. elem. Quare volumus et firmiter praecipimus, quod iidem Can. habeant et teneant Ecclesiam cum omnibus pert. suis in perp. bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et plenarie, sicut carta praedicti Willelmi quam inde habent rationabiliter testatur. Testibus. Domino Petro Winton, Episcopo, Willelmo, Comite Sarisburniensi, fratre meo, Willelmo Briwerre, Petro de Bruys, Carino filio Geroldi, Henrico filio Comitum, Willelmo de Cantilupo, Galfrido de Lucy, Galfrido Luterel. Data per manum Ricardi de Marisco apud Bristol, xvii die Septembris, anno regni nostri xii.

unhinged. But just before his death, in 1213, he appears to have twice confirmed the original grant (*Ibid.*, Nos. 746, 747).

He was interred in the north aisle of the chancel of the original Norman Priory Church at Guisborough, and historical inferences would go to prove that the effigy erected over his tomb was still in existence at the time of the Dissolution.

SIR OSBERT DE KYLTON, eighth holder of the fief, only appears to have survived his brother William for a few weeks. By his wife, probably a daughter of Sir Ralph Fitz-Randolph, Knt., of Spennithorne, Richmondshire, who bore the arms, Or, a chief indented azure, he had issue an only daughter and heiress, Matilda, born April, 1200.

On Osbert's death in 1213, the fief reverted to the overlord, de Percy, who at once gave the heiress, then a girl some 12 years of age, in marriage to his relative, Sir Richard de Alta Ripa, Knt.

SIR RICHARD DE ALTA RIPA, who, in right of his wife, became the ninth holder of the fief, was descended from Sir Joceline de Alta Ripa, a nephew of the Joceline de Loraine (son of Godfrey, Duke of Loraine, and Count of Brabant, and brother of Queen Adeliza, second wife of Henry I), who married Agnes, one of the daughters and heiresses of William, third feudal baron de Percy. Josceline of Loraine assumed the name of Percy, but retained his paternal arms, Or, a lion rampant azure. His nephew, Josceline de Alta Ripa, assumed the ancient arms of the Percies, Azure, five fusils in fesse or (*Sussex Archæological Society*, vi [1853], p. 36).

Sir Richard became at once involved in a feud with Peter de Mauley, 1st Baron of Mulgrave and Lord of Doncaster, the chief adherent in this part of Yorkshire of King John. De Mauley, says Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora*, ii, 532), was one of the most evil of the vicious counsellors of King John, and, says Graves (p. 297, *History of Cleveland*), "being much in his (King John's) confidence during the insurrections of the barons, divers of them being made prisoners, were committed to his custody."

De Mauley was a Poictevin, and as a boy attracted the attention of King John, then Prince, who, taking a great fancy to him, persuaded his mother, a widow, to permit the boy to accompany him to England (*Chronicon de Melsa*, i, 105). In 1202, when Peter was about 18 years of age, John gave him certain lands in Normandy (*Rotuli Normanniæ*, 66). Walter of Hemingburgh's assertion (*Ibid.*, i, 232) that Peter was the

actual murderer of Prince Arthur, and that as a reward for this foul deed John gave him the heiress of the barony of Mulgrave as his wife, must be received with reserve. The murder of Prince Arthur took place at Rouen, April 3rd, 1203, and it was not until 1213, or even 1214, that Peter married the heiress, Isabel de Turnham, and he was compelled to pay a very heavy sum for the marriage (*Excerpta è Rot. Finium*, i, 54, states the sum to have been 7,000 marcs). William of Newburgh, a contemporary annalist of repute, who lived in the neighbourhood, makes no reference to any such suspicion, and historical inferences would all tend to disprove Hemingburgh's assertion.

However this may be, de Mauley was undoubtedly a very vicious, violent, and unprincipled man, and as Alta Ripa was a strong supporter of the baronial party, the two neighbours seem to have been constantly at variance.

As it is by no means improbable that Kilton Castle, about 1215-1216, was actually besieged by de Mauley, it can hardly be out of place to briefly mention the methods of attack and defence which would probably be employed.

Owing to the great natural strength of the site, we may take it that no commander would attempt a *coup de main*, unless he were prepared to lose a disproportionately large number of men in the attack. The southern and eastern façades were unapproachable, owing to the precipices guarding them; the northern façade, where the slope was somewhat less steep, was thoroughly enfiladed by boldly projecting mural towers; the western façade, the weakest part of the fortalice, was very short in length, and the besieged could, therefore, mass a number of men at this point, and it was guarded by outworks, an outer ward, and a deep fosse.

In order to attack the castle with any hope of success, siege engines would have to be employed. According to Camden, when King John besieged Bedford Castle he brought into action seven large Trebuchets, one of which was sufficiently large to throw heavy mill-stones into the castle; when the Dauphin lay siege to Berkhamstead, in 1216, eight of these machines were used, and the artificial platforms of earth on which they stood still remain; and when, in 1224, Henry III attacked Bedford, his train of artillery contained two Beffrois and seven Trebuchets.

The Trebuchet was the most formidable engine used in a siege at this time; it weighed from five to ten tons. A wooden arm, sometimes exceeding 40 feet in length, was pivoted into

a substantial timber framework, so that a long and a short portion projected on either side. To the shorter arm a heavy weight, contained in a swinging cradle, was affixed, which, of course, raised the longer arm into the vertical position. When the latter was drawn downwards the weight was raised, and on a sudden release the long arm swept upwards in a curve, and threw the missile, sometimes weighing as much as 2 cwt., hurtling through the air for a distance of 300 yards. Accuracy of aim was, naturally, difficult, otherwise this powerful engine could have done tremendous damage. Even as it was, it was superior as a siege engine to any cannon of the time of the Civil War, and should one of its missiles crash into a "bretasche," it would smash it to pieces, and it could destroy the battlemented parapet of the wall of enceinte.

In addition to the well-known cross-bow, the besiegers would be provided with arbalists, a similar but more powerful weapon, which shot iron-tipped darts; with espringols, weapons throwing with some degree of accuracy gigions or stone balls, and which were actuated by the sudden release of a compressed spring.

The Ram, a heavy beam suspended by chains from the cross-bar of a timber structure, used to batter the walls, could only with difficulty have been brought to the foot of the northern and western curtains at Kilton. The men working it were protected by a pent-house, called the "Snail," which had a roof of heavy beams. To defend the walls against this engine, the besieged would let down sacks filled with straw or wool by chains from the battlements.

The Beffroi, or movable tower, could only with very great difficulty have been used against Kilton, and then only on the north and west sides. It was a tall wooden tower on wheels, of the same or a greater height than the wall against which it was placed. One of these was used at the siege of Bamborough by William Rufus.

The defenders would be well provided with cross-bows, arbalists, and espringols. Wooden platforms, hastily run up, would be placed in suitable positions along the interior of the curtains. The summits of the towers would carry timber galleries or "bretasches," supported in position by heavy wooden beams inserted into holes in the masonry made for that purpose, with sloping roofs resting on the summit of the battlements. These galleries were loopholed for the use of the cross-bow,

contained holes in the floor through which stones, etc., could be dropped on the enemy beneath, and were entered from the battlements of the tower. They were not permanent structures, but were hastily rigged up in case of anticipated attack.

A castle such as Kilton, throughout the whole period of its habitation, would be practically impregnable, provided it were efficiently garrisoned and provisioned, and as the baronial party in this part of Yorkshire was strong enough to compel the royal forces to raise a siege, the attack, if such an attack did take place, on the castle by de Mauley, whether merely a *coup de main* or a properly organised siege, would, in all probability, be unsuccessful.

In 1217, after the death of John, Alta Ripa made his peace with the royal representatives, and his feud with de Mauley came to an end. In the same year, Alice, Sir William's widow, married Sir Robert de Lascell, Knt.,¹ and in the following year brought an action against the new lord of Kilton and his wife with regard to her dower in Kirkleatham (*Coram Rege*, Hen. III, No. 51, M. 9).

The Prior of Guisborough appears to have attempted to obtain a confirmation from Sir Richard de Alta Ripa of William de Kylton's gift of the advowson of Kirkleatham, but met not only with a direct refusal, but with the intimation that so soon as his wife (Matilda de Kylton) came of age, he would contest the validity of the grant.

In April, 1221, Matilda came of age, and she and her husband at once raised the question of the ownership of the advowson, contending that when Sir William made the grant he was of unsound mind (*Cart. Prior. de Gyseburne*, No. 752a).

The Prior denied this, and produced his deeds of gift and King John's confirmation (*Coram Rege*, Hen. III, No. 14, M. 25b).

No decision appears to have been arrived at, and as Sir Richard died in the following year (1222) without issue, the question remained unsettled. Sir Richard was probably interred in the chancel of Kirkleatham Church.

The fief again, for the second time in eight years, reverted to the overlord, and de Percy at once gave the widow and heiress, then under 22 years of age, in marriage to Robert de Thweng, the grandson of one of his knights, Sir Marmaduke de Thweng, Lord of Thwing, in the East Riding.

¹ This Sir Robert de Lascell held a knight's fee in the barony of de Brus, and bore the arms, an eagle displayed in a roundell.

KILTON UNDER THE DE THWENGs.

SIR ROBERT DE THWENG.—Kilton Castle will always be associated with the name of Thweng. Sir Robert, who at the age of 20 became the 10th lord of the Kilton fief in right of his wife, seems to have at first borne the arms, Argent, a fesse gules between three popinjays gules, or “*Scutum album cum fessa rubea et paginibus rubeis*,” as the shield is described by Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Edition, vi, 477. But he afterwards altered the colouring of the parrots, and his descendants have always borne the famous arms, Argent, a fesse gules between three popinjays vert, now borne by his representative, the present Earl of Scarbrough.

Sir Robert was the eldest son and heir of Sir Robert de Thweng, Knt., who held the fief of Lund in the East Riding under the Percy family (by his wife Emma, heiress of Dunekin d’Arel, Lord of Lund, who bore the arms, Azure, a lion rampant or, crowned argent), and the grandson of Sir Marmaduke de Thweng, Lord of Thwing, in the East Riding.

It seems highly probable that the Thwengs, the Fitz-Marmadukes of Horden, co. Durham, and the Lumleys of Lumley, co. Durham, were all descended from Marmaduke, the favourite illegitimate son (often described as the nephew) of Ranulph Flambard, the famous Bishop of Durham and Chancellor of England, favourite of William Rufus. There is a striking similarity in the arms of the three families, and all three held their original lands under the Bishops of Durham, if not directly then from the Percies, who held under the bishops.

The Fitz-Marmadukes, who may be said to have been the hereditary Seneschals of the Prince-Bishops of Durham, bore the arms, Argent, a fess gules bearing three popinjays argent; and although the Lumleys claim an entirely mythical descent from a line of Saxon princes, their original arms, Gules, six popinjays argent, lead one to imagine, especially as parrots are a most unusual bearing, that their descent was the same as that of the Thwengs.

Sir Marmaduke de Thweng, Robert’s grandfather, was probably a son of Sir Marmaduke de Thweng, of Thwing, and his wife one of the original Nevills of Raby,¹ and took a prominent part in the civil wars of the time of John as an ardent sup-

¹ Henry, Lord Nevill of Raby, the last heir male of the original house, died in 1227. His sister and heiress, Isabel, born circa 1180, married, between 1196 and

1200, Robert Fitz Maldred, who assumed the name of Nevill and was the ancestor of the historic house of that name. Her effigy still exists in a niche in the south

porter of the baronial party, but in 1217 made his peace with the royal representatives (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, 274). In 1226, or four years after the marriage of his grandson, he was appointed one of the Justices Itinerant in Yorkshire (*Ibid.*, ii, 138). He died in 1230 at the age of 71, and his son Robert, lord of Lund, having predeceased him, the ancestral estates and also the fief of Lund passed to his grandson Robert, already in right of his wife, lord of Kilton. All three fiefs, aggregating seven knights' fees (*Percy Chartulary*, No. 403, pp. 131-132), were held under the Percies, and the castle of Kilton becoming the capital of the combined fiefs, now entered upon the period of its greatest importance.

Immediately upon coming into possession of Kilton, Robert appealed to the Archbishop of York with reference to the disputed advowson of Kirkleatham. The Archbishop referred him to the Legate, the Legate to the Archbishop, the Archbishop to the Prior of Guisborough, and for some months these princes of the Church played an exasperating game of shuttle-cock with the young lord of Kilton.

Sir Robert possessed a full share of the great bodily strength, the physical beauty, and the wonderful charm of manner which for generations seems to have distinguished his house. "Juvenis elegans et miles strenuus," says Matthew Paris of him (*Chronica Majora*, Rolls Edition, iii, 217). But he was like the rest of his race, hot-tempered and determined, and finding that he could obtain no satisfaction from the Legate, he was at length driven to desperation by the intrusion of a Papal nominee into his advowson of Kirkleatham. Gathering together a picked body of his retainers, and accompanied by several youths of his own age, he played havoc with the property of the Romish clergy who had, against the wishes of lay patrons, been installed in many benefices in the north of England. From Trent to Tweed these usurpers were visited, their houses and barns destroyed, and themselves maltreated. Assuming the nickname of "Will Wither," he grew more daring as time went on, making ceaseless warfare on all connected with the Romish Curia, taking of their superfluity and giving liberally to the poor. When pressed, he would retire to his practically impregnable castle of Kilton, which was filled with rich goods taken from wealthy monastic houses.

aisle at Staindrop (built in 1343 by Ralph, Lord Nevill), to which it was moved on the destruction of the original south transept (Proceedings of the Dur-

ham and Northumberland Society, iii, pp. 64-5, note). The wife of Sir Marmaduke de Thweng was probably an aunt of this Isabel Nevill.

There is no evidence of any value that Robin Hood was ever more than a mere creation of the popular imagination, and it was probably the actions of such a man as the youthful lord of Kilton which led to the creation of this mythical personage. Sir Robert's exploits made him well-known throughout the whole of the north of England. The Legate, annoyed by the failure of his efforts to capture him, at length excommunicated Sir Robert, who at once appealed to the northern nobles.

The Lords Percy, Nevill, Fitz-Randolph, de Vesci, de Mauley, de Menyll, de Roos, and de Brus, with some twenty knights, assembled at Kilton Castle at the request of Sir Robert, who was formally appointed their accredited ambassador to the Pope. This meeting was probably one of the most important and picturesque events in the history of Kilton Castle. Sir Robert, armed with letters from all the leading northern nobles to the Pope, Gregory IX, undertook a journey to Rome, and as a result of an interview with His Holiness, the Papal Legate and the Archbishop of York received strict orders from Rome that in the future they should refrain from any interference with the rights of the lay patrons.¹

So far as the advowson of Kirkleatham was concerned, we learn from *Coram Rege*, Hen. III, No. 35, M. 4, that it was formally restored to Sir Robert and Matilda his wife.²

¹ Canon Atkinson, in his *History of Cleveland* (note on page 266, vol. i), referring to Sir Robert de Thweng, Knt., the eldest son and heir of Marmaduke I, feudal baron of Danby, and the father of the notorious Lucia de Thweng, and the grandson of Sir Robert, the first de Thweng, lord of Kilton, says:—

“Graves, in a note on p. 394 of his *History of Cleveland*, refers to the circumstance that a Robert de Thweng, in the reign of Henry III—this Robert necessarily, then, on that ground as well as others—stirred himself in active opposition to the aggressive conduct, in matters of Church patronage, of the Pope's Legate in England, Cardinal Otho, and eventually went to Rome, obtained an audience of the Pope, and finally letters from His Holiness with instructions to the Archbishop of York and the Legate that for the time to come they should desist from the conduct complained of. From this it would appear that Sir Robert must have been a man of action and influence, and it becomes even more perplexing to account for the fact that so little is heard of him in home or national matters.”

Unfortunately, Canon Atkinson was ignorant of the early history of the Kilton fief, for in his description of the castle

(p. 339, vol. ii) he assigns the year 1257 as the date “at which we first hear of a de Thweng of Kilton,” although the family had been in possession of the fief from 1222. Being ignorant of the very existence of Sir Robert de Thweng, the husband of Matilda de Kilton, he, therefore, assigns the expedition to Rome to his grandson Robert, who was never patron of Kirkleatham Church, as he died during the lifetime of his father. The *Coram Rege*, Henry III, No. 35, M. 4, gives the date of the restoration of the advowson of Kirkleatham to the Thwengs as January, 1229, or some twenty-six years *before* the birth of the Robert to whom Atkinson attributes the journey to Rome.

² In Octabis S. Hillarii, 13 Henry III (Jan. 14–20, 1228–1229), Ebor. Michael, Prior de Giseburne, qui tulit breve de recto de jure advocacionis de Ecclesia de Lium versus Robertum de Tweynge, et Matill' uxorem ejus, venit per attornatum suum, et petit licentiam recedendi de brevi suo, et habet, et concedit praedicto Roberto et Matill' seisinam suam de praesentatione sua ad eandem Ecclesiam. Et ideo Robertus et Matill' habeant breve ad Archiepiscopum Ebor., quod non obstante reclamacione, etc. (*Coram Rege*, Henry III, No. 35, M. 4).

Sir Robert appears to have been the intimate personal friend of Peter, 1st Baron de Mauley of Mulgrave, already mentioned as the enemy of Alta Ripa. In 1233, de Mauley, who had been given the custody of the royal castle of Devizes (Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, M. 31), appointed Robert to the post of constable of this castle, which office he appears to have held for three years, spending, perhaps, three months of the year at Devizes.

Lord Peter de Brus III married Hillaria, eldest daughter of Peter de Mauley I, and had issue five children. According to Dugdale and the Brus pedigree the marriage took place in 1237, when Hillaria would probably be about 20 years of age. The five children were born between that date and October, 1241, when Peter de Brus III died, and was interred in the south aisle of the chancel of Guisborough Priory.

Peter de Mauley the younger, eldest son and heir of Peter de Mauley I, had married a sister of Peter de Brus III, so the two families were very closely connected. In 1241, Peter de Mauley I left England for the Holy Land (*Yorkshire Inquisitions*, i, 12), and the barony of Mulgrave and the lordship of Doncaster passed to his son Peter, who became the second Baron de Mauley.

In 1242, Peter de Mauley II arranged with Sir Robert de Thweng that Marmaduke, Robert's eldest surviving son and heir, then 17 years of age, should marry his niece, Lucia, the second daughter of Peter de Brus III, who, at this time cannot have been more than two or three years of age. The custody of all the children had been given to de Mauley II, who, as the husband of Joan de Brus, was in a double sense the uncle of the orphans. In 1242, Sir Robert gave the whole of the Kilton fief, with the exception of the lordship of Hinderwell and the advowsons of the church of Kirkleatham and of the chapel of St. Peter, "infra castellum de Kilton," to his son Marmaduke to dower Lucia de Brus (*Coram Rege*, Hen. III, No. 7, M. 7). Whether the marriage took place at once, the bride being some three years old, and the bridegroom between 16 and 17, is uncertain; probably it was celebrated a few years later. However this may be, Robert, the eldest child of the marriage, was born and baptised at Kilton Castle in 1255, his mother being then between 15 and 16 years of age. The most probable date of the marriage is 1247, when Marmaduke, on the death of his father, entered into full possession of the whole of the Thweng property.

In 1246, Adam de Seton—a descendant of a younger son of Adam de Kylton, to whom Adam had given, in subinfeudation, the manor of Seaton in the lordship of Hinderwell—appears to have claimed the advowson of the church of St. Hilda, at Hinderwell, as the male representative of Pagan Fitz-Walter (de Kylton). It was finally agreed that after the death of the then incumbent, John de Newark, the presentation should be alternate, Robert presenting the first (*Pedes Finium Ebor.*, 25–30 Hen. III, No. 246).

Sir Robert died at the manor house of Thwing in 1247, at the age of 45, and was interred in the chancel of Thwing Church, where many of his family were buried. He had issue five sons, Robert, who died young; Marmaduke, who succeeded him; Richard, Thomas, and Gawen.

MARMADUKE, 1st feudal Baron de Thweng of Danby, eldest surviving son and heir of Sir Robert de Thweng, was born and baptised at Kilton Castle in 1225. As a boy of sixteen he became lord of the castle and of the Kilton and Kirkleatham portions of the Kilton fief—valued at three knights' fees—and subsequently married Lucia de Brus, second daughter of Peter de Brus III by his wife, Hillaria de Mauley. On his father's death in 1247 he inherited the whole of the Thweng property, which, according to the *Percy Chartulary* (No. 403), was valued at seven knights' fees. "Lund, Thweng, Kilton, Thorpe, Lythum, etc., a tenir par les services de sept feez de chivaler." He was, therefore, a man of considerable importance, holding as much land as many a feudal baron *in capite*, and Kilton, as the capital of these fiefs, was necessarily a well-known castle at this time.

In 1257, he had a grant from King Henry III of free warren in the demesne lands of his manors of Thwing, Lyum, Kylton, Morsum, and Thorp; a market on Thursdays at his manor of Lund, with a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of All Saints (Nov. 1st); a market on Wednesdays at his manor of Thwing, together with a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of the Translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr (July 7th); a market at his manor of Cotum on Wednesdays, together with a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Laurence (August 10th).

By his wife, Lucia de Brus (born 1240), he had issue:—

Robert, eldest son and heir, born at Kilton Castle in 1255.
Marmaduke, afterwards first Parliamentary Baron de Thweng,
born at Kilton Castle, 1256.

Hillaria, eldest daughter, born at Kilton, 1258.

Galivanus, third son, born at Kilton, 1259.

John, fourth son, born at Kilton, 1261.

Edmund, fifth son, born at Kilton, 1263.

Matilda, second daughter, born at Kilton, 1265.

Richard, sixth son, born at Kilton, 1267.

Alicia, third daughter, born at Kilton, 1268.

Peter, seventh son, born at Kilton, 1270.

Johanna, fourth daughter, born at Kilton, 1271.

William, eighth son, born at Castleton, 1273.

Roger, ninth son, born at Castleton, 1274.

Margery, youngest daughter, born at Castleton, 1276.

Margery, named after her aunt, Margery or Margaret de Brus (who married Robert de Roos), became the second wife of Ralph, Lord Nevill of Raby and Middleham, who had married as his first wife Euphemia de Claving. The manor of Faceby in Cleveland had, at the time of the Brus partition, been assigned to Margaret de Roos. On the death of her husband, Margaret was offered, and accepted, a home at Kilton Castle by her brother-in-law, Marmaduke, and she gave him this manor, valued at four-fifths of a knight's fee, on condition that it should form the dower of her niece, Margery. It remained in the possession of the Nevill family until the attainder of John Nevill, Marquis of Montague, *temp.* Edward IV.

"Margery de Thweng," says the Rev. Dr. Hodgson, of Witton-le-Wear, in a letter to the writer, "was buried at Well, where, in Dr. Whitaker's time, an inscription, much worn and mutilated, was to be seen on a black marble slab in the churchyard, which could only be referred to her, and none else (*Richmondshire*, ii, 82). Her effigy, however, still remains at Staindrop, and is a very interesting one, resting on the backs of six detached lions. It appears to have been always in the south aisle, built in 1343 by her step-son, Ralph, Lord Nevill of Nevill's Cross, as a chantry chapel for the souls of his parents, viz. his father, mother, and step-mother. It was no uncommon thing for the body to be buried in one place and to have an effigy in another."

In 1271, Marmaduke's brother-in-law, Peter de Brus IV, the then head of the great baronial house of Brus of Skelton, died without issue, and was interred in the south aisle of the chancel of Guisborough Priory. His barony, consisting of 30½

knights' fees,¹ was divided among his four sisters, viz. Agnes, who had married Sir Walter de Fauconberg, Knt.; Lucia, the wife of Marmaduke; Margery, who had married Robert de Roos; and Laderina, who had married Sir John de Bella Aqua.

WALTER DE FAUCONBERG, who bore the arms, Or, a fesse azure, in chief three pallets gules (Roll of Arms, published in the *Archæologia*, 418), but who subsequently assumed the ancient arms of de Brus, viz. Argent, une lyon rampant d'azure (Roll of Arms, published by Sir Harris Nicolas), received, in right of his wife, the castle of Skelton, the manors of Marske, Redcar, Upleatham, Stanghow, etc., together with half the advowson of the Priory of Guisborough.

ROBERT DE ROOS, who bore the famous arms, Gules, three water bougets argent, received, in right of his wife, Kendal and other property in Westmorland, together with certain estates in Cleveland.

JOHN DE BELLA AQUA, who bore the arms, Sable, a bordeur indented or (Roll of Arms, *temp.* Edward III, published by Sir Harris Nicolas, p. 18), received, in right of his wife, Thorp Arch, Walerton, Carleton in Balne, together with certain lands in Southburn, Eastburn, etc.

MARMADUKE DE THWENG, already in his own right the holder of seven knights' fees in the barony of Percy, received the lordship, castle, and forest of Danby, the manors of Kirkburne and Southburn, in the East Riding (certain reservations in favour of John de Bella Aqua excepted), a quarter of the wreck of the sea between Yarm and Runswick, a mediety of the bailiffy of the wapentake of Langbaurgh, and half the advowson of the Priory of Guisborough. The total possessions, including overlordships such as that of Kildale—held under him by a

¹ The Inq. p. m. of Peter de Brus IV proves that he held 16 fees *in capite*, the following knights holding their lands under him, viz. William and John Mauleverer, three fees; Robert Ingram, three fees; William de Percy, of Kildale, three fees; Roger de Merlas, two fees; William Esturmi, and others, two fees; Robert de Lascelles, one fee; William Loring, half a fee; William de Tocotes, half a fee; whilst Peter de Brus retained in his own hands the lordship of Danby, valued at one knight's fee.

De Brus held two fees under the Constable of Chester, of which Ambrose de Camera and Galfridus Maucovenaunt, of Easington, held one fee, and Robert Nevill the other. Under the Bishop of Durham, de Brus had held a knight's fee

in Herternesse, which had been subinfeuded to a younger branch of the Brus family.

In various other places de Brus had held about 11½ knights' fees, the following persons holding under him, viz. Robert de Buttirmyk, one fee; Robert Fossard, one fee; Richard de Grimiston, one fee; William de Bouington, one fee and half a carucate of land; Roger de Neusam, one fee; William de Boyvill, one fee; Richard Malebisse, half a fee; William de Roscelles, three-quarters of a fee; William Buscell, half a fee; Conanus de Liverton, half a fee; Marmaduke de Thweng, of Kilton, a carucate and a half of land at Great Moorsholm, which holding had descended to him from the de Kyltons, etc. etc.

junior branch of the Percy family—which came to Marmaduke by the Brus partition of 1271, were valued at nine and a half knights' fees ("Haeres Marmaduc. de Thweng, qui est in custodia Domini Regis, tenet VIII feod. milit. et dimid. et Danby pro uno feod. De Domino Rege in capite."—Kirkby's Inquest).

A detailed description of this extensive property hardly comes within the scope of a short article, but it is quite evident that, as the holder of property valued altogether at 16½ knights' fees, Marmaduke was undoubtedly the most powerful and influential baron in Cleveland.¹

Late in 1271, or early in 1272, Marmaduke took up his residence in the old Brus castle on the Danby lordship, giving Kilton to his eldest son, Robert. The reasons for this removal were, perhaps, mainly sentimental, for the Brus castle was probably not superior either as a fortress or a residence to that at Kilton. But whilst at the latter place Marmaduke was merely the most powerful of the Percy feudatories, at Castleton he was a great baron, holding his lands *in capite*. The sporting advantages of the Castleton residence also probably appealed to him, for he seems to have taken little or no interest in public affairs, devoting his time to the management of his extensive estates and to outdoor sports and pursuits.

The castle at Castleton was only some six miles south of Kilton, and had been founded by Adam de Brus in the reign of Stephen. Like Kilton, it was one of the numerous "adulterine" fortresses erected during the civil wars of the period, but the original stockading would appear to have been replaced by masonry at a much earlier date than was the case at Kilton.

Nothing of the castle now remains, but the moats may be distinctly traced, together with the foundations of the massive wall of enceinte. In its first form the fortalice was evidently of the Motte and Baily type, but the conical mound on which the "bretasche" stood was at an early date surmounted by a shell-keep.

¹ In 1279 he received a grant of free warren in Brunne, Brotton, and Skinninggrove from Edward I.

"The King to Archbishops, &c., greeting. Know ye that we have granted, and by this our charter confirmed, to our beloved and faithful Marmaduke de Tweng, that he and Lucia his wife, and their heirs for ever, have free warren in all their demesne lands of Brunne, Brotton, and Skinninggrove, in the county of York, provided those lands be not within the bounds of our forest, so that no one enter those lands to hunt in them,

or to take anything which may belong to warren, without the license and will of the aforesaid Marmaduke and Lucy, or their heirs, under forfeiture to us of ten pounds, etc. etc. These being witnesses: the venerable father R. Bishop of Bath and Wells, our chancellor William de Valence our uncle, Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln, Antony Bek Archdeacon of Durham, Master Thomas Bek Archdeacon of Dorset, Walter De Helyon, Hugh son of Otto, John de Lovetot, and others. Given by our hand at Westminster, the 22nd day of January" (1279).

“From this Adam,” says Dugdale, “King Henry II took the castle of Danby, with the lordship and forest thereto appertaining, and gave him, instead thereof, the Grange of Mickelthwaite, with the whole of the fee of Collingham and Berdsey.”

It was part of the King's policy to break up, as far as possible, the estates of powerful barons, and de Brus, moreover, had been a strong supporter of his rival, King Stephen. Although the exchange does not appear to have been an unfair one, the loss of the castle and forest of Danby was much resented by the Bruces. Accordingly, in 1200, Peter de Brus arranged to give up the lands just mentioned, and, in addition, to pay King John the enormous sum of £1,000 sterling, equivalent in purchasing power to perhaps £15,000 of modern money, in exchange for their old property, finding sureties to the extent of 700 marcs (*Rotuli de Oblatis*, 109).

After taking up his residence at Danby, Marmaduke entered into an agreement with Walter de Fauconberg, lord of Skelton, with whom he jointly held the patronage of the great Priory of Guisborough, with regard to the form of presentation, and charter No. 216 (*Cart. Prior de Gyseburne*) puts this agreement on record. The presentation of the Prior-Elect was to take place alternately at Skelton and Castleton, and the agreement “cannot but suggest the idea of great ceremony and pomp, when the stately cavalcade accompanying the new Prior travelled across the moors to get him confirmed by the patron” (*Ibid.*, Introduction, vol. i, xx).

In 1279, Robert, Marmaduke's eldest son, died, leaving an only daughter and heiress, Lucia. Marmaduke then, with perhaps the royal consent, and certainly with that of Lord Percy, arranged that the ancestral estates of the Thweng family, viz. the fiefs of Kilton, Thwing, and Lund should, after his death, pass to his second son, Marmaduke, and that Lucia, Robert's heiress, should only succeed to the property which had come into possession of the Thwengs by the Brus partition of 1271.

He then handed over to Marmaduke, who some years previously had married Isabella, daughter of Sir Robert de Roos, Knt., of Ingmanthorpe, the whole of the Kilton fief, with the exception of the lordship of Hinderwell.

“Ego, Marmaducus de Thweng, Dominus de Danby, dedi Marmaduco filio meo, Castellum de Kilton, et Manerium de Kilton, et Maneria de Lithum et Cotum” (Dodsworth, 68, p. 10).

Marmaduke I died in the same year, and was interred, with all the pomp and ceremony befitting the joint patron of the house, in the north aisle of the chancel of Guisborough Priory. In all probability, a monument bearing effigies of himself and his wife was erected over his tomb.

The Priory Church was burnt down in June, 1289, and a new church, of which the magnificent east window is now practically all that remains, was commenced in 1309. The church destroyed by fire appears to have been a remarkably beautiful Early English edifice, erected between 1230 and 1250, in place of the original Norman church. On the north side of the magnificent east window a shield, bearing the now famous arms of the de Thwengs of Kilton, and which was evidently placed there in the time of Marmaduke II, first Parliamentary Baron de Thweng of Kilton, still remains *in situ*.

Of the effigies, which were undoubtedly placed in this church in memory of several members of the Thweng family, not a trace now remains.

SIR ROBERT DE THWENG, eldest son and heir of Marmaduke, feudal Baron de Thweng of Danby, was born and baptised at Kilton Castle in 1255. In 1271, at the age of 16, he married Matilda, third and youngest daughter and co-heiress of Roger III, last feudal Baron de Merlay, of Morpeth Castle, Northumberland.

The Merlays were a family of considerable influence and importance, being descended from Sir William de Merlay, to whom the Conqueror had given the lordship of Morpeth. William's son, Ralph de Merlay, married Julian, daughter of Earl Gospatric, and Rilton and Wyndegates were granted to him by Henry I on his marriage. He founded, in 1137, the Cistercian Abbey of Newminster. Roger III, the last of this baronial house, died in 1265, leaving three daughters, Mary, the eldest, who married Sir William de Greystoke, Knt., and received the castle and lordship of Morpeth; Isabel, who afterwards married Sir Robert de Eure, Knt., to whom Wytton, with the service of Wyndegate, was assigned on the partition of the Merlay property (Inq. p. m. 50 Hen. III, No. 39, 55 Hen. III, No. 35), and Matilda, who at the age of eight years (*Cal. Gen.*, 120) married young Robert de Thweng.

On the occasion of his marriage, Kilton Castle was handed over to Robert by his father, the latter removing to Castleton, as we have already seen,

The sole issue of the marriage was a daughter and heiress, Lucia, born at Kilton Castle on the Friday before Palm Sunday, 7 Edward I (*Yorkshire Inquisitions*, Yorks. Arch. Society, Record Series, 1898, p. 170). Robert died in May, 1279, at the age of 24, and was interred in the north aisle of the chancel of Guisborough Priory. By one of his mistresses, Matilda, daughter of Sir Robert Hansard, Knt., he had issue two sons, Marmaduke, born at Kilton in 1273, who was subsequently killed in the Scottish wars, and Robert, born at Kilton in 1275, who was afterwards a priest.

LUCIA DE THWENG, the only daughter and heiress of Sir Robert de Thweng, of Kilton Castle, by his wife, Matilda de Merlay, was born at Kilton Castle on the 24th March, 1279, and baptised on Palm Sunday in the chapel of St. Peter, "infra castellum de Kilton," by Alan, private chaplain of the castle. There were present at the ceremony Sir Richard de Thweng, the infant's great-uncle; Peter Mariscallus, a knight in the Percy service; Richard le Estyvor; Lucia, the infant's grandmother, wife of Marmaduke, 1st Baron de Thweng of Danby; and the infant's great-aunt, Margery (de Brus), widow of Robert, Lord de Roos (*Cal. Gen.*, 513).

Lucia's father died a few weeks after her birth, and her mother, who never seems to have recovered from the illness which followed the birth of her daughter, died in June of the same year, at the age of 16. On the death of her grandfather, in December, 1279, Lucia became one of the chief heiresses in Yorkshire and a ward of King Edward I. This well-descended heiress was related to the de Mauley, de Brus, de Merlay, and de Roos families, and the custody of her person was given to her uncle, Sir Marmaduke, then 22 years of age, who was now lord of the ancestral Thweng estates.

Lucia spent her childhood at Kilton, and in August, 1294, when fifteen years and five months old, she was given in marriage by the King to Sir William le Latimer, Junior, the eldest son of a brave but needy and avaricious soldier, William le Latimer, Senior, a personal friend of the King, who had taken a very prominent part in the Welsh wars.

Marmaduke was bitterly opposed to this match, as he wished his niece to marry his eldest son, Marmaduke, born in 1274, then about 20 years of age, in order to keep the Brus property in the family. Lucia would not seem to have been averse to such a match, but she both disliked and despised the husband

chosen for her by the King. Nor would young Latimer seem to have had any very enthusiastic views regarding the alliance. Although only a little over fifteen, Lucia had already given ample proof of the laxity of morals for which she subsequently became so notorious, and was likely soon to become a mother. But the elder Latimer urged his son to marry the heiress, as such an alliance would at once put him in the enviable position of being a great baron *in capite*.

The marriage was solemnised in the chapel of St. Peter, at Kilton Castle, in August, 1294, and a son was born in December of the same year; and in this month Latimer, Junior, obtained a writ to have seisin of all the lands which had come into the Thweng family through the Brus partition. On the ground of the illegitimacy of Lucia's child, Latimer, Senior, then induced the King to so far pervert the royal prerogative as to grant him the lordship and forest of Danby for life.

William Latimer, Junior, and his wife resided first at the old Brus castle on the Danby lordship; but the proximity of Lucia's cousins at Kilton led him to move to the manor-house at Brunne, which had also, as had everything he possessed, come to him through his wife. The very low sexual morality of the period permitted a considerable degree of laxity to a young married woman, more especially to a beautiful young heiress married against her wishes; but Lucia seems to have exceeded even these very generous limits, and when, within a year of her marriage, she left her husband and lived for some months at Kilton as the mistress of her cousin Marmaduke, Latimer, Senior, obtained a confirmation from the King of the previous grant to him of the lordship of Danby for life, with free chase there, and remainder to William his son and Lucia his wife, and to the lawful heirs of the said Lucia.

In 1300, the Latimers abandoned to decay the old feudal fortress of Castleton, and commenced what is now known as Danby Castle, some two miles east of the original stronghold. Military feudalism was already dying out, and the laws made by Edward I—especially, perhaps, the Statute of Quia Emptores—considerably hastened its decay. Purely fortress castles, such as Kilton and Castleton, had already become an anachronism. The dissolution of the old feudal ties prevented their owners filling them with retainers, and with the growing demand for comfort and even luxury, the barons became dissatisfied with

the very uncomfortable and inconvenient residences which had been handed down to them by their predecessors.

Danby Castle is the earliest example known to the writer of the type of palace-fortress, which came more prominently into vogue a century later, and of which Lumley, co. Durham, Bolton-in-Wensleydale, Wressle, and Sheriff Hutton are well-known north country examples. Danby, of which extensive remains still exist, is a quadrangular building with towers at the angles built round a small court-yard, and was probably finished about 1302, and occupied by Latimer, Senior, until his death in 1305, his son residing principally at the manor house of Brunne.

As showing the strained relations existing between the Latimers and Thwengs, although the Danby lordship had come into the possession of the former family by Lucia's marriage, no shield bearing the Thweng arms occupies a place on the walls of Danby Castle, although two shields bearing the arms of the Latimers, one those of the Brus family and another those of De Roos still remain *in situ*.

In 1304, when her husband was fighting in Scotland, Lucia fled from Brunne and became the mistress of young Peter de Mauley, afterwards the notorious Peter V. He was an intimate friend of Lucia's cousins, and was at this time a boy of some eighteen years of age. Of this escapade, Dudgale says:—" Lucia, his wife, residing at his manor house of Brunne, com. Ebor., was taken away (with divers goods there) by certain unknown persons. Whereupon the King sent his Precept to the Sheriff of Yorkshire to make strict search for her throughout all that county, commanding him, in case he did find her out, he should, if need were, raise the power of the county, and carry her back to Brunne."

But Lucia never returned to her husband. From Mulgrave she went to Kilton and from Kilton to Whorlton, where she became the recognised mistress of Nicholas, Baron de Menyll of Whorlton,¹ one of the most violent and warlike of the northern nobles. Lucia was now 26 years of age, and Menyll, who had succeeded his father four years previously, 29 years

¹ Some considerable remains still exist of Whorlton Castle, long the residence of the baronial house of Menyll, which appears to have been of great extent. The original fortress was probably erected, like those of Skelton, Kilton, and Castleton, in the reign of Stephen. The gatehouse, now the chief

feature of the ruin, was probably built late in the reign of King Richard II (and bears the arms of Menyll, D'Arcy, and Gray) by Philip, Lord D'Arcy and Menyll, the second son of John, Lord D'Arcy, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Nicholas, Lord de Menyll, Lucia de Thweng's illegitimate son.

old. William le Latimer then applied for and obtained a divorce. In consequence of this, the King's Escheator took the manors of Yarm, Brunne, Skinningrove, and Brotton, part of Lucia's inheritance, into the King's hands (*Inq. p. m.* 5 Edward II, No. 10).

After the pronouncement of the divorce in the Consistory Court of York, Lucia, with the intention of preventing her estates descending to the children born to her whilst she was living with Latimer, conveyed all her lands to the Rector of Rudby, in trust for her issue by Menyll. Latimer, who appears to have been afraid that Menyll would attempt to deprive him of the property which had come to him through Lucia, then applied to the King for a letter under the Privy Seal ordering all persons to assist him in recovering the wife he had just divorced. But the influence of the Thweng, Mauley, and Menyll families was so strong that after enrolling the King's order in the Assize Roll, nothing further was done in the matter.

Latimer then concocted a scheme which was probably characteristic of the man. He bribed a broken-down soldier, one Robert de Bordesdeyne, to swear that he had been hired by Menyll to murder him—Latimer. He threatened Bordesdeyne that if he would not enter into the plot he had sufficient influence with the King to have him imprisoned for life in the Tower of London, and promised him 50 marcs and all out-of-pocket expenses for carrying out the plot, and that he would see that he came to no ill consequences. Bordesdeyne then bribed one Robert son of Philip the blacksmith, of Scampston, and Thomas of Roston, to swear in court that they had been engaged by him to murder Latimer. Bordesdeyne, on being examined by the Justices, confirmed everything these two men had said, and swore that he himself had been engaged by Menyll.

Now, Menyll was notoriously violent, and only a short time previously had caused the murder of a whole family at Easby, near Stokesley, consequently the Justices took a serious view of the case, and calling upon Latimer, asked him if he wished to proceed against Menyll as the principal criminal. On his answering in the affirmative, they bound him over with two sureties to prosecute at the next assizes.

They then threw Bordesdeyne and his two accomplices into York Castle to await trial. But this imprisonment greatly annoyed Bordesdeyne, for Latimer had promised him that he should come to no hurt, and at the next assizes he made a full

confession of the plot, and the Justices declared Menyll guiltless (*Cart. Prior. de Gyseburne*, No. 227a).

In 1307, Lucia bore Menyll an illegitimate son, Nicholas, who eventually succeeded to the barony and estates, and being summoned to Parliament 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14 Edward III, died 16 Edward III, at the age of 36 years. By his wife Alicia, daughter of William, Lord de Roos of Helmsley, he had issue an only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, who married, first, Sir John D'Arcy de Knayth; and, secondly, Peter, sixth Baron de Mauley of Mulgrave, eldest son and heir of the Peter already mentioned as one of the lovers of Lucia.

In 1313, at the age of 34, Lucia married her second husband, Sir Robert de Everingham, a younger brother of Sir Adam Fitz-Robert de Everingham. But three years later Sir Robert was killed in the Scottish wars, and interred in the north aisle of the chancel of Guisborough Priory. By an inquisition, dated the Tuesday after the feast of St. John *ante* Portam Latinam, 9 Edward II (May 11th, 1316), it was found that Lucia and her late husband had been enfeoffed of the manors of Brotton and Kirkburn, of ten marcs rent in Skinningrove, and of half the Bailiwick of Langbargh, in special tail, with remainder to Robert's heirs, and of the manor of Yarm, with remainder to Nicholas de Menyll, her illegitimate son (*Inq. p. m.* 9 Edward II, No. 50).

Lucia married again, at the age of 41, in 1320, Sir Bartholomew de Fanacourt, a foreigner, who had been page to her first husband, Sir William le Latimer. He bore the arms, Sable, une crois patey d'argent, une border d'or recercele (Roll of Arms of the time of Edward III, published by Sir Harris Nicolas in 1829, p. 5). Fanacourt fought against the royalist forces at the battle of Boroughbridge, 1322, where he was captured (*Parliamentary Writs*, i, app. 197); but, largely owing to the influence of the Lords Mauley and Thweng, was subsequently pardoned and released. Curiously enough, the commander of the royalist forces at this battle was Latimer, Lucia's first husband. By an inquisition dated Thursday before Easter, 13 Edward III (March 25th, 1339), it was found that it would not be to the King's loss if he allowed the whole of the property which had come to the Thwengs by the Brus partition of 1271, with the exception of the lordship of Danby, amounting altogether to eight knights' fees and half the advowson of the Priory of Guisborough (all held *in capite*), to be settled on de

Fanacourt and Lucia for their lives, with remainder to his heirs (Add. MSS. 26720, fo. 184*b*).

William, Lord Latimer, Lucia's first husband, died in 1328, and his son William, born in 1294, instituted a somewhat belated inquiry into the question of his legitimacy, and on July 1st, 1326, the following very convenient finding was arrived at, viz.:—"William, the reputed son of Sir William le Latimer, was not illegitimate, but was the son of Latimer and Lucia de Thweng" (*Fasti Ebor.*, i, 377*n*). Unfortunately, the fact that his grandfather, only a few weeks after his birth, had received the grant of the lordship of Danby for life on account of his illegitimacy, and that for some thirty-four years this illegitimacy had never been disputed, goes far to disprove the accuracy of this "finding."

Lucia, who had been the means of introducing the bar sinister into two great baronial houses, died at her manor house at Brotton on the 8th January, 1346, at the age of 67. The funeral ceremony took place in the chapel of St. Peter, at Kilton Castle, in which she had been baptised and married, and her body was then conveyed to Guisborough Priory and interred alongside that of her late husband, Sir Robert de Everingham. From the Inq. p. m. dated the second week in Lent, 20 Edward III (1346), it appears that Adam Fitz-Adam de Everingham, of Laxton, was the nephew and heir of her late husband, and that he was then 30 years of age and upwards. William Fitz-William le Latimer, her grandson, then a boy of sixteen, was her nearest blood-relation, but Lucia had expressly stated that no inheritance should descend from her to him. By her will, dated early in 1346, she appointed her husband, Sir Bartholomew de Fanacourt, her sole executor and residuary legatee (*Test. Ebor.*, i, 32). Fanacourt died on Tuesday of the second week in Lent (March 6th), 1352. At his Inq. p. m. the jurors certified ignorance as to his heirs, as he was a Frenchman (Inq. p. m. 26 Edward III, Second Nos., No. 44).

MARMADUKE, the first Parliamentary Baron de Thweng of Kilton Castle, was second son of Marmaduke, feudal baron of Danby, by his wife, Lucia de Brus, and was born at Kilton Castle in 1256. He married, in 1273, at the age of 17, Isabella, daughter of Sir Robert de Roos, of Ingmanthorpe, Knt., and on his brother's death, six years later, took up his residence at Kilton Castle. By the arrangement already referred to, he

inherited the whole of the ancestral estates of the Thwengs on the death of his father in December, 1279. By his wife Isabel he had issue:—

Marmaduke, born 1274.

William, born 1276.

Robert, born 1277.

Lucia, born 1279, who married, in 1298, Sir Robert de Lumley, Knt., of Lumley.

Margaret, born 1281, who married, in 1301, Sir Robert de Hilton, Knt.

Thomas, born 1283.

John, born 1284.

Catherine, born 1285, who married, in 1303, Sir Ralph D'Aubenie, Knt.

Nicholas, born 1286.

His eldest son, Marmaduke, was probably the actual father of Lucia de Thweng's eldest son, William, afterwards Baron Latimer of Danby.

Marmaduke took a prominent part in the Scottish wars of the period. He was present at Newcastle when Baliol did homage to King Edward I for the Crown (1292), and took part in the capture of Berwick (March 30th, 1296).

At the disastrous battle of Stirling, September 11th, 1297, Marmaduke appears to have been the only baron in authority on the English side to keep his head. Sir William Wallace, the Scottish commander, had taken up a strong position on the north side of the River Forth, not far from the famous castle of Stirling, then one of the three chief fortresses in Scotland. John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, Governor of Scotland, and Cressingham, the Treasurer, with a well-appointed army, approached the river on the opposite side, a long and narrow old timber bridge then crossing the river at this point.

Cressingham urged an immediate attack, and insisted on the English crossing this bridge. Others, including Marmaduke, then a man 40 years of age, with considerable military experience, pointed out that were this done Wallace could defeat them in detail. Unfortunately, Cressingham's advice prevailed, and what Marmaduke had foreseen then came to pass. Wallace waited until the headstrong Cressingham with about half the English army had crossed the bridge, attacked them in full force, and totally defeated them, slaying a large number and driving the remainder into the river where they were drowned.

No quarter was given, for Wallace, contrary to popular opinion, was both a brutal and treacherous man. Cressingham was killed and his body horribly mutilated. The other half of the English army, dismayed at the fate which had befallen their comrades, broke and fled in confusion. Had Wallace been able to cross the bridge, the remainder of the English army would have been cut to pieces.

Marmaduke, who up to that time had taken no part in the battle, at once realised the danger. Gathering his personal retainers together, he rushed for the bridge, cutting his way through the Scots who had already crossed. "*Strenuissimus ille miles*," Walter de Hemingburgh terms him in his interesting contemporary account of the battle (vol. ii, p. 138). In the desperate combat which ensued, Marmaduke's nephew, one of the famous de Roos family, was unhorsed and very severely wounded, but staggering to his feet, he called out, "Master, save me." Marmaduke, a man of enormous height and tremendous strength, "*fortis robere et staturae procerae*," turned round, slew the Scots who were attempting to kill the youth, and called out, "Get up behind me, boy." His nephew made an effort to do so, but failed. "I cannot, my Lord," he replied, "for my strength fails me." At that moment Marmaduke's squire, probably one of the de Mauley family of Mulgrave, rode up, and while the baron kept the enemy at bay, dismounted and lifted the youth into the saddle. Finally, the little band reached the bridge, and whilst Marmaduke and his more heavily-armed retainers held it against the advancing Scots, the others succeeded in setting fire to it, thus effectually preventing Wallace crossing the river. But the Scots who had already crossed outnumbered Marmaduke's force, and another fight took place. Finally, the baron defeated these, and no quarter being given, killed the whole of them.

In this battle Marmaduke lost his eldest son and heir, Marmaduke, a youth of 22, and his nephew Marmaduke, a youth of about the same age, an illegitimate son of Sir Robert de Thweng.

As a reward for his bravery, the Earl of Warenne entrusted Marmaduke with the command of the important castle of Stirling, which, however, was only provisioned for six weeks, promising him that if he could manage to hold out for ten weeks he would return with a strong army and relieve him. But the whole of Scotland was now in arms, and not only were

the remnants of Warenne's army driven out of the country, but the north of England was ravaged by the victorious Scots. Marmaduke held Stirling for thirteen weeks until all food was exhausted, and then agreed to surrender the castle to Wallace, who was conducting the siege in person, on condition that he and the remainder of his men were allowed to retire unmolested, with their arms, to the nearest English fortress. This condition Wallace treacherously broke, imprisoning Marmaduke in Dumbar-ton Castle (*Chronicon de Melsa*, Rolls Series, ii, 355).

After the victory of Falkirk, Marmaduke received an important command in Scotland, and gained great distinction by the fearless and cruel manner in which he drove the roving bands of rebels from one part of the country to another, giving quarter to none. He fought at the battle of Methven, June 19th, 1306, when Bruce was defeated, and driven to take refuge in Ireland, and was one of the most trusted lieutenants of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the commander-in-chief of the English army of occupation in Scotland.

Marmaduke was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 22 Edward I (1294), and regularly from 35 Edward I to 16 Edward II. He certified pursuant to writ tested at Clipston, March 5th, 1316, as lord of the manors of Thweng, Octon, and Swathorp, in the East Riding; and Lythe, Hinderwell, Kilton, Kirkleatham, and Thorp, in the Cleveland district (*Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs*).

From 1295 until 1307 Marmaduke spent nearly the whole of his time in Scotland, returning at intervals to Kilton for a short visit. After 1307 he does not appear to have again visited Scotland, and at the age of 51 settled down to a life of ease at his castle of Kilton, where he appears to have kept up considerable state. But two years later (1309) his wife, Isabella de Roos, died, and was interred in the north aisle of the chancel of Guisborough Priory. Marmaduke then retired to his manor-house of Thweng, giving up Kilton Castle to his eldest surviving son, William.

In 1321, when 65 years of age, and in very feeble health, Marmaduke made a formal grant of the manors of Kirkleatham and Kilton, together with the castle of Kilton, to William. He died in April, 1323, at the age of 67, and was interred near his wife in the north aisle of the chancel of Guisborough Priory. An inquisition, held at Stokesley on the Saturday before the feast of St. Mark (April 23rd), 1323, proves that he held the

fief of Kilton of the Percy family by knight's service, and a similar return was made at Kilham on the previous Thursday with regard to the fiefs of Lund and Thwing (Inq. p. m. 16 Edward II, No. 51).

WILLIAM, the second Parliamentary Baron de Thweng of Kilton Castle, was the second son of Marmaduke, first Parliamentary baron, by his wife, Isabel de Roos, and was born and baptised at Kilton Castle in 1276. He seems to have possessed all the external advantages for which his house was famous, a handsome person, charming manners, great skill in all military exercises, and much affability. But he may be classed with his intimate friend, Peter de Mauley V, as one of the most profligate and dissolute of the northern nobles.

He fought at the battle of Stirling in 1296, in which his brother Marmaduke was killed, and afterwards distinguished himself in the defence of Stirling Castle. He also took part in the campaign of 1306.

William was summoned to Parliament as a baron from 18 Edward II to 15 Edward III, but to the last summons he is noted on the roll "mortuus est."

He is principally noted as the avenger of the horrible and dastardly murder of the unfortunate King Edward II, and much may be forgiven him on this account. Sir Thomas Gourney, who devised and executed the crime, fled abroad, and for a long time escaped justice, "sed per dominum Willelmum de Thweng, militem, longe lateque quaesitus captus est, et, pro nimio dolore causa vindictae in ipsum exercendae victui parcens mortuus est in mari, sed tamen mortuus in Angliam est retuctus" (*Chron. de Meaux*, ii, 355).

William died 14 Edward III (1341), and was interred in the chancel of the Priory Church of Handale, two miles east of the castle, a Benedictine nunnery founded in 1133 by William de Percy, of which not a trace now remains, although, according to Graves, the west end of the chapel was still standing in 1808. From his death the decline of Kilton Castle may be said to date. By his wife, Catherine de Furnival, he left no issue, and the barony passed to his brother Robert.

THE DESTRUCTION OF KILTON CASTLE.

ROBERT, third hereditary Baron de Thweng of Kilton, was born at Kilton Castle in 1277, and was 63 years of age at the time of his succession.

He was a priest, and does not appear to have ever taken up his residence at Kilton, where Catherine, his brother's widow, continued to live. But the life at the castle would be very different to what it had been thirty years previously, Catherine probably occupying only a few rooms—possibly those in the apsidal north-east tower—the rest of the fortalice being unoccupied.

Robert died 18 Edward III, and the following is the account given of the castle at this time: “*Et est apud Kilton quoddam parvum castrum et nichil valet infra muros et dicunt quod non potest reparari per annum minus quam de xls. quolibet anno et si in sufficienti statu debeat sustentari.*”

Castles and manor-houses were exempt from taxation in these inquisitions, and the words “*et nichil valet infra muros*” are merely those usually employed to convey this fact, and have no bearing whatever upon the condition of the castle, which is described as small.

Robert was interred with his ancestors, in the north aisle of the chancel at Guisborough.

THOMAS, the last of the Thweng lords of Kilton, was born at the castle in 1283, and was, therefore, 62 years of age at the time of his succession. At the age of 9 he had been appointed Rector of Kirkleatham by his father, Marmaduke, and would appear to have actually taken up his duties there about 1300.

He seems to have been much attached to Kirkleatham, and in 1348, three years after inheriting the family estates, he founded a large and important chantry in the parish church there, consisting of no less than 12 chaplains and 4 clerks, who were to live together in one house (“within the mansion of the rectory, and also lodge there”), and were to obey the Rector submissively in all things, wear garments suitable to their order, receive 20 shillings per annum sterling, and a robe yearly at Martinmas of one sort, containing six ells of cloth, etc., and to be fed by the Rector and provided by him with fuel and lights. They were to say mass daily for the healthful estate of the founder, of the King and Queen, and of Lord Henry Percy—the overlord of the Kilton fief—and for the repose of the souls of Robert de Thweng and Matilda (de Kylton) his wife, of Marmaduke de Thweng and Lucia (de Brus) his wife, of Marmaduke and Isabel (de Roos) his wife, the parents of the founder, and of Marmaduke, William, Robert, John, and Nicholas, the founder's brothers, etc. etc.

This important chantry was founded in May, 1348, "at the request of Thomas de Thweng, Rector of the church of Lythum, and patron thereof," and it practically converted the Rectory House, which at that time stood to the east of the church, into a small monastic house. The Roman branch of the Catholic Church has always cared for the poor and friendless, nor were they unprovided for in this new establishment. "He ordained that the Rector of the church for the time being, do every year, on the Feast of All Saints, give to 13 poor people of the parish, 6 pence, and a gown of 20*d.* price at least; also do yearly distribute among the poor of the parish nine quarters of bread-corn, and as many quarters of peas."

The old castle of Kilton was greatly neglected, and although Catherine, the widow of William, Lord Thweng, continued to reside there in strict seclusion until her death in 1349, she probably only occupied a few rooms, the remainder of the structure being practically allowed to go to ruin.

From 1349 to 1358 the castle remained untenanted, but in the latter year Sir Marmaduke de Lumley, Knt., who had been Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, and who some two years previously had married Margaret Holland, took up his residence there without, however, making any alterations in the gloomy old structure, which was now hopelessly out of date. He had issue four sons and a daughter, Isabel, who subsequently married Sir W. Fulthorp, Knt.

Thomas, last Baron de Thweng, continued to preside over the establishment he had founded at Kirkleatham until his last illness in 1374, when he retired to the manor-house at Thwing, where he died at the great age of 91 years. He was interred within the altar rails of the chancel of Thwing Church, where his effigy remains to this day.

SIR MARMADUKE DE LUMLEY, who had assumed the Thweng arms, Argent, a fesse gules between three popinjays vert, had predeceased his uncle, Thomas, and the custody of his young children had been granted to William, Lord Latimer of Danby, son of Lucia's grandson, William, Lord Latimer, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Botetourt.

ROBERT DE LUMLEY, Marmaduke's eldest son and heir, and the great-grandson of Marmaduke, first Parliamentary Baron de Thweng* of Kilton, was born at Kilton Castle in 1358, and succeeded his great-uncle, Thomas, last Baron de Thweng of Kilton, in 1374.

His guardian, William, Lord Latimer, married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund, Earl of Arundel, and had issue an only daughter and heiress, who became the second wife of John, Lord Nevill of Raby and Middleham.

Robert came into possession of the whole of the ancient Thweng estates, viz. the manors of Thweng, Lund, North Cave, Foxholes, etc., in the East Riding; and of Kilton, Kiltonthorpe, Great and Little Moorsholm, Kirkleatham, and Hinderwell, in Cleveland, with certain lands in Egton, Marske, Brotton, Skinningrove, and Liverton, together with the advowsons of Thwing, Kirkleatham, and Hinderwell churches and of the chapel of St. Peter within the castle of Kilton.

He, however, never entered into full possession, dying at Danby Castle on the Sunday before the Nativity (24th December), 1374, as is proved by the inquisition taken at Guisborough after his death, 49 Edward III, before John Savile, the King's Escheator for the county of York.

RALPH, 1st Parliamentary Baron de Lumley of Lumley, was born at Kilton Castle in 1361, and at the age of 13 became lord of Kilton.

He was, like his brother, a ward of William, Lord Latimer of Danby, who had summons to Parliament as a baron from 42 Edward III to 3 Richard II, and who died in 1381. At the time of his guardian's death, Ralph was still in his minority, being then 20 years of age, and the custody of his person and lands passed to John, Lord Nevill of Raby and Middleham, a famous noble, who had married, as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Latimer. Nevill had married, as his first wife, Matilda, daughter of Henry, Lord Percy, and by his conspicuous bravery and great business ability had added very greatly to the aggrandisement of the famous house of Nevill. He converted Raby into a great fortress-palace, and also erected the castle of Sheriff Hutton.

Ralph de Lumley resided at the old manor-house of Lumley, erected in the reign of King Edward I by his grandfather, Sir Robert de Lumley, the husband of Lucia, daughter of Marmaduke, Lord Thweng. Ralph and his intimate personal friend, Sir William le Scrope—eldest son and heir of Richard, Lord Scrope, High Chancellor of England, the builder of the great fortress-palace of Bolton—married, on the same day, in the chapel of Raby Castle, two daughters, Eleanor¹ and Matilda,

¹ Eleanor, the wife of Ralph, Lord Middleham, by his first wife, Matilda, Lumley, was the sixth and youngest daughter of Henry, Lord Percy. child of John, Lord Nevill of Raby and

of John, Lord Nevill of Raby and Middleham, the ceremony being solemnised by Thomas Hatfield, the famous warrior-Bishop of Durham.

The manor-house at Lumley was too small for the accommodation of so powerful and highly connected a noble as Ralph, Lord Lumley of Lumley, consequently he decided to build a new residence.

Purely fortress-castles of the type of Kilton were now as completely out-of-date as was the chain-mail armour of their builders. Never comfortable to live in, with draughty great halls, cramped and inadequate private apartments, and gloomy chambers, they had been tolerated in the days of the early Plantagenets, because of their defensive properties. But with the establishment of an efficient administration of justice, combined with a growing demand for greater comfort and even of luxury, they were now a complete anachronism, and those, such as Castleton, which had not been abandoned altogether, had been converted, like Raby, into residences where comfort, cheerfulness, and luxury were more considered than defensive properties.

An entirely new style of castle had now come into vogue, the great fortress-palaces of which Bolton-in-Wensleydale is such a stately and imposing example. This magnificent structure, commenced in 1379 by Richard, Lord Scrope, was completed in 1396 at a cost, according to Leland, of £12,000, equivalent to over £130,000 of modern money. These new palaces were rectangular buildings, erected round a quadrangle or courtyard, with large towers at the angles.

Ralph, Lord Lumley, had passed his youth in, perhaps, the earliest example in England of this style of castle, viz. Danby in Cleveland, which, as we have already seen, was built by William, Lord Latimer, the husband of the notorious Lucia de Thweng, between 1300 and 1303. His father-in-law, Lord Nevill, was the rebuilder of Raby and Sheriff Hutton, the father of his brother-in-law was the builder of great Bolton. As a residence, Kilton was of little use to Lord Lumley, for it was erected on a site which, owing to its extreme narrowness, whilst admirably adapted for a purely defensive castle of the Enceintric type, could not be modified to suit the new fashion. Consequently, Lord Lumley decided to abandon it altogether.

In 1389, he obtained a licence from Bishop Robert Skirlaw, and in 1392 another from King Richard II, to convert his manor-

house at Lumley into a castle, and in the former year he commenced the erection of the present fortress-palace of Lumley, the residence of his descendant, Lord Scarbrough, and one of the most stately of our country houses. About the same time, Ralph's brother-in-law, Ralph, Lord Nevill of Raby, commenced the erection of a fortress-palace round the grim old Norman keep of Middleham.

Ralph did away with the expensive chantry chapel at Kirk-leatham, and about 1398 dissolved the chantry chapel of St. Peter within the castle of Kilton, a sure sign that no further extended residence was contemplated there. But he seems to have lived at Kilton between 1389 and 1398, when Lumley Castle was in course of construction, but, naturally, made no alterations to it.

The history of Kilton Castle subsequent to 1389 need not detain us long. John, 7th Lord Lumley, married Joan, daughter of Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton, and his son, George Lumley, was one of the principal leaders in the Pilgrimage of Grace, being executed for his share in that adventure.

When, in 1537, the Crown took possession of Kilton Castle, the old fortalice was a mere shell. The long neglect of 140 years had told its tale. Roofless, ivy clad, its timber floorings long since rotted away, trees and shrubs growing in the courtyard and right up to the walls, it stood gaunt and grim, a mouldering memorial of a long dead past.

But, although here and there the walls had probably given way, it would still be structurally almost complete, and was still, in theory, a castle held by knight service in the barony of de Percy, although the system of tenure was forgotten.

"It also appereth in the sayed office that the sayd castle and mannours of Kilton, Lethom, Lound, and Bothome are holden (by Richard, Lord Lumley) of Henry, the Erle of Northumberland, but the Jurors certified an ignoramus by what seruyce.

And that the manours of Thweng and Thorpe are holden of the heyres of Sir Jo. Percy, Kt., by what service the Jurors know not. And that the mannours of Great Moarsome and Little Moarsome and the lands in Glaphowe are holden of the King *in capite*" (Extract from the Percy Feodary, 1511).

Had the castle been situate in a town, it would, doubtless, after 1537, have been converted or adapted to more modern purposes, or pulled down altogether; but being situate in a

lonely and very sparsely inhabited district, it was simply allowed to go to ruin.

No doubt soon after 1537 the spoilation we now deplore would commence, and the castle would be used as a convenient quarry of ready-dressed stone. But it is doubtful whether any very serious damage was done for at least a century after that date.

There is an interesting local tradition relating to the castle which is worth putting on record. As related to the writer when a boy, unfortunately nearly twenty years ago, it ran as follows:—

“Kilton Castle was destroyed by Oliver Cromwell. He came into Cleveland with a large army and a train of artillery, but had great difficulty in finding the castle, which was then held by a party of Royalists. After much marching and counter-marching, Cromwell and his men, as evening approached, rested on the side of a hill. As they rested, across the stillness of the evening air came the gentle tinkle of a bell ringing for vespers. Cromwell at once sent forward scouts to localise the sound. They returned, and announced that they had discovered it came from the castle chapel. Having thus found the castle, he advanced to the attack, and after a long siege, in which he lost many men, succeeded in taking it, and then blew it up with gunpowder.”

This tradition was told to the writer by the late Mr. Petch, of Liverton, whose forebears had for many generations resided within a couple of miles of the castle. It seems, however, somewhat improbable that Kilton would, in the time of the Civil War, be in sufficiently perfect condition to be patched up and held by a party of Royalists against the ubiquitous Cromwell. It had not been occupied for some 240 years previous to that date, and must then have been in an utterly ruinous condition. And yet it is an undoubted fact that many castles, of which Scarborough is an example, then in a ruinous condition and unfit for habitation, were, in these troublous times, hastily patched up and offered very serious opposition to the rebels. That fighting took place at Guisborough, only some six miles distant, we know, for Col. Slingsby, with 700 of the royal troops, was defeated there by a body of Roundheads, some 2,500 in number, commanded by Sir Hugh Cholmley and Sir Matthew Boynton. We have, however, no record whatever of any siege of Kilton Castle at this time,

But by far the most striking feature of the legend, in the opinion of the writer, is that it orally hands down to this day the fact that there was a chapel at Kilton Castle. As this chapel was done away with in 1398, this is a very remarkable point.

About 1680 the manor and castle were purchased from the Crown by a certain Mr. Thomas Thweng—probably a descendant of a junior branch of the baronial house—who resided at Kilton. It is perfectly certain that he did not live at the castle, which must at that time have been altogether in ruins, and one is inclined to imagine that it may have been this Mr. Thweng who committed the unforgivable vandalism of erecting the original Kilton Hall partly of stone brought from the castle. At any rate, about this time a substantial house with outbuildings was built on the site of the present Kilton Hall. His only daughter and heiress, Ann, married Mr. William Tullie, and at the east end of the chancel of Old Brotton Church is a large mural monument, with the following inscription :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF WILLIAM TULLIE, OF KILTON, IN THIS COUNTY, ESQUIRE, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE 27 MAY, 1741, AGED 72, AND IS INTERRED UNDERNEATH THIS MONUMENT. HE MARRIED ANN, SOLE DAUGHTER AND HEIRESS OF THOMAS THWENG, OF KILTON CASTLE, IN THIS COUNTY, ESQUIRE (so described, doubtless, to perpetuate his connection with the ancient barons), BY WHOM HE LEFT NO ISSUE.

Graves, the Cleveland historian, writing some 400 years after the castle had been abandoned (pp. 370–372 of his *History of Cleveland*, published in 1808), gives the following description of the castle as it appeared over a century ago :—¹

“ At a little distance from the village towards the south, on the brink of a natural precipice, washed by a small mountain rivulet, stand the remains of Kilton Castle, the baronial residence of the ancient family of Thwengs ; but the edifice is now in so ruinous a state as to render it impossible to form any idea of its former strength and magnificence. From the foundations of the outer walls, it seems to have been in the form of a parallelogram, inaccessible on the east, north, and south, and fortified by a deep fosse or ditch on the west, where

¹ The original farmstead of Stank House was, about 1700, built of stone brought from Kilton Castle. In the east wall of one of the outbuildings is

a large carved stone, which would appear to have once borne a coat of arms, now completely obliterated.

the only entrance was probably kept by a drawbridge. The situation of the castle is romantic and retired."

About 1880 the late Mr. J. T. Wharton, of Skelton Castle, who appears to have taken a considerable interest in the preservation of the ruin, repaired the footings and base of the north-east tower, part of the eastern curtain, and the fragment of walling at the east end of the stabling. Since that date the ruin has been strictly preserved. It is now the property of Mr. W. H. A. Wharton, of Skelton Castle, the master of the Cleveland hunt, who is descended from the old baronial house of De Brus of Skelton through his great-grandmother, Margaret, Lady Dundas (wife of Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bart.), who was a daughter of Major Alexander Bruce of Kennet,¹ a direct descendant of both the royal house of Scotland and of the Brus barons of Skelton (Bruce pedigree).

Historically, the Whartons have no connection with Kilton. They are descended from an ancient family of that name who, in the late Plantagenet period, were settled at Wharton, in Westmorland.

EXTERIOR OF THE CASTLE.

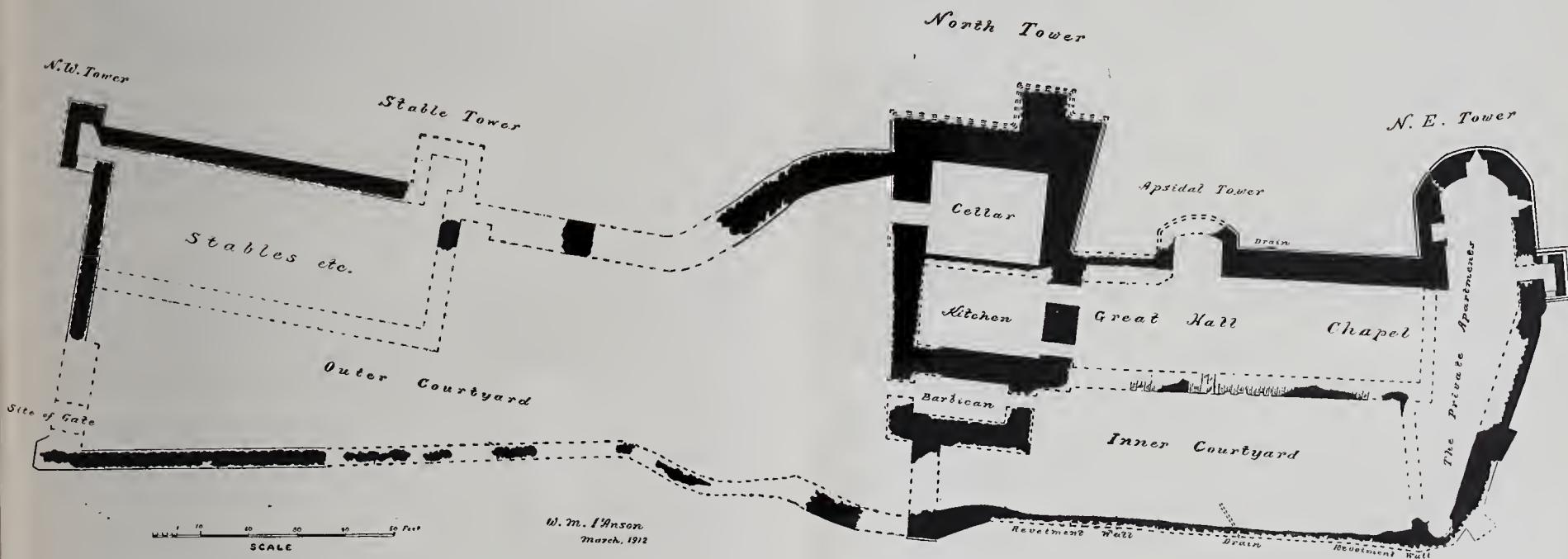
In feudal times, when the castle was inhabited, there was a village of some size² occupying the site of the modern substantial farmstead known as "Kilton Hall," and the land adjoining it, some 700 yards north-north-west of the castle. This village is now represented only by the Hall and three modern brick cottages, but the fields to the north of the site are still described on the Ordnance Survey as "Town End Close," whilst the lane which leads to Kilton Mill (some half-mile north-east) is still known as "Braygate," and is so described on the Ordnance Map. This hamlet would be very pleasantly situate with a delightful southerly exposure, and protected from the north and east winds by rising ground. The present hall occupies the site of a Georgic house, which itself stood on the site of a still older manor-house, probably built of stone brought from the ruins of the castle. In 1853, according to the survey of

¹ Major Alexander Bruce inherited the Kennet estates from his ancestor Thomas Bruce, to whom they were granted by his father, Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, by charter dated 8th May, 1389. This Sir Robert was the eldest son and heir of Sir Robert de Bruce, knight, who, on the death of King David Bruce,

succeeded to the castle and manor of Clackmannan, as heir male of the royal house.

² "Et est ibidem de redditibus liberorum per annum viii li. viiis. ad terminos Sancti Martini et Pentecostes" (Inq. p.m. W. de Thwenge, 14 Edw. III).

KILTON CASTLE, YORKSHIRE.



that date, the old Georgic village still existed, as indeed it did until some forty years ago, there being five old houses—one ivy-clad structure being known as “Primrose Cottage”—a smithy (which still exists, but is not used), and the old hall. Two wells, connected with these old houses, still remain.

Approaching the site of this village from the north down Howe Lane over Town End Close, the road is some 470 feet above sea-level. Magnificent views are obtained, a perfect panorama of mountain, moor, and woodland being spread out before our eyes, with stupendous sea-cliffs rising to a height of some 600 feet sheer above the waters of the northern sea. This view is now marred to some extent by signs of industrial activity; but sixty years ago, before the opening out of the Cleveland ironstone mines, it must have been one of the most picturesque, most lonely, and most sparsely inhabited stretches of country in the county.

The road dips down to the site of the village, which is some 330 feet above sea-level. It then turns at right angles westward, and climbing a slight rise turns southwards, to what is still known as “Park Gate,” the original entrance to the park surrounding the castle. At the foot of a short steep bank this ancient road diverges, the portion on our left leading to Stank House Farm, which lies some 500 yards west of the castle. The original road, now only a footpath, leads across the fields to the ruins of the castle, leaving Sweet Hill Wood on our left.

THE OUTER WARD.—The first object to draw our attention is a slight depression in the ground indicating the site of the north fosse of the outer ward. In 1853, this ward was still clearly traceable in the field immediately north-west of the promontory. The north moat measured 250 feet in length from east to west by 50 feet in width from north to south, and not only stretched along the whole northern front of this ward, but flanked it on both sides. The moat was then extended along the western front, being here some 20 feet in width, and continued along the southern front in the form of a moat some 30 feet wide. The earth parapet seems to have been some 15 feet in width, rising perhaps some 4 or 5 feet above the interior ground level, and on the summit would be a wall, probably not more than 2 feet thick and 10 feet high. The space contained by these defences measured some 170 feet in length from north to south, and varied in width from about

100 feet at the northern to 70 feet at the southern end, enclosing in all about one-third of an acre.

This outer ward was added about 1212 by Sir Wm. de Kilton to flank and protect the entrance to the castle. The advent of the Trebuchet, the most formidable of mediæval siege engines (first used at the siege of Piacenza in 1199), made this addition to the defences of the castle an absolute necessity, and such additions were frequently made to existing castles in the reign of John. Castles of the Enceintric type erected subsequent to the introduction of the Trebuchet, were all provided with these outer wards, but the system of defence in connection with them varied. It was, however, generally that which would appear to have been adopted at Kilton, viz. light walls and extensive moats, fosses, and earthworks. At Castroggy and Grosmont there was no walling whatever, the ward being defended by large platforms of earth, which were probably stockaded. Denbigh, a much later example, erected in the reign of Edward I, has, however, an elaborate outer ward provided with its own gate-house and flanking mural towers, and the same may be said of the purely garrison fortress of Whitecastle.

Two modern brick cottages, occupied by a game-keeper and a woodman in the employ of Mr. W. H. A. Wharton, of Skelton Castle, now stand on the site of the entrance to this outer ward, and the moats have been filled up, only a slight depression now indicating the site of that on the north. These moats were fed by a run of water down the field to the east of Stank House.

THE INNER WARD.—Kilton Castle, in its first form, was one of the numerous hastily-constructed “adulterine” castles run up in great numbers during the civil wars of the time of Stephen. As erected between 1135 and 1140, it was an unusually strong but small wooden fortress, occupying a natural “Motte.” The great strength of the site rendered an artificial mound unnecessary, and the scarping of a part of the southern side of the promontory, and the digging of a deep and broad fosse right across the narrow neck of the promontory, was practically the only engineering work necessary.

The omission, as at Bamborough, for the same reason, of any artificial “Motte” had much to do with the ultimate permanent arrangements of the structure.

The wooden palisading was, at a relatively early date, replaced by permanent walling, so that probably as early as

1160 the fortalice was practically converted into a walled enclosure, containing the usual timber "palace" and out-buildings. The fact that the north of England suffered much less than did the south during these troublous times, may account for the relatively early date at which time was found to replace the timber palisading by permanent walling. In many castles, some erected as early as the time of the Conqueror, the last vestige of timber palisading did not disappear until as late as the reign of Edward I.¹

What were the arrangements of the timber castle, which was founded about 1135, it is, of course, quite impossible to say, for it is hardly necessary to mention that no such structure now remains either in England or any other country. Fortunately, however, we have a very elaborate and interesting account of a famous wooden castle, written in 1194 by Lambert, of Ardres. Ardres Castle, says this historian, was built about 1117 by Arnold, Lord of Ardres, and on the ground-floor were cellars, store rooms, and granaries; on the first floor was the Great Hall, buttery, bakery, and the sleeping apartment of the waiting maids and children. The lord and lady of the castle appear to have slept on the dais of the Great Hall, which, at night, was probably screened off from the rest of the room. This part of the Great Hall contained the only fireplace in the house, and it appears to have only been used occasionally. On the second floor, in the roof, were two large rooms, one for the use of the daughters of the lord, another for his sons, and on the same floor was the accommodation for the garrison. High up on the east side of the house was the chapel, with decorated and painted ceiling. Stairs and passages led from one floor to another. The kitchen was built at right angles to this house, and was of two storeys, the cattle being placed in the basement, the kitchen proper being on the first floor level, probably opening out of the Great Hall. During the summer months the cooking was probably done in the open air.

¹ The Castle of Corfe, founded in the reign of William I, had timber curtains until the time of Henry III, when, according to Hutchin's *Dorset*, i, 488, the cost of making "two good walls in place of the palisades at Corfe between the old bailey of the said castle and the middle bailey towards the west, and between the keep of the said castle and the outer bailey towards the south, was £62." The Castle of Chester, founded soon after the Conquest, had no stonework until 1159 (Pipe Rolls, ii,

7); Carlisle had wooden palisading as late as 1319 (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, Edw. II, iii, 161); in 1225, the stockade of Gloucester Castle, founded soon after the Conquest, was blown down by the wind, and had to be repaired (*Close Rolls*, ii, 88b); whilst at Durham there were only timber buildings on the "Motte" until as late as 1345.

Numerous other instances of the long delay between the foundation of the castle and the erection of permanent curtains and buildings might be quoted.

In all probability the main block of the wooden palace in the original castle of Kilton was erected along the eastern curtain, and the kitchen block may have abutted upon the northern curtain. Even when the palisading, about 1160, was replaced by stone walls, the palace would remain as originally constructed.

Sir William de Kylton, the seventh lord of the Kilton fief, took advantage of the intestinal disorder caused by the absence of King Richard I in the Holy Land, to completely rebuild his fortress, replacing the original wooden palace by one of stone, and, owing to the great strides made in siege engines at this time, constructing the outer ward to flank and protect the entrance. This reconstruction was a perfectly natural, though somewhat early, evolution, and it was entirely owing to the peculiarities of the site—a long but very narrow promontory—and to the absence of any keep or “Motte,” that the new castle became one of the earliest examples in England of the Keepless or Enceintric type of fortress.¹ Sir William might have built a rectangular keep similar but smaller than that which was then being erected by Lord Fitz-Randolph at Middleham; but he apparently preferred the comfort of a “palace,” and the enfiling of the only approachable curtain of this “palace” by boldly projecting mural towers (which, in themselves, were used as part of the palace) was a remarkably effective piece of work, considering the comparatively early date of the reconstruction.

About 1260, the palace portion of the castle was severed from the rest of the enclosure by a transverse wall with accompanying barbican tower, which was quite in keeping with the alterations subsequently made on the same lines to existing fortresses, and may, perhaps, be almost said to have converted Kilton into an early form of Concentric castle. It is a striking fact that, during its occupation, Kilton was always well ahead of the times in both its defensive and domestic arrangements.

THE WESTERN CURTAIN.—Having noticed the slight traces of the outer ward, we may now walk round the ruins of the inner ward. The western curtain presents but few features of interest, and is now largely concealed from view by the trees growing in the fosse, which was part of the Norman castle, and which separated the outer and inner wards. This fosse,

¹ This type of castle can only be properly studied in Wales and on the Welsh borders. Kilton possesses a unique interest, as it is the only castle of this type in the county of York, with the possible exception of Skipton.

which is some 46 feet in extreme width, and 12 feet in depth, never contained water, being carried across the neck of the promontory until it merged into the ravine on either hand.

The western curtain is the shortest façade of the castle, measuring only 76 feet in length from north to south, and is constructed of poor, small, and irregular stones. A good deal more than half of it remains to a height varying from 16 to 19 feet. At the north-west angle are the ruins of a small rectangular flanking tower. When complete, including the parapet, this curtain has evidently been about 25 feet high for the greater part of its length; but owing to a slight fall in the ground towards the south, it must have been some 30 feet or more in height above the gateway. It presents no features of interest, and contains no loops, windows, or openings of any kind.

THE NORTH-WEST TOWER, which flanked the entrance, may have risen some 10 feet above the rest of the curtain. When complete, it would certainly be furnished with loops—probably three or four, one above the other—in the south wall flanking the entrance gate. This portion of the tower, however, is ruined to the foundations. Its western face measures 14 feet in length from north to south, and the tower projects 7 feet 3 inches beyond the northern curtain. Some 3 feet above the exterior ground level a plain plinth, projecting 3 inches, is carried round the base of the tower. The north-west angle of the tower has been robbed of its facing stones.

South of this tower the curtain remains to a height of some 16 feet for a length of 33 feet 6 inches, and has been 4 feet thick. For the greater part of its length it has been stripped of the facing stones, which were poor and small, evidently old material used up in a subsequent reconstruction. Some of the stones are not set on their natural beds, and have, consequently, weathered considerably.

THE ENTRANCE GATE has disappeared altogether, but was undoubtedly at the south-west angle, and would probably be merely a plain arch in the curtain, the gate being secured by strong bolts and bars. Whether the curtain was thickened at this point it is impossible to say without excavation, but it would seem probable.

The whole of this curtain, or, at any rate, what remains of it, dates from about 1214. There is little doubt that Sir William de Kylton intended reconstructing this portion of the castle on the same lines as the remainder of the structure, and, in all

probability, at the time of his death this curtain was partially pulled down with a view to its reconstruction. But Sir Richard de Alta Ripa seems to have, immediately after his acquisition of the fief, become involved in a feud with Peter de Mauley Ist, which caused him to hastily put this portion of the castle together again. Succeeding owners do not seem to have troubled to finish de Kylton's work.

THE NORTHERN CURTAIN is the most interesting external portion of the ruin. At the north-west angle the small tower already mentioned as flanking the entrance appears in the form rather of a large buttress than of a tower, its northern face measuring only 7 feet 4 inches in length from east to west, with a projection of 4 feet 2 inches beyond the curtain. It contains neither loop nor window, and the bottom half of it has been robbed of its facing stones. The plinth already mentioned is here only 19 inches above exterior ground level.

From the north-east angle of this tower the northern curtain remains for a distance of 63 feet 6 inches eastward, in the form of a blank and uninteresting wall some 18 to 20 feet high. It contains neither loop nor window, and is built of small, poor, and irregular stones. It is obvious at a glance that it is coeval with what remains of the western curtain.

THE STABLE TOWER.—At the east end of this wall are distinct indications of the former presence of a small rectangular tower, evidently of the same date, now ruined to the foundations. Without excavation it is impossible to say exactly what were its dimensions, but it would appear to have projected some 10 feet beyond the curtain, its northern face measuring some 13 feet in length. For distinguishing purposes, we may call it the stable tower. It was probably furnished with loops flanking the curtain both east and west.

For some 20 feet east of this tower the curtain is ruined to the foundations, but has evidently been 7 feet thick. Everything points to this wall, from the east wall of the stable tower to the west wall of the north tower, having been built soon after the completion of the latter, probably about 1205. The original Norman curtain (*circa* 1160) stood some feet southwards of the present curtain, and abutted upon the west wall of the north tower some 30 feet from its north-west angle. In order to bring the west wall of this tower (which contained a well-stair) within the enceinte, Sir Wm. de Kylton pulled down the original curtain, and built a new, stronger, and loftier wall, which he threw boldly outwards or northwards.

Some 20 feet east of the east face of the stable tower a fragment of walling 6 feet long still remains to a height of 3 feet, and is 7 feet thick; the stones are large and good. For some four yards eastward the curtain is ruined to the foundations, and the ground externally falls away very steeply from the site of the wall. From this point it is thrown boldly outwards to bring the west wall of the north tower within the enceinte.

Abutting upon the west wall of the north tower a portion of this curtain, some 35 feet in length and varying, according to the ground level, from 2 to 16 feet in height, still remains. The ashlar work—only a fragment of which remains *in situ*—has evidently been excellent, but practically the whole of it has been wrenched away from the cement, leaving the rough rubble exposed to view. The exterior ground level has been falling gradually throughout the whole of the northern curtain just described; but at this point it falls much more steeply, and the base of the northern curtain, where it abuts upon the north tower, is some 25 feet below the base of the north-west tower. It seems probable that the curtain would not be less than 50 feet in height at this point.

THE NORTH TOWER must have been the most striking feature of the castle externally, and when complete cannot have been less than 60 feet high externally, and some 45 feet high internally. Only the basement now remains, to a height varying from 17 to 21 feet.

The western face, owing to the throwing outwards of the northern curtain at this point, now projects only 8 feet, although before the curtain was altered the projection would be at least 30 feet. Here some magnificent masonry still remains. The stones are fine and large, several measuring 21 inches by 13 inches, and the majority 19 inches by 10 inches. A bold massive plinth, with a projection of 5 inches, ran round the three exterior faces of the tower, and owing to the subsequent throwing outwards of the curtain may now be seen inside as well as outside. This plinth is 4 feet 6 inches above the exterior ground level, where the western face of the tower meets the northern curtain, and over 7 feet at the north-west angle, owing to the ground falling away steeply. The footings below the plinth have been very massive, but only three facing stones (each measuring 21 inches by 10 inches) now remain, the rest having been wrenched away.

The northern façade of this somewhat irregularly shaped tower measures 44 feet 6 inches in extreme length from east to west, including the very boldly projecting footings. Unfortunately here the whole of the facing stones have been removed, leaving the interior rubble exposed to view. Some 26 feet from the north-west angle of the tower a buttress turret, the north face of which measures 10 feet 6 inches in length, projects from the main body of the tower. This turret does not appear to have been a garde-robe, as the usual cleansing chamber is absent; it may have been hollowed out, possibly commencing on the first floor level, and have contained small mural bedchambers.

The east face of the tower projects some 28 feet beyond the northern curtain. Some very fine ashlar work still remains here. The bold plinth already referred to is conspicuous, and at the north-east angle is 11 feet 6 inches above exterior ground level. The base of the footings of the tower at this angle is 15 feet below the base of the northern curtain, where it abuts upon the tower. This is, of course, caused by the steep fall in the ground here, at a gradient of rather more than 1 in 2.

This large tower, although actually forming part of the "palace," would somewhat resemble a rectangular keep in external appearance. It apparently, from the striking similarity in the masonry and workmanship, is coeval with the north-east tower, and dates from 1194-1200. The curtain east of it is ruined to the foundations for a distance of some 18 feet.

THE APSIDAL TOWER, some 18 feet east of the north tower, appears to have measured 16 feet from east to west by 13 feet from north to south, projecting some 6 feet beyond the curtain on the east, and some 8 feet on the west. This portion of the curtain appears to have been strengthened about 1210, and the apsidal tower erected. It is evidently coeval with this strengthening of the curtain, at any rate on the east side, for it is bonded into it. Only the footings of the tower now remain, but the workmanship and material is magnificent. The apse commences, on the east side, 2 feet 8 inches north of the junction with the curtain, and several of the stones measure 20 inches by 14 inches. A huge tree grows out of the centre of the tower, and having already dislodged several feet of fine ashlar work, threatens to pull down what little now remains of it.

The juxtaposition of the north tower and this apsidal tower would lead one to hazard the conjecture that there was a postern

door in the west wall of the latter. A somewhat similar arrangement exists in connection with the interesting north-east tower at the neighbouring and contemporary castle of Mulgrave.

The curtain between the apsidal tower and the north-east tower is 39 feet in length, and was apparently strengthened about 1210. It remains to a height of some 8 or 9 feet externally, and some 3 feet internally; but the internal collection of grass-grown debris would appear to be nearly 3 feet deep. A plain plinth, with a projection of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, runs along the greater part of this wall. The only object of interest is a vent or drain, some 6 feet east of the apsidal tower. The actual opening measures 10 inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

THE NORTH-EAST TOWER is both externally and internally the most interesting feature of the ruin. It dates from 1194-1200, is faced with magnificent ashlar, and the workmanship is wonderfully good. It projects 12 feet 8 inches beyond the northern curtain up to the point where the apse or semi-circular face commences, and the total projection, including the footings, is 23 feet. The height to which the tower remains varies, but, broadly speaking, the greater part of the first floor still exists, and a large part of the tower is some 34 feet above exterior ground level. A bold plinth is carried round the foot of the basement apartment externally, and is some 10 feet above the exterior ground level at the outside of the apse. The base of the footings of the tower is 14 feet 3 inches below the base of the northern curtain, owing to the steep fall in the ground, the gradient here being a good deal steeper than 1 in 2. A portion of a recess, which once contained a loop for the use of the cross-bow, may still be seen in the west wall of the tower on the first floor level at the point where the apse commences.

The writer has in his possession a photograph of this tower taken some thirty years ago, before the footings of the tower (which had all been wrenched away) had been replaced by the late Mr. J. T. Wharton, of Skelton Castle. The tower was then in a somewhat dangerous condition, for not content with taking the fine ashlar work, the spoilers had scooped out much of the rubble, leaving the tower overhanging.

The curvilinear northern face of the tower contains almost in the centre of the basement apartment a perfect and most interesting example of a loop for the use of the cross bow, whilst in the chamber above is a lancet-shaped Early English window.

Photograph No. 1 gives a view of this part of the tower, and also of a portion of the northern curtain between it and the small apsidal tower.

From the base of the whole of the northern curtain the ground drops away steeply, but not precipitately, the average gradient being about 1 in 2, quite sufficiently steep to render the task of bringing siege engines to the foot of the walls a sufficiently difficult one.

THE EASTERN FAÇADE.—The eastern façade measures some 80 to 85 feet in length, and is built along a little narrow ledge of rock, from the edge of which a precipice drops sheer some 50 feet, from the foot of which precipice the ground drops very steeply towards the beck. Strewn about at the foot of this precipice are masses of rubble masonry fallen from the walls, proving them to have been at least 5 feet in thickness.

The most striking feature of this façade is the eastern face of the north-east tower. Photograph No. 2—the taking of which was more or less of an acrobatic feat, the camera being posed on the edge of a precipice just beneath the castle walls—shows this view. The ledge of the lancet-shaped Early English window in the basement apartment of this tower is between 13 and 14 feet above exterior ground level, and throughout the whole length of the eastern curtain the interior ground level varies from 14 feet at its northern to 8 feet at its southern end above the exterior ground level. Some 15 feet south of the commencement of the apse of the north-east tower a turret projects 5 feet 6 inches (or, including the footings, 7 feet) beyond the main body of the tower. This turret is in a very ruinous condition. Its eastern face, including the footings, measures 11 feet in length from north to south.

South of this turret a revetment wall, some 11 feet high, remains for a length of about 27 feet. Although partially restored by the late Mr. J. T. Wharton some thirty years ago—it was then in a dangerous condition—this wall gives one the impression that the work was originally Norman, and possibly here we may have something dating back to the first walling of the castle, about 1160. Beyond this piece of wall a shallow buttress, much restored, appears; but the wall from this point to the south-east angle is in such a ruinous condition that it is difficult to say anything definite as to its date. At the south-east angle are distinct indications of the former presence of a well-stair.

The private apartments undoubtedly extended along the whole of the eastern curtain, and it is quite possible that this curtain between the staircase just mentioned and the projection of the turret is the oldest walling in the castle.

THE SOUTHERN CURTAIN.—Except for a short distance of some 10 or 12 feet at its south-east end, there were no buildings erected against this curtain. For nearly 100 feet from the eastern end the wall is ruined to the foundations internally, but externally it presents the appearance of a revetment some 10 to 12 feet high, owing to scarping. A precipice of some 120 feet falls almost sheer away from the foot of the wall, so that this façade was quite unapproachable. Consequently, a high wall was unnecessary here, and for some 90 feet from the end of the narrow block of buildings abutting upon the south-east angle there was probably merely a light embattled curtain, perhaps 6 or 7 feet high internally, which would present the appearance of a wall 18 feet high externally, owing to the difference in levels. The whole of the facing stones have been wrenched away from the cement, not a solitary fragment remaining for the whole of this length. The only feature of interest is the mouth of a drain, almost opposite that already mentioned near the small apsidal tower.

Opposite the north tower, some 100 feet west of the east end of this curtain, the wall turns slightly outwards, and here the facing stones are left for a distance of some 12 feet, and the wall has apparently been increased in thickness to about 6 feet. The facing stones are poor and small, and one is inclined to imagine that this portion of the wall dates from the first substitution of masonry for palisading, viz. *circa* 1160.

Then a buttress, connected with the transverse interior wall, abuts upon the curtain, and here the masonry is much later in date, possibly *circa* 1260. From this point westward the curtain has been some 5 feet thick, and about 10 feet west of the buttress a fragment of it still remains for a length of about 11 feet, and probably dates from about 1200, the stones being large and good.

For some 100 feet west of this fragment of walling the site of the curtain is marked only by heaps of shapeless rubble, but has apparently been from 4 to 5 feet thick. At the western end some 60 feet of walling remains to a height of some 2 or 3 feet, but all the facing stones have disappeared, so that it is impossible to fix its date.

INTERIOR OF THE CASTLE.

Having now occupied the examination of the exterior of the ruin, we may proceed to visit the interior.

Passing over the site of the gateway—

THE STABLING first attracts our attention. This picturesque ivy-clad block of buildings is built against the northern and western curtains, occupying the north-west angle of the inner ward, and is singularly devoid of features of architectural interest. It measures 68 feet long, without including the small projection of the north-west tower. As to the width it is impossible, without excavation, to say anything definite, as the whole of the south wall has disappeared. But it is improbable that it exceeded 25 feet, as the enclosure at the east end of this block of buildings is less than 50 feet in internal width.

Mr. Ord, in his picturesque but inaccurate description of the castle, referring to this part of the structure, says: "Still at the western extremity we trace the grand banqueting room, 60 feet long by 59 broad," etc. In his measurements Mr. Ord makes no allowance for the passage into the interior of the castle and for the courtyard, whilst the inferiority of the workmanship and material, together with the absence of any attempt at even the crudest architectural decoration, all tend to show that this large and much ruined block of buildings did not form part of the "palace," of which the Great Hall was always one of the chief if not the most important room. Still, in all descriptions of the castle, this portion is always referred to as "The Great Hall." As a matter of fact, there is no doubt whatever that the basement was the castle stabling, possibly with walled-off compartments at either end forming guard rooms, and giving access to the two small flanking towers, which may have risen a storey higher than the rest of the block. The upper floor, approached from the narrow court-yard by an external flight of steps, probably wooden, would afford accommodation for the inferior domestics, for additional in-living retainers during a period of intestinal warfare or anticipated attack, and also as a store for hay, etc., being doubtless divided into several apartments by wooden partitions. This block must necessarily have been lighted by windows looking south across the court-yard, for the remaining walls contain neither window nor loop. If there were any fireplaces, which is unlikely, these must also have been in the south wall.



KILTON CASTLE.

THE NORTH-EAST TOWER.—NORTH FRONT.

(Photograph No. 1.)

The north wall remains to a height of some 20 feet for a length of a little over 63 feet, and is composed of poor and irregular stones. From the bottom half of the wall the facing stones have all been wrenched away, leaving the rough rubble exposed to view. The upper half of the wall is almost smothered in ivy, through which peep three heavy plain corbels, which once supported the roof. In the north-west angle the north jamb of a door, which led into the little first floor room of the north-west tower, still remains.

The west wall stands to a height of some 18 feet for a distance of about 33 feet from the north-west tower. The facing stones have all been wrenched away, and the wall is covered with ivy.

Of the east wall a solitary ivy-clad fragment, some 20 feet high, alone remains. The base of this fragment was repaired and strengthened by the late Mr. J. T. Wharton about 1884, as it was then in a dangerous condition.

The whole of this block of buildings dates from about 1214, when this part of the castle was hastily rebuilt, of old material, by Alta Ripa.

With the exception of the stabling and barracks, there do not appear to have been any other permanent structures in this, the outer part of the inner ward; but it is quite possible that wooden huts for the use of the carpenter, joiner, mason, etc., may have stood against the northern curtain just east of the stabling. This curtain, which dates from about 1205, was 7 feet thick, and would be furnished with the usual rampart walk and protecting parapet, the latter being loopholed. It may have communicated with the second floor of the northern half of the north tower, but if so, there would certainly be here a small bridge pit worked from within the tower.

The southern curtain appears to have been only 4 feet thick for the greater part of its length, although probably at least 20 feet high. It would doubtless be furnished internally with a wooden platform for the use of the defenders in case of attack, as was the light wall of the interior wall at Scarborough. The nature of the site rendered a massive wall unnecessary at this point, for no siege engines could be brought against it.

THE PALACE.—This is incomparably the most interesting portion of the ruin, and before undertaking a description of it, the writer has made a careful study of the following castles

of approximately the same type, viz. Chepstow, Caergwle, Carreg Cennen, Chirk, Carew, Castroggy, Conway, Caerphilly, Caernarvon, Beaumaris, Denbigh, Grosmont, Harlech, Kidwelly, Llanfair, Manorbier, Neath, Pencoed, Pembroke, and Whitecastle ; of the palace portions of Arundel, Berkeley, Durham, Newark, Porchester, and Richmond, and this special work, together with a general personal knowledge of some ninety to a hundred other castles of various dates, leads him to hazard a conjecture as to the original internal arrangements of the palace portion of Kilton.

In spite of the fact that so very little, comparatively speaking, now remains, this task is not so impossible as might at first appear, owing to the dimensions of the palace being so very clearly defined.

As completed, *circa* 1214, the inner ward at Kilton was open from end to end, but about 1260, Sir Marmaduke de Thweng erected a strong cross curtain, effectually severing the eastern and western parts of the ward, and practically making the palace into a castle within a castle.

The only fault in an otherwise admirable design was the fact at the basement or, rather, cellar in the northern half of the north tower was entered from the outer part of the inner ward.

doorway, 4 feet 8 inches wide, which was evidently very strongly guarded by massive bolts and bars, the holes for the insertion of which still remain, led into this room, which measures 23 feet 6 inches from east to west by 19 feet from north to south. A flight of steps within the thickness of the wall (8 feet) led down to the inner door, as is clearly shown by the arching. An accumulation of some 3 feet of rubbish covers the floor of the cellar, which contained no windows or loops, the only light being that which came through the door when open. The roof of this cellar was of timber ; it would have been better vaulted.

The palace occupied the whole of the eastern half of the inner ward, and was separated from the rest of that ward by the cross-curtain just mentioned, 6 feet thick, and possibly some 25 feet high. A door, for pedestrians only, led into a small barbican tower, added about 1260, constructed against the south wall of the north tower. The foundations of this barbican tower still remain. The entrance passage, 8 feet wide, would probably be defended by a *meutriere* at either end, and by a gate and portcullis. The tower appears to have measured 30 feet in length from east to west by 14 feet in width from



KILTON CASTLE.

THE NORTH-EAST TOWER.—EAST FRONT.

(Photograph No. 2.)

north to south. These defences completely isolated the palace (with the exception of the basement cellar already described) from the western or outer part of the inner ward. It might therefore, with reason, be argued that this alteration converted the castle from Enceintric to modified Concentric in type. It would, from a defensive point of view, have been advisable to have built up the doorway into the basement cellar.

The palace occupied the large north tower, the north-east tower, and the space between them, and was extended, in the form of a very narrow block of buildings, along the eastern curtain. With the exception of the two main towers and of the small apsidal tower immediately to the east of the north tower, which would rise a storey higher than the rest of the block, the palace would be two storeys in height, with a timber roof of low pitch. But the block of buildings between the two main towers would probably be only a few feet lower than the towers themselves, as this block contained the Great Hall and Chapel, both loftier apartments than the corresponding rooms on the same floor in the towers.

Except for the very narrow block of buildings on the eastern curtain, the whole of the palace was ranged along the northern curtain, and the reason for this is at once apparent. The northern façade was the most open to attack (the southern and eastern curtains were quite unapproachable by an enemy owing to the steep precipices guarding them), consequently, a massive and lofty wall of enceinte, with boldly projecting mural towers, was necessary on the northern side, and, as the space available was limited owing to the narrowness of the site, these walls and towers were, naturally, utilised.¹ But this arrangement possessed another advantage. A high wall being unnecessary on the southern façade, the apartments between the two main towers, viz. the Great Hall and Chapel—both on the first floor—being lighted by windows looking south over the top of the low curtain, would not only obtain plenty of sunshine, but command magnificent views of the ravine and of the moorlands beyond, an advantage not to be lightly overlooked in a type of castle, where, as at Manorbier, all the principal windows looked inwards.

THE NORTH TOWER.—The block which we term the north tower, but which was really not a separate tower but part of

¹ Exactly the same arrangement occurs at Carreg Cennen, in Caermarthen-shire, which Mr. Alfred Harvey (*The*

Castles of England, p. 133) describes as "the most romantic castle in Britain."

the palace buildings, would almost certainly contain the kitchen, buttery, and offices, together with accommodation for the principal retainers and domestics. The underground room, already described in the northern part of the tower, is practically all that now remains, with the exception of the foundations of the rest of the tower. The room above it (measuring 24 feet 6 inches from east to west by 20 feet from north to south), and that on the ground floor level in the southern part of the tower (measuring 25 feet 6 inches from east to west by 16 feet 6 inches from north to south), would probably be approached by means of one of the rooms beneath the Great Hall, and may have been used as buttery and store rooms. Their size would admit of their being subdivided by wooden partitions.

The kitchen,¹ almost certainly, would be on the first floor level; this was the usual arrangement, occupying probably the southern part of the floor (26 feet 6 inches by 17 feet 6 inches), whilst the northern portion (25 feet 6 inches by 21 feet) was probably subdivided by screens into auxiliary kitchen and offices. The kitchen arrangements were much more elaborate in a castle of the Enceintric type than in Norman castles.

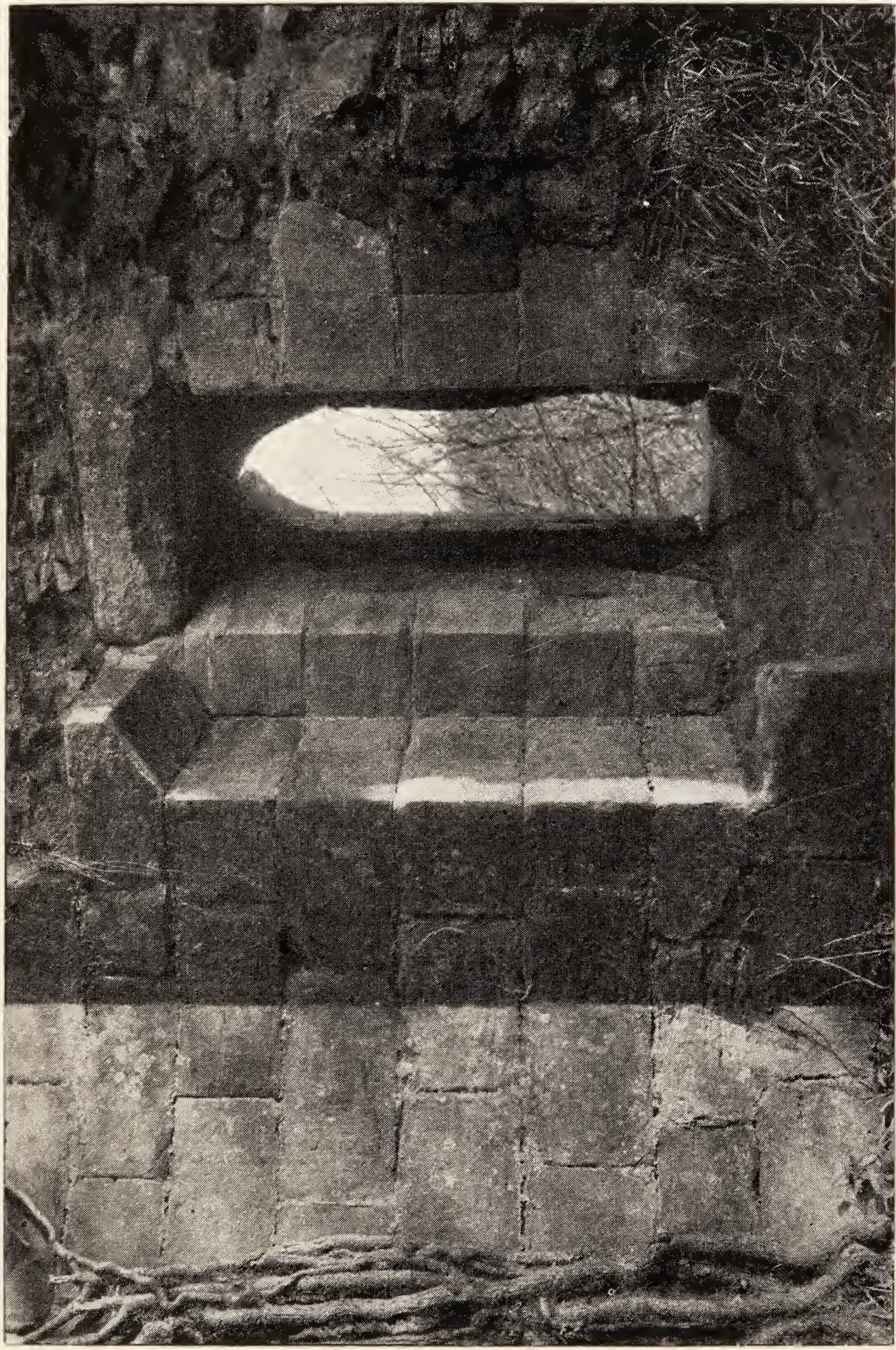
The two corresponding rooms on the second floor would probably be subdivided into four or even more apartments by partitions, screens, or curtains, and provide sleeping accommodation for the principal retainers, men-at-arms, etc., and even in the case of a large family, such as that of Marmaduke de Thweng and Lucia de Brus, of the younger male members of the family. The turret projecting from the north face of the north tower was probably hollowed out, so far as the two upper floors were concerned, into small mural sleeping chambers.

A circular well-stair constructed in the west wall of the tower—indications of which still remain—immediately above the doorway into the cellar, commencing on the ground floor (as distinguished from the cellar) level, gave access to the various apartments and to the roof of the tower, from which a magnificent view, both seawards and landwards, would be obtained.

It is extremely unlikely that such a tower would be devoid of garde-robes, although no trace of any garde-robe turret now remains. These were probably corbelled out from the walls, as in the north-west tower at Mulgrave, discharging on to the ground below.

¹ In castles of this type, the kitchen was almost invariably placed conveniently near the lower end of the Great Hall, with which it communicated, as at

Harlech and Caerphilly. At the latter place it occupied the upper floor of a large mural tower, abutting upon the main curtain.



KILTON CASTLE.

WINDOW IN BASEMENT OF NORTH-EAST TOWER.

(Photograph No. 3.)

THE NORTHERN BLOCK OF BUILDINGS.

THE GREAT HALL¹ was, almost certainly, immediately east of the north tower, extending along the northern curtain, and including the projection of the small apsidal tower. How long this room was it is impossible to say, as only the foundations of the cellar beneath it now remain, possibly some 50 feet. It would be provided with one or perhaps two fireplaces, and would communicate with the kitchen and offices at its western end. It would probably be somewhat loftier than the corresponding rooms on the same floor in the north and north-east towers. As these rooms were 10 feet high, we may, perhaps, assign 15 feet as the height of the Great Hall. It would be lighted by fairly large lancet-shaped windows looking south, and would be approached from the very narrow courtyard by a flight of steps. The room was about 20 feet in width, but even excavation might fail to reveal its length, as the partition walls on the ground floor need not necessarily have corresponded with those above. Its north wall may have been, and probably was, furnished with two or three loops for the use of the cross-bow, similar to that still existing in the north-east tower. The room on the first floor of the small apsidal tower may have been screened off from the rest of the Hall, and used as a sleeping chamber, possibly by the chaplain resident in the castle.

It is quite possible, indeed probable, that a portion of the dais or eastern end of the Hall was screened off from the rest of the room, and used as a withdrawing room.² If so, it would be some 20 feet long from north to south, but very narrow, possibly just sufficiently wide to allow of a window in its south wall. This window would probably be large enough to allow of a person stepping out on to a narrow timber balcony formed by a continuation eastward of the platform at the top of the flight of steps leading from the little court-yard to the door of the Great Hall. Such a balcony would form a pleasant sitting-out place in the summer for the ladies of the household, as it would command a beautiful view over the top of the low

¹ This apartment was always the most important feature of the palace of a castle of the Enceintric type, and was, almost invariably, raised upon a basement or cellar, and equally invariably communicated with the kitchen at its lower end, and with the private apartments at its dais or upper end. The windows nearly always face inwards, as at Manorbier and Caerphilly; the

latter hall is a particularly fine room, measuring 73 feet in length, 35 feet in width, and 30 feet in height.

² This was the usual arrangement not only in castles of the Enceintric type, but in the palaces of Norman castles such as Richmond, where the withdrawing room opens out of the dais end of the hall.

southern curtain, and obtain plenty of sunshine. This was a quite usual arrangement in such a position.

The rooms on the ground floor level beneath the Hall were possibly subdivided by timber partitions, or more probably, as was usually the case, by light walls of masonry. One of these divisions would be a guard room communicating with the postern door in the west face of the small apsidal tower, always supposing, as seems very probable, that such a door existed. Another would give access to the two large rooms on the ground floor of the north tower.

THE CHAPEL OF SAINT PETER, referred to in several of the Guisborough charters as "infra castellum de Kylton," was almost certainly immediately east of the Great Hall,¹ and would communicate with the withdrawing room, the small apartment screened off at the dais end of the Hall. In order to avoid the necessity of the retainers passing through the withdrawing room (which was a semi-private apartment) to reach the chapel, the timber balcony before mentioned would probably—this was a quite usual arrangement—be continued along the wall of the Hall to a door in the south-west end of the chapel. This chapel was probably of no great size. The corresponding room in the palace of Richmond Castle measures only 21 feet by 13 feet, and these were probably almost the exact dimensions of the Chapel of Saint Peter, for although the block of buildings has had an internal width of 20 feet at this point, it is almost certain that opening out of the withdrawing room, and running alongside the northern curtain would be a passage leading to the ladies' apartments in the first floor of the north-east tower. Allowing 6 feet for this passage and the necessary division wall, we get a chapel of about the same size as Richmond. This room would undoubtedly be the most ornate apartment in the castle, and would be lighted by windows looking south.² Generally speaking, none of the chapels in castles of this type are large, but all are remarkable for their beauty of decoration and proportion. Beneath the chapel would be a room possibly used as the armoury.

¹ This was the usual arrangement. "Owing to exigencies of space, chapels were not so large as they often were in the earlier castles" (Mr. Alf. Harvey's *The Castles of England*, p. 153), but they were conspicuous for their beauty. The chapels of Conway and Caerphilly are situated at the east end of the Great Hall. The remarkably beautiful chapel of Kidwelly opens out of the Hall.

² As the east wall abutted upon the private apartment, it would not be possible to have an east window. Probably the chapel was lighted by three tall slender lancet windows, similar to those in the exquisite little Queen's Chapel or Oratory at Conway, with a continuous arcading of trefoil-headed arches beneath the windows.

THE PRIVATE APARTMENTS.—Here we are on more certain ground. These, the most interesting rooms in the palace, occupied the north-east tower—originally three storeys high—and the narrow irregular block of buildings—originally two storeys high—running along the eastern and abutting upon the southern curtain. Here the space being limited the ground floor apartments were used as living rooms, although in the rest of the palace the ground floor would only be utilised as guard rooms, store rooms, laundry, armoury, buttery, bakery, etc.

Of this important block only the northern end now remains, the rest of it being ruined to the foundations. This is, undoubtedly, the oldest part of the castle, and the rooms along the eastern curtain south of the north-east tower may have been part of the Norman castle of 1160, and have been lighted by small round-headed windows. It is quite evident, from the debris at the foot of the precipice beneath this curtain, that these walls were not less than 5 feet in thickness.

It is impossible to say without excavation how the ground floor was subdivided, but everything tends to point to there having been three rooms. The approach to this suite of apartments appears to have been through the southern room, which room, almost certainly, had access to or contained a well-stair in the south-east angle, indications of the former presence of which still exist. This room, which was irregular in shape, measuring some 24 feet in length from north to south, and varying in width from 4 feet at its southern end—where was the well-stair—to 15 feet at its northern end, was probably an ante-room or guard room. It would not only give access to the other two rooms on the basement north of it, but, by means of the well-stair, communicate with the rooms above.

The middle room on the basement, which may have communicated not only with the guard room but also, by a door in its west wall, with the room below the chapel (probably the armoury), was probably allotted to the personal retainers of the lord of the castle. It appears to have measured 20 feet in length from north to south, and to have varied from 12 to 17 feet in width.

The northernmost room, which occupied the basement of the north-east tower, and was entered through the middle room, is in almost perfect preservation. The west, north, and east walls remain to their full height; the south or interior wall has gone. Without systematic excavation, it is impossible

to determine the exact length of this apartment, but it can scarcely have been less than 20 or 21 feet, excluding the apsidal projection at its northern end. It measures 14 feet 2 inches in width from east to west, and 9 feet 7 inches in height.

Not quite in the centre of the apse, and looking north, is a very fine and perfect specimen of the loop for the use of the cross-bow.¹ It is approached from the room by a vaulted recess in the thickness (5 feet 1½ inches) of the wall, 2 feet 9½ inches deep, 4 feet 6 inches long, and some 7 feet high. The loop is nearly in the centre of the recess, and measures 4 feet 10 inches in height, the cross-piece being 9 inches in length. It is splayed in a depth of 2 feet 4 inches to an internal width of 2 feet 10½ inches. Photograph No. 1 gives an external view of this feature.

The lighting of this room has been somewhat inadequate. With the exception of the loop just described, the only other opening is a lancet-shaped window, 4 feet 6 inches high, the exterior opening of which is 8 inches wide. The holes for the insertion of the iron bars, both vertical and horizontal, once guarding this opening, still remain.

The window is approached from the room by a vaulted recess, 4 feet 3½ inches in length, 1 foot 10 inches in depth, and some 5 feet 4 inches high, the floor of which is raised slightly above that of the room. The window is set in the northern half of the recess, and 12 inches from its external opening, is set back 2½ inches on either side, and then splayed to an internal width of 25 inches.

Photograph No. 3 gives a good idea of this window.

In the same (east) wall, about 11 feet 3 inches south of this recess, a doorway has opened upon a short mural passage leading into the turret already mentioned as projecting from the east face of the tower. This turret is now in so ruinous

¹ The cross-bow, one of the most formidable defensive weapons of mediæval castles, appears to have been re-introduced into England by Richard I (Sir Ralph Payne-Galwey's *The Cross-bow*). Special loopholes had to be constructed for its use, splayed downwards externally, so that accurate aim could be obtained. Not a single keep of the time of King Henry II contains such a loop; and even at Middleham, erected in 1190, the loops in the keep are merely for light and not adapted for shooting purposes. The earliest cross-bow loops known to the writer are those in the interesting keep of Clitheroe (1187-1194),

but that at Kilton cannot be much later, as the north-east tower apparently dates from 1194-1200. The beautiful little north-east tower at Mulgrave Castle, Yorkshire, which apparently dates from about 1214-1216, also contains early examples. The recesses containing these loops were of some size, as at Kilton, so as to accommodate three men, in order that whilst one man was shooting the other two would be loading. In this way a continuous discharge could be kept up in case of attack. In the tower just referred to at Mulgrave, the walls are so thin that the archers could stand in the room itself.



KILTON CASTLE.

FIREPLACE IN BASEMENT OF NORTH-EAST TOWER.

(Photograph No. 4.)

a condition that it is quite impossible to say with any degree of certainty what were the internal arrangements. The basement of it has evidently been lighted by a window, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, looking south, the sill and west jamb of which still remain. From its shape on the basement, it seems extremely improbable that a well-stair commenced at this level; but there is very little doubt that the upper portion of this turret would contain a staircase commencing on the first floor level, and after leading to the room on the second floor of the north-east tower would descend to the battlements of the tower.

In the west wall of the room are the remains of a fireplace, almost more Late Norman than Early English in its details and characteristics. It dates from 1194-1200, and, so far as the writer is aware, is the oldest existing fireplace in the North Riding. Photograph No. 4 will probably convey a better idea of this interesting feature than can any verbal description. Both the massive corbels which once supported the mantel stone (4 feet 9 inches long and 7 inches high) remain *in situ*. That on the north measures 20 inches long by 15 inches deep, with a projection into the room of 6 inches. That on the south is somewhat less bold in character, and measures $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 14 inches deep, with the same projection. The fireplace has been 5 feet in height to the mantel, and varies from 16 to 28 inches in depth.

The walls of this room are of magnificent masonry.

On the first floor were apartments corresponding to those just described. These rooms, almost certainly, formed the "Lady's Bower," the private apartments of the lady members of the family. They were approached from the rooms below by means of the well-stair in the south-east angle, and would almost certainly, this was an almost universal arrangement, communicate with the Hall and withdrawing room by a passage running along the north wall of the chapel. The southernmost and the middle apartments have disappeared altogether; they were probably the ante-room and the bower or boudoir (which would also serve as the sleeping apartment of the daughters of the family) respectively.

The northernmost room, which formed the first floor of the north-east tower, has been a fine room, about 22 feet long from north to south. It measures 15 feet in width from east to west, and has been 10 feet high. It is in a more ruinous condition than is the corresponding room below. The west

wall, for the greater part of its length, is ruined to the floor level; the north and the northern portion of the east wall remain to their full height.

There was, almost certainly, a fireplace nearly above that in the room below, and in the north-west angle of the apartment, just where the apse commences, was a splayed loop for the use of the cross-bow, the northern side of which still remains. Archers stationed here could shoot along the northern curtain and beyond the projection of the north tower.

In the north-east angle of the room, within the apse, is a lancet-shaped Early English window, very similar in its details and characteristics to that already mentioned in the room below. Photograph No. 1 shows the exterior of this window. It is 4 feet 5½ inches in height, and 12 inches in external width, or 4 inches wider than is the window below. The sill measures 12 inches in depth, and the wall is then set back 2½ inches on either side exactly as in the window below. It is then splayed in a distance of 20 inches to an internal width of 30 inches, and approached by a vaulted recess. Five of the irons which supported the wooden shutter, once closing in the recess, still remain *in situ*.

Just to the south of this window, almost above the window in the room below, are the remains of a small mural recess or chamber, apparently some 5 feet long by 3 feet deep, constructed in the thickness of the wall and vaulted. It is in such a ruinous condition that it is impossible to say with certainty for what purposes it was used. It may have been either a small oratory or a garde-robe.

The well-stair, which almost certainly commenced at this level, and was contained in the turret already mentioned as projecting from the east face of this tower, led to a chamber occupying the second floor of the north-east tower. This room, which has entirely disappeared, would, most probably, be subdivided by a wooden partition, a division of which its ample proportions (some 23 feet by 16 feet) would readily admit, and would be used as sleeping apartments. The bulk of this floor is probably represented among the masses of debris at the foot of the precipice beneath the walls.

The well-stair would then be continued up to the summit of the tower, from which a magnificent view both seawards and landwards would be obtained. Even now, although the tower has lost a storey, the view is a very extensive one.

THE RAMPART WALK.¹—The northern and eastern curtains of the palace would be provided with a rampart walk, which would communicate with the second floor apartment in the northern part of the north tower. It would then pierce the small apsidal tower, which, on the rampart level, would probably contain an apartment used as a guard room for the sentinels, and probably fitted with a fireplace. As the north-east tower contained the purely private apartments, the walk would not communicate with it, but be carried round the interior or southern side of the tower, thence along the eastern curtain, where it would communicate with the well-stair in the south-east angle.

The summits of the various flanking towers, and also the wall above the entrance gate, would be fitted with wooden galleries,² to enable the defenders to shoot down on the assailants, and fling big stones upon them. “*Hurdicia quæ muros tutos reddebant*” (Philippodos, vii, 201; Bouquet, xvii). These galleries are now usually termed *bretasches*, but the original meaning of this latter word signified wooden towers. For instance, Close Rolls, i, 549*b*, contains an order that the timber and *bretasche* of Nafferton Castle be taken to Newcastle, and the *bretasche* be placed at the gate of the drawbridge in place of the little tower, which had fallen through defective foundations.

Kilton is essentially a small castle, “*quoddam parvum castrum*,” as it is described in the Inq. p. m. of Robert de Thweng (18 Edw. III). The actual space occupied by the inner ward and its towers is less than half an acre—about one-sixth of that occupied by Richmond Castle.

¹ At Pencoed Castle, Monmouthshire, the rampart walk is carried round the towers on the interior side. In castles of this type, where the rampart walk communicates with or pierces the mural towers, the latter are generally protected by strong doors, gate and portcullis, in some cases by small bridge pits with drawbridges, which were worked from within the towers, as was probably the case in the north tower at Kilton.

² It seems to be doubtful whether these timber galleries were in general use previous to the latter part of the twelfth century, although the Bayeux tapestry shows the stockade on the top of the motte at Bayeux Castle, sur-

mounted with what appears to be *hurdicia* or *bretasches*. In 1184, the famous Chateau Gaillard was provided with stone machicolations—the first instance of their use—and in 1186, the Duke of Burgundy caused *hordieri* to be placed on the towers and walls of Chatillon Castle. After this date these timber galleries came into general use, as is proved by the Close Rolls of the early thirteenth century, in which numerous orders for timber for that purpose are met with. In the fourteenth century, stone machicolations came into general use in place of timber galleries; but it is exceedingly doubtful whether any of the towers at Kilton were so treated.

DEWSBURY ACCOUNT ROLLS.

Canon J. T. Fowler has kindly drawn my attention to a few errata in the article which appeared under this title in the last volume of the *Journal*, and which should be corrected as follows :—

Page 356, line 5. *Cenagium* has nothing to do with the Lord's Supper. It is another mode of spelling *Senagium*, i.e. Synodals.

Page 356, lines 4 and 6 from bottom. *Oblacione inde facienda* should probably be read *oblatis inde faciendis*, and in the thirteenth line from the bottom *oblacionis* should probably be read *oblatarum*. *Oblacione facta* in the second line from the bottom of page 362 should probably be read *Oblatis factis*. The reference in every case being to the making of obleys or altar bread for the Easter celebration. Quoting from Canon Fowler's Introduction to the *Durham Account Rolls*, vol. iii, page xii, "The bread (at Durham) was always in the form of wafers made of the finest flour that could be obtained from picked grains of the best wheat. These wafers were commonly called 'obleys,' which word is a short form of the word 'oblation,' and they were made by pinching the paste between a pair of nippers called 'obley-irons' or 'baking-irons,' previously heated."

The cause of the false reading and extension is that in every instance the word translated 'oblation' is written obla^c in the roll, and the last letter is more like a 'c' than a 't.' But on comparing other words on the roll which end with a 't,' I find that the scribe has used the same letter, and therefore Canon Fowler's correction seems to be right, especially as the obleys are more probable than an oblation.

Page 358, line 13 from top. The word 'et,' which is omitted in the roll, should follow *arura*, and the sentence should be translated, 'he charges for ploughing and harrowing.' The word *arura* is interlined in the roll.

Page 370, line 12 from bottom. { I have translated *gurgitis* by the words
 Page 378, line 6 from top. { 'embankment' and 'dam,' although
 such meanings are uncommon, but they
 seemed most probable. I now find that at one time there was a 'cut' or watercourse (see Saxton's map of 1600), which may have been the *gurgitis* (*gurges*) mentioned here.

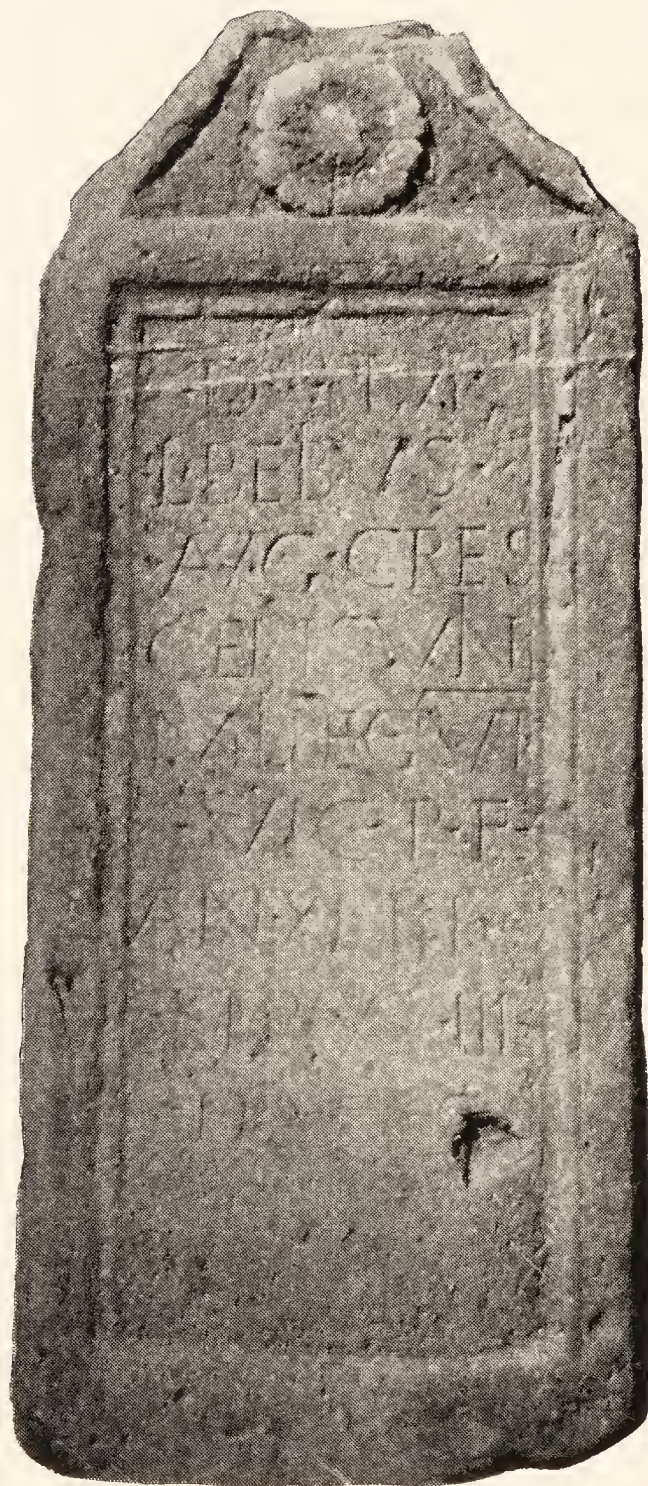
Page 370, line 4 from bottom. *Butamen* is a mistake for *bittumine*. I have somehow overlooked the wrong transcript. The word in the roll is *bittumē*. It should be translated 'tar,' as also should *butimine* in the eighteenth line of page 358.

Page 373ⁿ. For *Kitchen's* read *Kitchin's*.

Page 390, line 23. For *decimam* read *decimalem*, as in page 387, line 3 from bottom.

Page 452, line 8 from bottom. For *ayte* read *yate*.

S. J. CHADWICK.



ROMAN TOMBSTONE AT YORK.

Notes.

[The Council has decided to reserve a small space in each Number for notices of Finds and other discoveries; and it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all matters of archaeological interest which from time to time may be brought to light in this large county.]

I.

A NEW ROMAN INSCRIPTION FROM YORK.

A Roman memorial stone was discovered (August, 1911), during excavation, in the grounds of the Mount (Girls') School, York. The stone was found lying horizontally, face upwards, about 10 feet from the surface, one corner of it being just under the foundation of a wall built about 1855. As will be seen from the accompanying illustration, it is in almost perfect preservation. Its surface measures approximately 6 feet by 2 feet 6 inches, and its thickness is about 6 inches. The spot where the stone was found is near to the line of the Roman road between York and Tadcaster, and Roman remains have often been found in this vicinity. The inscription reads:—

D · M ·
L · BEBVS ·
AVG · CRES
CENS · VN ·
ML · LEG · VI ·
VIC · P · F ·
AN · XLIII ·
STP · XXIII ·
(?) HÆE FC.


‘To the divine departed, L. Bæbius Crescens, of Augusta Vindelicorum (the modern Augsburg) soldier of the 6th legion, victorious, pious, faithful; died aged 43, after 23 years’ service. (?) His heir caused this to be erected.’ (The reading and interpretation of the last line are doubtful.)

The stone will be kept in the Mount School, in the care of their Archæological Society.

P. W. DODD.

II.

RELIC OF THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD, 1460.



The sword which is here figured was dug up a few years ago during the operation of cutting a main drain near the site of the battle of Wakefield. The engagement, it will be remembered, was fought between the Yorkists and Lancastrians, when the former were defeated with great loss, including Edward, Duke of York, and the youthful Duke of Rutland. When found, the sword was incrustated with a thick coat of clay in which it was embedded, but which readily shelled off after an immersion in paraffin, leaving the sword in almost perfect condition, with the exception of the wood grip. The contrary would have been the case had it lain about 450 years in either sand or gravel. The total length of the sword is $33\frac{1}{2}$ inches, that of the blade $28\frac{1}{4}$ inches, width of blade $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The armourer's mark, which occurs on both sides of the blade, may be described as 3 mascles, 2 and 1, with a mullet above, all within a pointed shield. A photograph having been submitted to Mr. Guy Francis Lakin, F.S.A., the King's Armourer, the weapon was described by him as of great interest and very unusual type. "Although back-edged," he proceeds, "and possessing a knuckle guard, I think it can safely be assigned to the latter part of the fifteenth century. The section of the straight quillon and the small cap-like pommel are characteristic. The mark upon the blade I am familiar with, although I do not know with whom it can be associated; that, again, is distinctly of a fifteenth century nature. I think it can be accepted that the sword was probably an auxiliary arm of an archer or crossbowman."

It will readily be seen how this crude, and probably earliest, form of knuckle guard, for the unprotected hand of the archer, was evolved from the plain cross-hilt of the knight, with his steel gauntleted hand.

H. C. HALDANE.

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The Yorkshire Parish Register Society.

The Society was formed in 1899 for the purpose of printing the older Registers of the county. The following have been either issued or are in the press:—York (St. Michael-le-Belfrey), Burton Fleming, Horbury, Winestead, Linton-in-Craven, Stokesley, Patrington, Scarborough, Blacktoft, Bingley, Kippax, Brantingham, Hamps-thwaite, Wath-on-Deane, Cherry Burton, Marske, Hartshead, Bolton-by-Bolland, Pickhill, Howden, Grinton, Hackness, Ledsham, Rothwell, Thornhill, Terrington, Gargrave, Allerton Mauleverer, Askham Richard, Otley, York (St. Martin's, Coney Street), Kirklington, Halifax, Settrington, Austerfield, Cowthorpe, York (Holy Trinity, Goodramgate), Thirsk, Danby, Kildwick, Darrington, and Garforth.

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JAMES NORTON DICKONS.

THE Society has lost an old and valued member by the death of Mr. James Norton Dickons, which took place at his residence, Heaton, Bradford, on the 10th April, 1912. Mr. Dickons practised as a solicitor many years ago in Bradford, and later down to the time of his death at Halifax, but found relaxation from the cares of a strenuous professional life by indulging his taste for antiquarian pursuits. He was a considerable authority on Roman Yorkshire, and wrote the chapter on that subject in the *Memorials of Old Yorkshire*, recently issued. He joined the Council of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 31 January, 1900, and was one of the most regular members attending the meetings, until increasing deafness led him to feel that his services in this capacity would no longer be useful. He had accumulated much about Bradford. In 1898 he published privately a pamphlet on *The Roman Road from Manchester to Aldborough*; and *Bibliotheca Bradfordiensis*, 1895, and *Kirkgate Chapel, Bradford*, 1903, were among his other contributions to the literature of the city's history. At the time of his death, he had collected a large mass of material intended for a new edition of James's *History of Bradford*—a project which was very near his heart, and which, had he been spared, would have been the crowning work of his life. Fortunately, this material has come into the hands of the Public Library Committee of that city, and will be indispensable to its future historian. His library, which was remarkable for judicious selection, especially in relation to Yorkshire topography, has been dispersed by auction since his death, subject to the bequests contained in his will, one of which empowered his executors to hand over to the Bradford Free Library such books as they might select, not already in the city's collection. About 500 volumes, in addition to pamphlets (some of great rarity and value), and prints and drawings relating to the county, have thus come to be public property. On the occasion of the formal taking over of the books, &c., the Lord Mayor of Bradford paid a tribute to the memory of Mr. Dickons, and expressed his thanks to the executors, as well as his appreciation of the manner in which they had carried out their trust.

Although Mr. Dickons had all the instincts of the book collector, he was much more than a mere hunter of rarities. His efforts were almost entirely directed to a definite end, namely, the accumulation of material which would further his researches into the history and topography of his native county.

THOMAS HORSFALL.

ANOTHER esteemed member lost to the Society by death is Dr. Horsfall, of Bedale, than whom few men in that district were held in such high regard; and few men, indeed, were so well acquainted with the people of the locality. One of the four sons of the late Henry Horsfall, surgeon, at Masham, he was educated at the Grammar School of that town, and at the Leeds University School of Medicine, where his skill and competence were soon observed by his preceptors. His taste for antiquarian research, and the marked ability which he showed in this field, might have borne more fruit, but for his sense of duty to his medical work; nobody could have worked harder than he did for the welfare of his patients. In a letter written about eight years ago, he says, on this subject: "The worst of it is that such studies are too absorbing, and make one feel that the time so occupied ought to be spent in other work, more directly connected with one's profession." Dr. Horsfall seldom came to Leeds without contriving a visit to the Society's Library at Park Street, which he found useful for the furtherance of his investigations. He was too busy a man to attend many of the summer excursions, but when the Society visited Well Church and Snape Castle in 1907, he read a most able paper, which was greatly appreciated by the members. The history of Well and of Snape had been with him, indeed, almost a life-long study; and he was engaged during his last illness in finally arranging his manuscript on this subject for publication. This has now been accomplished, in accordance with the wishes expressed by him. Others of his contributions to historical research took the form of papers read to the Bedale Literary Society—one on Snape Castle and its connection with the Latimer family; one on the Pilgrimage of Grace; and a third, read in 1910, on the Rising in the North.

A memorial brass in Bristol Cathedral to one of Bristol's physicians has an inscription, quoted below, that might well have been applied to the subject of this notice:—"Not more honoured for the eminence that he attained in his profession than beloved for his kindness of heart, for his wise and ready sympathy, and for the piety which inspired his unselfish and devoted life." Dr. Horsfall was 51 years of age, and leaves a widow and one daughter.

AN ANGLIAN CEMETERY AT HOB HILL, NEAR SALTBURN.

By WILLIAM HORNSBY.

A LITTLE more than one hundred years ago, William Hutton, the Birmingham antiquary, visited Saltburn, which then contained "about sixteen houses situated upon the sea and under a mountain." "I remarked to the inhabitants," he tells us, "that if they could but keep peace within themselves, they would keep it with all the world, for nobody could come and quarrel with them; nor could a more abstracted spot be found if a man chose to hide himself from men."

It is interesting to note that Hutton's "abstracted spot" is not without its historical associations, its link with the remote past. About one mile east of Saltburn, at Huntcliff Point, quite near the edge of the cliff, there stood a small Roman camp, a sort of "Castra Speculatoria," designed doubtless as a protection to the district against the raids of Teutonic or other invaders. This was "inspected" by Canon Greenwell in the sixties. Within the past two years, at Hob Hill (the word, like so many of the Cleveland place-names, is Danish, and means "the hill haunted by an elf or spirit"), an Anglian cemetery has been located. The newly-discovered grave-yard (on the site of which were found numerous flint chips, indicative of earlier occupation) is one mile south-south-west of Saltburn, on a small plateau some 300 feet above the sea level. Like many a spot in Cleveland, Hob Hill was "beautiful for situation." Away to the north at a distance of a mile and a quarter lay the sea, across which from their vantage ground the spirits of the departed looked for the coming of Woden and his ship.

To-day, at this point, Messrs. Pease & Co. are engaged in surface mining. From time to time, in laying bare the iron-stone, the workmen have come across burial deposits at a depth of two to three feet below the present surface. Unfortunately, there is no record of the earlier finds. At the outset much that was valuable was cast aside without concern and without any particular observation. However, up to the close of 1909, during the months of October, November, and December, sixteen

interments were noted. In four cases there was merely a layer of charred bones and black ashes, without any trace of pottery. Below one of these a bead necklace was found. At intervals beads have been secured in large numbers. In size they vary from the minute to half an inch in length. In shape some are round and others cylindrical. They consist of amber (this, the charm against witchcraft, greatly preponderating), glass (some coloured; others in triplets with gilt inside), crystal, jet (three), and coloured pastes. Speaking generally, the beads are inferior to many found in Yorkshire further south. This, as one factor, may indicate that the Angles round Saltburn were comparatively poor. The site of their settlement—unless the cemetery served a still wider area—may have been half a mile away at Tofts Farm. According to tradition this was the original seat of ancient Marske. Skelton, another likely centre, afterwards associated with the family of De Brus, and still later the abode of “Eugenius,” that dearest friend of “Cousin Shandy,” is barely two miles distant.

In the remaining interments noted in 1909, the burnt bones had been enclosed in dark-coloured urns. The latter, when uncovered, were always defective and more or less fragmentary. Often the lower part of the vessel was fairly intact, and the upper half shattered and imperfect. In two cases the pottery was finely ornamented with lines and impressed patterns. Unfortunately, it was impossible to make a connection from top to bottom so as to allow the profile to be determined. The reader will gather some idea of the ornamentation from the accompanying photographs of typical specimens (fig. 1). Below five of the urns bead necklaces were noted. The beads were similar to those already mentioned, except that in one case the necklace was entirely of amber.

At an early stage in the investigations on one of the “tips,” mingled with the débris from near the burials, there was picked up a finely-flaked arrow-head of chert. This, after a while, was identified as American, and its presence there could not be easily accounted for. A feasible explanation was supplied by Canon Greenwell, who points out that more than once a sometime friend or relation of the farmer migrating to the States, has sent back as a curio an American arrow-head. This, after being a nine days’ wonder, is cast aside, reaching first the dustbin, next the manure heap. It is then carted on the land and ploughed in, reappearing at a later stage, to the bewilder-



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

SPECIMENS FOUND IN THE ANGLIAN CEMETERY AT HOB HILL, NEAR SALT BURN.

ment of the plain man. A further alien survival, found just before reaching one of the urns, was the handle and sundry pieces of a glazed pot, identified as mediæval. Similar conjunctions are noted by others, particularly by T. Bateman and J. R. Mortimer, both of whom advance theories accounting for the fact. In this connection, it may not be entirely out of place to mention that there was at Saltburn in the Middle Ages a small religious house on the Hob Hill side of Holebeck. A deed, dated 1216, recites, "Meum heremitorium de Salteburne super ripam de holebec."

In 1910, up to the month of April, twenty-four interments were noted. It was found that the graves ran north to south, in two fairly parallel lines, the parallels being some six yards apart. In many cases the burial had a more or less imperfect urn associated with it, but in one instance there was merely a layer of burnt bones, and on ten occasions the burials were of unburnt bodies. Along a length of fifty yards the graves had been placed at varying distances, some at an interval of one yard, some two yards, some three, whilst others were still more widely separated. Between these last an intervening deposit or deposits may have disappeared through decay. The urns were much more numerous at the south end, and the unburnt burials at the north end of the lines.

On 2nd February, at a depth of three feet, the incomplete fragments of an ornamented urn were secured. Below this shattered vessel, in which there was no trace of burnt bones, were found the teeth of a young child. These crumbled on exposure. Except the teeth, the entire skeleton had decayed. With this interment were associated a necklace of beads, smaller but similar to those already mentioned, and the end of a bronze brooch. Two yards away, at the same depth of three feet, a complete and well-made bronze brooch—once gilt—perchance the property of one of the more wealthy members of the community—was uncovered. On each side of the square panel in the head there had been a band of silver. A good idea of the ornament in its original form will be gained from Plate XX, fig. 2, in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*. In the accompanying photograph of the brooch (fig. 2), attention is directed to the crude representation of the human face, and also to the "animal" design characteristic of Anglo-Saxon art in the Pagan period. The work is probably early seventh century. The remains with which the ornament was associated had entirely

disappeared. On March 1st, the burial deposit of an uncremated adult was found. Here again only the teeth remained, the rest of the skeleton having gone to dust. In this grave were found seven beads (two amber), a much-decayed cruciform brooch of bronze, and a piece of hide. Two yards away the ground had been disturbed as if for burial, but nothing remained. The above cases were interesting in that they were unburnt burials, and also as being the first in which metal was found. The practice of inhumation, if not traceable to tribal custom, may indicate that the occupants of those graves were Christian or semi-Christian. Such interments, however, were intermixed with urn burials, and had with them the usual accompaniments.

On 19th March, at a depth of three feet, a layer of much-discoloured earth was noticed. Owing to the presence of a large piece of hide, it is probable that the body had been wrapped in such a covering and then buried. At the north end of the grave three beads were found—one of amber, one of blue glass, and the third, a very fine specimen of jet. Half way along the layer, which ran from north to south, there was a much-decayed bronze brooch of the annular type; a little further on an iron buckle with bronze attachment. There were also two fragments of pottery.

A day later, at the side of a shattered urn, a semi-circular piece of iron, perhaps part of a buckle, was found. At a later stage in March, as many as six unburnt burials were noted in one week. They had associated with them some hide, a bead necklace (crude amber and glass), a small accessory vessel, and two bronze annular brooches, which crumbled on exposure. On 30th March, among burnt bones, which had been enclosed in an ornamented urn, now shattered and defective, there was found one large well-made bead of amber. From the state of the perforation it was obvious that the bead had been worn as a single ornament. In this connection, Wright remarks: "Beads appear to have been worn round the neck by persons of both sexes, and it is possible that they were not only considered as personal ornaments, but that they were looked upon with a superstitious feeling as preservatives against danger, and especially against witchcraft. This was peculiarly the case with amber, which, according to the belief of the Ancients, protected the person who wore it about him against the evil spirit. Hence we find continual instances of interments in which the deceased had merely one bead of amber attached to the

neck, and sometimes it appears to have been simply placed in the grave by the side of the head." In addition to the amber, there was associated with this burial a piece of fused glass, the remains, it may be, of beads or a drinking cup.

The vessels of pottery noted in 1910 were without exception fragmentary and incomplete. The breakages may be due to the pressure of the surrounding earth, but the defective condition of the urns is more difficult to explain. Those near the surface (and many along the "furr" line of burials were only a foot or even less below the present level) may have been exposed and scattered by the plough. The land, though now in grass, had been tillage previously for generations. For the urns at a lower depth, the plough theory is quite inadmissible. To account for their condition, some suggested previous disturbance, others "tribal custom," whilst others were content to look upon it as a mystery. In support of the theory of previous disturbances, it was pointed out that seldom had the urn an accompanying gift associated with it. Whenever anything was found, it was almost always below the vessel, as if belonging to another previous interment. In this connection one may recall Canon Atkinson's experience in Cleveland barrows of an earlier period. The advocates of "tribal custom" point to the common belief of the coming of Woden and his ship for the soul of the dead. In their judgment, the pottery was broken at the time of burial to allow more ready egress to the spirit on the approach of the god.

Another peculiarity connected with Hob Hill was the total absence up to this date of anything of the nature of a weapon. The sword may have been peculiar to the upper classes, but why no knife, and neither spear nor shield? This may have arisen from the poverty of the community (though even the poorest might have to fight), or it may have been due to the fact that the Angles round Saltburn were a non-warlike people. As against the latter explanation, one may point out that the conditions which then prevailed called both for arms and men. Near Hob Hill lay the sea, the highway of the pirate and the slaver, and other undesirables. To all such the splendid stretch of beach between Huntcliff and the Tees (at a later date described by Arthur Young as "one of the finest and firmest in England") offered a most tempting landing-place. "Marske's sunny lands and sands beyond Pactolus' golden sands" must have gazed upon many a conflict between intruder and occupant.

But, unfortunately, these witnesses are silent, and there is left to us nothing save conjecture.

The folly of hasty inference (like the above) became manifest, when on 31st May, in a third line of burials, a little to the west of the ground which had proved so fruitful, an iron axe-head (fig. 3) was brought to light. The weapon was associated with a burial after cremation. It was found near the south end of the grave at a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and is of the type known as the "francisca," the ordinary weapon of the Franks. Its horizontal measurement is $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., length of blade $4\frac{1}{8}$ in., weight $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Along the same line, associated with separate interments, were found three small knives, the socket and the ferrule of a spear, a spear-head minus the point, and a piece of oak in which was embedded a bronze ring—no doubt part of a large bucket. The last-named lay just above a wooden receptacle (like a chest), the material of which (oak), though perhaps previously charred as a preservative, was in very great decay. For this cause it was impossible to secure accurate measurements. With difficulty one traced a length of upwards of five feet, a breadth of two feet, and a height of $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The coffin had enclosed the unburnt body of an adult, of which only the teeth remained. With this burial were found an annular brooch of bronze and a necklace of beads (amber, crystal, and coloured pastes).

A little later, along the third line of burials, were discovered, inside an ornamented urn (quite at the bottom of the vessel), a pair of bronze tweezers. In the older books these are regarded as toilet requisites, for the removal of superfluous hair. More probably, however, they were used chiefly for the extraction of thorns from the skin (Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. xxiii, No. 1, p. 277).

In concluding this brief paper, the writer has only to regret his manifold deficiencies. He undertook the work of recorder, not because of any special fitness, but, as being on the ground and in default of a more scientific observer. However, the duty has been both an education and an inspiration. The difficulties met with compelled inquiry. The ready help, given on every side, has been one of the most pleasing features of the find.



HERALDIC GLASS FROM INGLEBY ARNCLIFFE AND KIRBY SIGSTON CHURCHES.

By WILLIAM BROWN, F.S.A.

THE plates illustrating this article are made from tracings and drawings by a member of our Council, the Rev. C. V. Collier, Langton Rectory, Malton. They are excellent specimens of heraldic art in the fourteenth century. The earliest and finest example is the Colville coat from Kirby Sigston, with which may be associated the other coats in the same church. These may be assigned to some time in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, probably about 1340. The arms from Ingleby Arncliffe are some twenty-five to thirty years later.

The two coats from the east window of Ingleby Arncliffe church are the same size ($9 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in.). They represent the bearings of Joan Fauconberg, Argent a lion rampant azure, and of Joan St. Quintin,¹ Or a chevron gules with a chief vair, the two wives of Sir William Colville, of Arncliffe and Dale, who occurs between the years 1359 and 1376. It is curious that the husband's arms do not occur. It has been suggested² that they were destroyed on the attainder in 1405 of Sir John Colville, the son of Sir William Colville and Joan Fauconberg. Though this is possible, it is more likely that the loss is due to carelessness at a much later date.

In a recently published Calendar of Patent Rolls there are some interesting facts mentioned connected with the attainder of Sir John Colville. As early as July, 1403, doubts seem to have been entertained as to his fidelity, and certain commissioners, including Robert Mauleverer, whose son married his daughter, were ordered to arrest "John Colvyle of Dale, chivaler," with others, and put them in safe conduct until further orders. If they refused to obey the arrest, they were to justify, that is, punish them as traitors and rebels.³ Colville seems to have made his peace with the reigning powers, as in October of the year following he and others were ordered to inquire about the withdrawal of divers rents, profits, and emoluments, ordained of old for the repair of the bridge of Yarum-on-Tese, as the said bridge was for the most part broken down.⁴

¹ Her will was proved in 1390. In it she left her best horse for her mortuary at Arncliffe (*Test. Ebor.*, i, 135).

² *Y.A.J.*, xvi, 134.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (1401-5), p. 297.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

The temptation to join in rebellion proved too strong for Sir John. He actively supported the insurrection against Henry IV, headed by Archbishop Scrope, and paid the penalty of failure by losing his head at Durham some time in July, 1405. On the 22nd of that month the bailiffs of Yarum were ordered to place his head on the pillory (*collistridium*) of that town, and let it stay there as long as it would last.¹

On his forfeiture, his property was divided amongst adherents of the winning party. His office of steward of the Forest of Galtres was granted to John de Etton and Miles, his son.² John Fox, constable of Jedburgh Castle, got twenty marks a year from Budle and Spindlestone, near Bamburgh,³ Colville property in Northumberland; and the inhabitants of Kilburn, as a recompense for the losses they had sustained at the hands of the rebels, had a grant of 445 sheep, probably pasturing on the moors about Colville's estate at Dale Town,⁴ not far from Kilburn. His courser, which was in the keeping of Walter Fauconberge, his cousin, was ordered to be delivered to William Fulthorpe, knight, for the king's use.⁵ Sir John's widow, Alice, daughter of John, Lord Darcy, claimed the manors of Sigston, West Rounton, and Thimbleby, and that of Clowecroft in Durham, under a settlement.⁶

The Colville coat ($7\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{16}$ in.), Or a fess gules in chief three torteaux, as well as the bearings of Wassand and Sigston, formerly in the east window of Kirby Sigston church, are now in the window of the new aisle. In 1284-5, Sir William Colville held half the manor of Sigston, but by 1315-6 his son, Sir Robert, had acquired the whole manor.⁷ It remained in the possession of his descendants till the extinction of the family in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, when it came into the possession of the Mauleverers of Arncliffe, as representing one of the coheiresses.⁸ A full account of this family is given in a former volume of the *Journal*, to which the reader is referred for further information.⁹

The attribution of the arms on the remaining shield ($7 \times 5\frac{7}{16}$ in.) is not free from doubt. The arms depicted are, Argent a cross

¹ At the same time orders were sent for the head of John Fauconberge, knt., to be set upon the pillory of Guisborough, of Ralph Hastynges, knt., on that of Helmsley, of John Fitzrandolph, knt., on that of Richmond, and of Thomas Forster on that of Scarborough. The head of William Fuster, chaplain, was placed on the Ouse Bridge, York, and those of Richard de Aske and Ranulph del See on Bootham Bar. Sir Henry de Boynton's head was sent to Newcastle,

to be placed on the bridge there (*Ibid.* (1405-6), p. 69), but a day later orders were given that it should be taken down and handed over to his widow (*Ibid.*, p. 68).

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

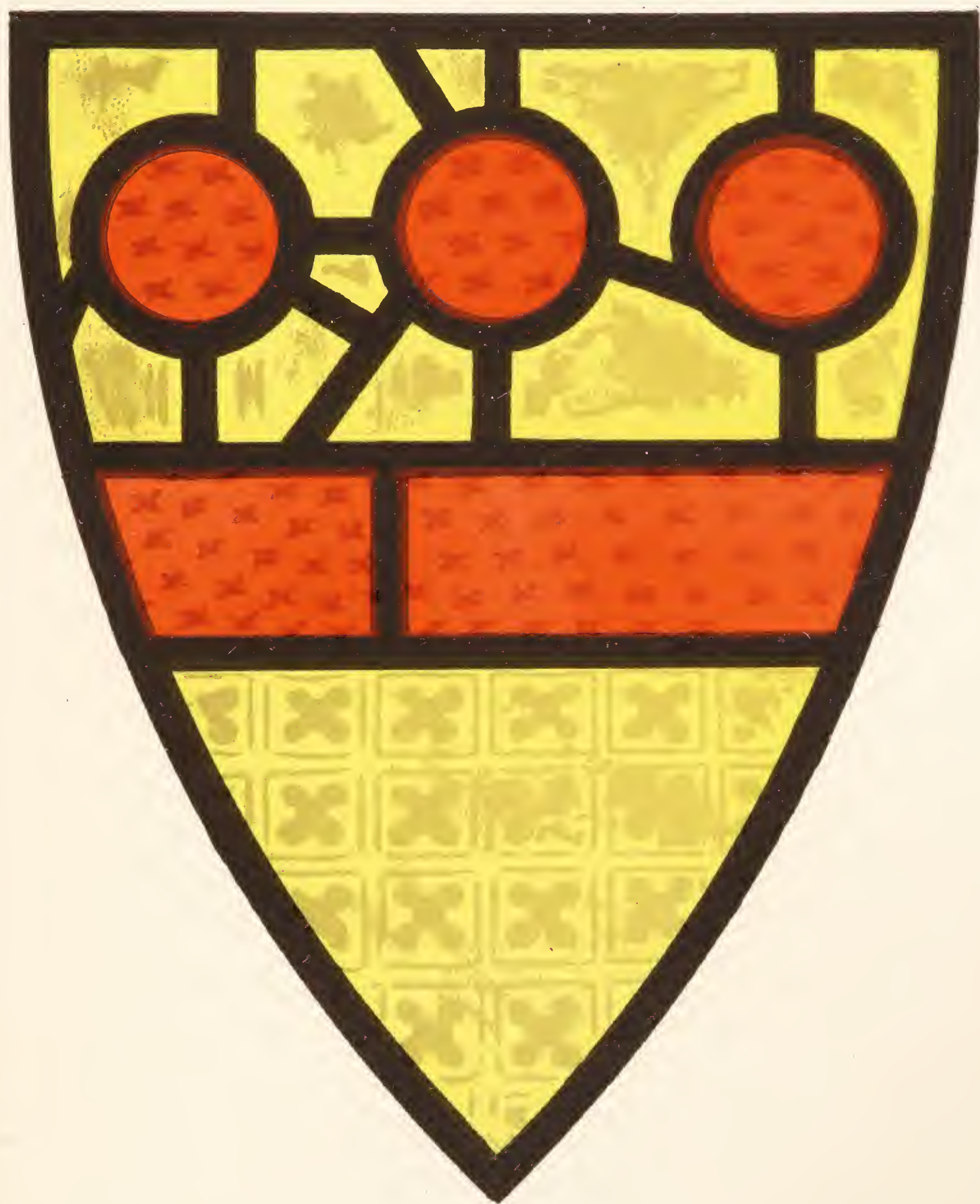
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁷ *Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 102, 341.

⁸ *Y.A.J.*, xvi, 217.

⁹ *Ibid.*, xvi, 166.





sable with two crescents of the second in chief. The nearest approach to this bearing is that of the family of Waxand, which derived its designation from a place now called Wassand, in the parish of Sigglesothorne, near Hornsea. Their arms were, Argent a fess gules and two crescents in chief of the second.¹

Although these arms are also carved on a stone ($9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in.) now lying on the sill below,² it seems not unlikely that they are a variation of the Wassand bearings, especially as that family was connected with Sigston, as will appear later on.

Before proving this, however, it will be convenient to describe the Sigston bearing, Argent a double-headed eagle displayed sable,³ which also occurs on a shield in stone in Ingleby Arncliffe church. At Sigston the eagle occurs several times in the quarries⁴ around the Colville and Wassand shields. The other quarries are charged with slips of oak.

The Sigston family was a younger branch of the Northumberland family of Ryhill, which came from Ryal, formerly Ryhill, in the parish of Matfen. General Plantagenet Harrison⁵ makes



The arms of Sigston in the aisle window of Kirby Sigston Church.

¹ *Roll of Arms temp. Edward III*, p. 26, where the bearer is called Monsire de Wautland. In the *Roll of Arms temp. Edward II*, p. 41, the same arms are attributed to the Suffolk family of Wachesham. However, in a North Country Roll, compiled in the reign of Edward III (*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, ii, 328), these arms are assigned to John de Waxand, and also in Mr. Th. Jenyns' *Booke of Armes*, published in the *Antiquary*, i, 208. Herve de Watlous, of Thornton, bore not dissimilar arms, Or on a chief azure three crescents of the first (*Col. Top. et Gen.*, ii, 326). The field of the Wassand coat was originally diapered in the same way as the Colville shield, but the diapering is now only visible on the outside.

² On the same block is carved a shield with a cross patonce ($8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in.).

Papworth and Burke attribute, but without giving their authority, Sable, a cross sarcelly (cercelée), quarterly gold and silver, to Mornsell. If this is a form of Maunsell, the association with Wassand is explained later on.

³ *Roll of Arms temp. Edward III*, p. 12, where the eagle has a red beak and feet, as had the Imperial bird. The eagles in the glass at Sigston are entirely black.

⁴ These quarries measure $3 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. The eagles are not on shields.

⁵ *History of Yorkshire*, i, 166, where it is stated that the Ryhill arms were argent three red lions rampant. No authority has been found for this attribution. Can the author have mixed Ryhill up with Fitz Reinald, who bore gules three lions rampant argent? For the Ryhill family see also the *New History of Northumberland*, ix, 251.

the earliest ancestor of the Sigston family who was associated with that place, to be a certain John, son of Michael de Ryhill, a younger son of Michael de Ryhill, lord of Dalton Ryhill, otherwise Dalton Michell, in the parish of Kirkby Ravensworth, who was living in 24 Henry III (1238-9), and of Alice, sister and co-heir of William de Flamville, owner of properties in Northumberland.

The General adds that John, son of Michael de Ryhill, was plaintiff in an action in 49 Henry III (1264-5), against Gocelyn Deyville, and was seised of half a knight's fee in Sigston in 51 Henry III (1266-7).

Amongst the Arncliffe Hall MSS. is a document which shows how the Ryhill family became possessed of land in the parish of Kirby Sigston. It is an undertaking by which John son of Michael and Joan, his wife, bound themselves to Philip de Colville, for the payment at Thimilby, now Thimbleby, of scutage for their land in Foxton, in the parish of Sigston, which they held of Colville, whenever such scutage should be current in Alvertonchyr. The witnesses were Sir Stephen de Menill, Sir Alan son of Bryan, Sir Philip de la Leyae (*sic*), Sir Robert Engram, Sir Thomas Mansel, Sir Gocelin de Dayville, Sir Alan de Leke, and William de Salkoc. Only one seal remains, of which half still survives. It bears the figure of a woman with flowers in either hand. The legend, a good deal broken, *ÞANNED'COLE*, showing she was a Colville by birth.

As a fine¹ was levied on the Octave of Trinity, 52 Hen. III (1268), between William de Foxton and Laderana de Foxton, plaintiffs, and Philip de Coleville, called to warranty by John, son of Michael, and Joan, his wife, about three carucates of land and a water-mill in Foxton, it is probable the deed is of much the same date.

Foxton had been granted to Joan de Colville's grandfather, Philip de Colville,² by Bishop Hugh de Puiset, of Durham, towards the end of the twelfth century, and represented, no doubt, her dowry.

Michael's eldest son, Brian, who held in 1284-5 three carucates in Sigston, equivalent to half a knight's fee, died without issue,³ and was succeeded by his brother John, who was the first of the family to assume the territorial designation of Sigston. On Whit-Sunday, 1283, John, son of John, son of Michael de Sixton (*sic*), and his wife Ilria, relict of Geoffrey de Maunby, demised to the

¹ *Pedes Finium Ebor.*, 51-56 Henry III, No. 51.

² *Y.A.J.*, xvi, 210.

³ *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 102.

master and brethren of the St. Leonard's Hospital, York, at a yearly rent of 10s. 10d., all the land at Houe (Howe, in the parish of Pickhill), which she held in dower. Witnesses, Sir Henry de Holteby, knight, Ralph de Rugemond, and Thomas de Gatenby.¹

In Trinity Term, 7 Edward II (1314), John, son of John, son of Michael de Sixton (*sic*), and Joan his wife, brought their action of 'nuper obiit' ² against John de la More and B., his wife, for a division of the estates in C.³ of Henry Mancell, father of Joan and B., who died without issue male. Mancell had granted the manor of Berreford in frank marriage with his daughter Joan.⁴

In 1323, John de Wauxand and Joan, his wife, granted to Sir John de Siggesson, knight, three messuages and four bovates of land in Winton, part of Joan's inheritance.⁵ This proves that Joan Mansel, on the death of John of Sigston, married as her second husband John of Wassand, and also accounts for the presence of the Wassand arms in Sigston church, and possibly those of Maunsel.

Of John de Sigesson's son, who bore the same Christian name, more information has been preserved. He occurs in 1322 as keeper of the royal castles and towns of Huntingdon and La Haye.⁶ In 1 Edward III (1327) he contributed 4s. to a subsidy levied at Sigston in that year.⁷ Why no notice was taken of his knighthood it is impossible to say. In the summer of the same year he petitioned the king that, when his accounts were taken, he should be allowed the wages due to him for his services in the marches of Scotland.⁸ It is most probable he owed his knighthood to his achievements in the Border warfare during the troublous times after Bannockburn. In 1328 he had a grant of freewarren in his demesne lands in Siggesson, Winton, Foxton, Fritheby (Firby near Bedale), and Brodforth (Birdforth), near Thirsk⁹. In 1332, as

¹ *Dodsworth MSS.*, cviii, 83.

² *Nuper obiit* is a writ that lies for a coheir, being deforced by her coparcener of lands or tenements, of which the grandfather, father, uncle, or brother to them both died seised of an estate in fee simple (Cowel's *Interpreter*).

³ Henry Mansel held lands in Birdforth, Winton, and Halikeld in 1284-5 (*Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 94, 103).

⁴ *Dodsworth MSS.*, cxlvi, 34, citing *Coram Rege*, Mich., 29 Edw. I, rot. 239; Hilary, 32 Edw. I, rot. 144; and Easter, 16 Ric. II, rot. 37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xci, 176. The exact date is Sunday before All Saints' (Oct. 30) 17 Edw. II. The witnesses recorded are Sir John de Colevill, Sir John de Coyners

(*sic*), Sir William de Aslakeby, knights. In 1315-6, John de Waxand, John de la Mor, and John Mansel were lords of Birdforth, and John Waxand and John de la Mare (? de la More) of Thornton-le-Street (*Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 323, 340).

⁶ *Calendar of Close Rolls* (1318-23), p. 415.

⁷ *Ex. Lay Subsidies*, York. N.R., $\frac{211}{6}$, m. 20. The other contributors were Adam de Kirkeby, 2s; Gilbert de Kirkeby, Richard Scot, Richard de Braby, and John de Landemot, each 12d. Sum, 10s.

⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls* (1327-30), p. 135.

⁹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iv, 99.

Sir John de Siggeston he paid 5s. 8*d.* to another subsidy, levied at Winton, in the parish of Sigston.¹

In 1335, Nicholas de la Lound, living in the neighbouring village of Thornton in 'le Vivers' (Thornton-le-Beans), acknowledged he was indebted to Sir John in the sum of 10*li.*²

The year following (1336) he had licence to crenelate his manor of Beresende³ in the county of York. Though this name has long been obsolete, there can be little doubt it refers to the earthwork to the north of the road between Northallerton and Osmotherley, near Sigston Bridge, now known as Sigston Castle, though in the township of Winton. I am indebted to a member of our Society, Mr. W. M. I'Anson, for a description of the site of this castle, which he recently visited :—

"Of the earthworks which are all that now mark the site of this castle, I cannot tell you anything beyond what would be apparent to you when you visited the place. The site selected, a typically "late" one, and the general contour of the earthworks, do not suggest a fortress of a date anterior to about 1340. The site, and the methods of defence adopted, somewhat resemble Ravensworth, a late Richmondshire castle.

"The enclosure is roughly rectangular in shape, defended by a deep and broad moat carried round it, and by adjacent marshy ground. The entrance appears to have been on the north, defended by substantial outworks beyond the counterscarp of the ditch, traces of which are very apparent.

"It is somewhat singular that no stonework whatever remains *in situ*, and it is quite impossible even to hazard a guess as to what were the arrangements, although the uneven ground which is conspicuous about the centre of the enclosure would suggest the one-time presence of buildings, and the same may be said of the earthworks opposite the entrance.

"In all probability, the structure was not of massive proportions, depending almost entirely for its defence upon the somewhat formidable ditch. At the time of its erection, about the middle of the fourteenth century, attack might only be expected from bands of Scottish invaders, and as these seldom or never travelled with siege engines, the moat would afford adequate protection."

¹ *Ex. Lay Subsidies*, $\frac{211}{7A}$, m. 13*d.* Sum total 20*s.*, of which Walter del Hille and John Artays paid 4*s.* each, William de Bergesheued 2*s.*, Jordan de Wynton 12*d.*, John de Dale 18*d.*, and William Fraunceys 2*s.* 6*d.*

² *Calendar of Close Rolls* (1333-7, p. 487).

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (1334-8), p. 221. Query Berefeude, that is, barley-field. It occurs as Berreford in 1313 (*supra* p. 141), Beresende in 1336, and Berford in 15 Edward III (1341) above, and as the castle and manor of Bereshend alias Sygston in 1555 (*Feet of Fines*, Tudor, i, 186).

In 1341, Sir John de Siggeston and Sir William Bruys, no doubt a member of the Pickering family of that name, were knights of the shire at the Parliament which met on the Monday after the Quinzaine of Easter in that year (April 23). The members for Yorkshire sat for forty-four days, for which they received pay at the rate of 4s. a day.¹ It was at this Parliament the King promised before supplies were granted (a) that all moneys received should be audited by a board chosen in Parliament, and (b) that he would not choose ministers without the consent of his council, and (c) that at each Parliament ministers should resign, and be compelled to answer all complaints before they could be reappointed. It is true the King recalled the statutes, but a great principle had been asserted, and a step forward in constitutional government taken, which bore fruit in later times.

The evidence relating to Sir John now gets scanty. On January 27th, 1343, he paid 10*li.* for a licence for the alienation in mortmain of a messuage, nine acres of land, one acre of meadow, and 60s. rent in Siggeston, Foxton, and Alverton, to a chaplain, who was to celebrate service daily in the parish church of Siggeston, for his soul, and the souls of his ancestors.² It was probably in connection with this chantry that the stained glass still existing was placed in the church. The female now in the aisle may also be associated with this event.

The last instance we have of any mention of Sir John of Sigston is on September 16th, 1343, when he and Henry le Pork were nominated as attorneys of Bartholomew Fanacourt, who was going on pilgrimage beyond the seas.³ Fanacourt was a Frenchman, who was the third husband of Lucy de Thweng,⁴ and Henry le Pork had married Sigston's cousin, Elizabeth Colville.⁵

As nothing more is heard of John de Siggeston, it is probable he died somewhere about this date.⁶ Dodsworth⁷ gives a pedigree derived from charters of Everingham Cressy of Birkin, showing that John's only son Philip died without issue in 15 Edward III (1341), leaving John Plaice and John de Wadesley his heirs. The fact is probably right, though the date is incorrect. According to these charters, John de Siggeston, knt, was possessed of the castle

¹ *Cal. of Close Rolls* (1341-3), p. 144.

² *Cal. of Patent Rolls* (1343-5), p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴ *Guisborough Chart.* (Surtees Soc., lxxxvi), ii, 124*n*.

⁵ *Y.A.J.*, xvi, 167.

⁶ There was at rather later date another John de Siggeston, who was acquiring property in Kewick and

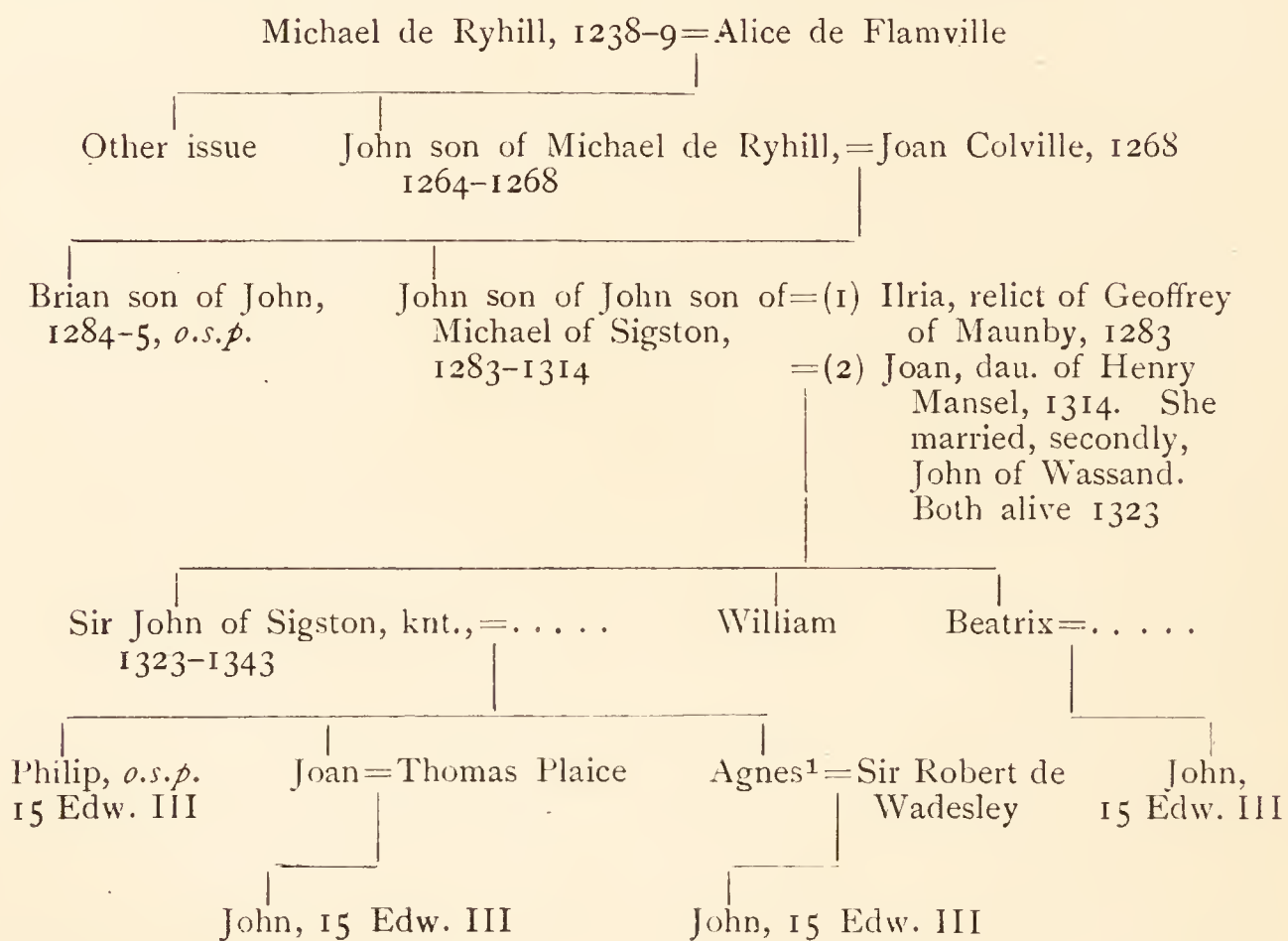
Northallerton in 1345 (*Yorkshire Fines* (1327-1347), pp. 180, 181). In 1362, John de Siggeston of Alverton (Northallerton) was absolved from a sentence of greater excommunication for violent laying on of hands on John de Otrington, clerk, to the shedding of blood (*Thoresby's Register*, fo. 283).

⁷ *Dodsworth MSS.*, xci, 177d.

of Berford, in Siggoston, and of rents and services in Siggoston, Foxton, Winton, Alverton (Northallerton), Fyrthby, Baldersdale, Newton, Ingle (?), Scorton, Thresk, Bagby, Kepewyk, and Brod-ford.

The skeleton pedigree here given will prove useful in understanding these notes. The additional information is derived from the *Dodsworth MSS.*, xci, 177*d*.

ARMS:—Argent a double-headed eagle sable displayed, beak and feet gules.

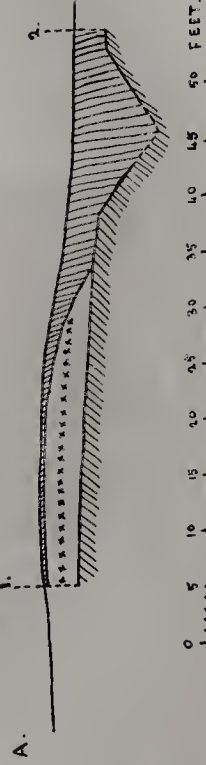
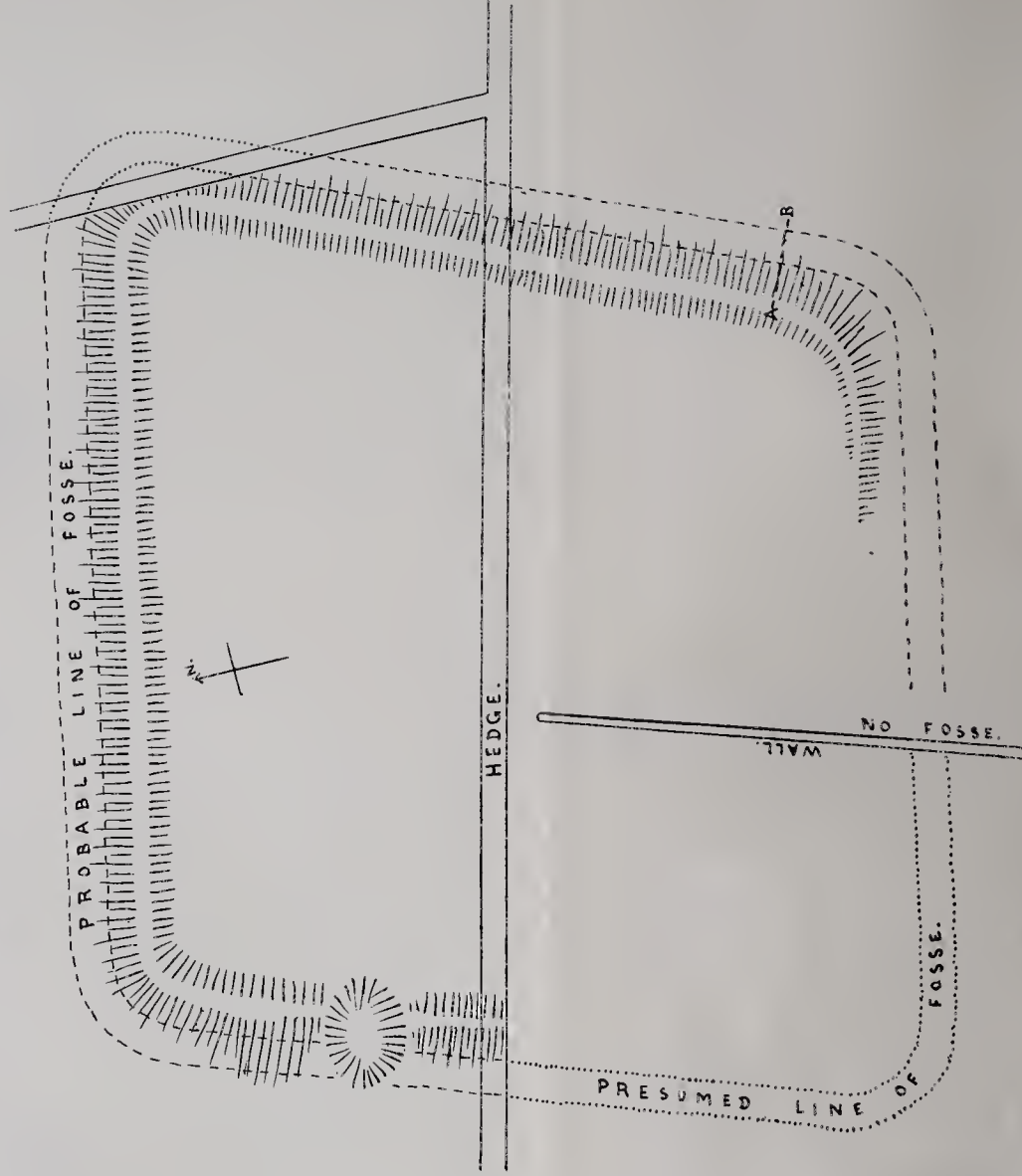


¹ Robert son of Robert de Waddesley and Agnes his wife were parties to a fine about lands in Wilsick, near Tickhill, and

Asenby and Dishforth, near Thirsk, in 1329 (*Yorkshire Fines* (1327-1347), p. 26).

EARTHWORK NEAR HARROGATE.

F.V. DEL.



1-2 = LIMITS OF TRENCH.
 |||| = ADVENTITIOUS SOIL.
 BLANK = RAMPART.
 x x x = CHARCOAL.
 |||| = SUBSOIL.

RAMPART SECTION AT A-B.

A SUPPOSED ROMAN "CAMP" NEAR HARROGATE.

By FRANCIS VILLY.

THIS earthwork, situated about half on Grange Farm and half on Cow Dyke Farm, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Harrogate Station, is noted in various topographical books (*e.g.* Speight's *Nidderdale*, p. 315, and Grainge's *History of Harrogate*, p. 363), and is usually regarded as of Roman origin. It is so classed in the preliminary schedule of the Earthworks Committee of the Yorkshire Archæological Society. The accompanying plan shows that, so far as external appearances go, such a suggestion is highly reasonable; but the slight investigation to be recounted almost proves it to be mistaken.

To describe the site first, measured from the inner edge of the fosse (so far as the position of that line can be laid down), it covers just about three acres—a very usual size for a "cohort-fort," *i.e.* one calculated to hold a garrison consisting of an auxiliary cohort of about 500 men, and its almost equilateral form is also usual in forts of this size. The skew shape is strongly in favour of its being Roman work, nor is the slight irregularity of the plan necessarily a contra-indication. The width of the vallum and the regular and widely sweeping curve of the corners are not often to be met with in earthworks of other origin. Situated at an average of about 275 feet above sea-level, it is planted astride of a spur of high ground sloping from west to east, the western vallum being overlooked at rather unpleasantly close range, especially at the north-west corner, the summit of the hill being about 100 feet higher at one-third of a mile away. This military weakness is the only external sign pointing against the work being Roman, and it is far from conclusive by itself. The other three sides face downhill, and are strong. The Oak beck runs approximately north and south at the foot of the slope to the east, nearly 300 yards away. No signs of gateways can be traced.

The whole extent is marked on the 1847 six-inch Ordnance Survey map, the latest one showing only the south-eastern

quarter; however it is still plainly traceable for nearly three-quarters of its extent, the south-western quarter and some other parts being quite obliterated. The plan has been drawn mostly from external measurements (different conventions being used to show to what extent the line is only an assumed one); and those parts now invisible are inserted mainly on the evidence of the old Ordnance Survey map. It will be understood, therefore, that accuracy in detail is not guaranteed.

So far as can be ascertained, no relics have ever been found in the vicinity, nor is there any tradition regarding the "camp"—in fact, its very existence seemed to be almost, if not quite, forgotten locally when the investigation was begun. The point which *had* been noticed was the presence of a curious pit in the line of the western vallum and fosse. So far as can be judged, this is later than the earthwork, for the vallum is broadened out in its neighbourhood as if by the deposition of upcast. It may possibly have once been a quarry, and it is not easy to connect it directly with any sort of earthwork.

Such was the evidence in the possession of archaeologists before October, 1911, when I undertook to cut a few trenches (confined to the south-eastern quarter), in order, if possible, to prove or disprove the Roman origin of the place.

I figure the plan of a section cut through the fosse and most of the vallum, just clear of the curve of the south-eastern corner to the north. The soils, whether previously untouched or not, are of a very mixed character, consisting mostly of small and brittle flakes of stone mixed with more or less sand of various colours. This composes the vallum, and is also to be found at each side of the fosse, so that the former seems pretty clearly to have been derived from the latter. The material is quite unsuitable for a rampart, for it would crumble very readily under foot-wear or weathering. A distinct layer of small scattered pieces of charcoal ran, as marked, through the vallum in this section. However it got there, its presence seems to prove that the layers below it have never been disturbed since the bank was first thrown up. The clear berm of five feet in width, a most unusual feature, should be noted. The fosse seemed to have been cut to a point (as shown tentatively in the plan), and this is the typical shape for a Roman fosse. However, there was some doubt as to the exact line in the lower two feet, where charcoal (present frequently in the upper layers of filling) was not observed. The line possibly

may have followed a curve, as in the third cut, instead of going to a point.

The next trench was dug at a similar distance from the south-eastern corner towards the west. The vallum here was cut into for thirteen feet, and consisted entirely of sand. Charcoal was again present in scattered particles, but not in any particular layer. The berm was as before. The fosse was only opened through its inner third.

The third cut was radial through the corner, and concerned the fosse only, which here was of the same width as in the first cut, but only three feet deep from the subsoil level (four feet to the sod), and filled with black earth containing many small pieces of charcoal and a considerable number of potsherds right down to the rounded bottom. It is not necessary to describe these in detail, for all date from later mediæval times (about 1500–1700 A.D.), carrying bright green, light green and almost transparent, rich chocolate or yellow to light brown glaze. One bowl and a good many fragments of pipe stems were also mixed in.

It was felt that these features, combined with an absence of any earlier remains, almost, if not quite, negatived the Roman nature of the earthwork, and, with one exception, further work was abandoned in consequence. This exception was a trench sixty-two feet long, parallel to and about six feet east of the wall dividing the southern half of the "camp" in a roughly north to south direction. A little charcoal was found here also, and perhaps a rough paving existed some 30 feet outside the line of the outer edge of the fosse; but there was no fosse, no sign of construction within its line, and nothing else to indicate that the ground had ever been occupied. The surface soil was only some four inches thick, and was sharply differentiated from the bright yellow sand beneath — most unusual features in a site where anything like a serious occupation has ever had place. We may sum up the evidence obtained by excavation thus:—

1. Rampart.—The rampart of a Roman fort is usually constructed (in the case of an earthwork) of clay, sods, or other carefully selected material, very frequently on a stone foundation. This rampart appears never to have been disturbed, yet it presents nothing resembling these features.

2. A clear berm of five feet is very unusual in a Roman earthwork.

3. So far as I know, a rounded bottom is never found in a Roman fosse ; certainly it is most unusual.

4. It seems impossible to account for the mediæval pottery at the bottom of the fosse, except on the supposition that it was deposited there by the original occupants of the site. Its being mixed with charcoal, like the filling of other parts of the fosse, seems to point the same way.

5. The absence of a fosse near the centre of the south side might, on the Roman theory, represent a gateway ; but the almost complete absence of signs of occupation at the site of the supposed gateway is evidence against the idea.

6. The absence of Roman relics is not conclusive. We would not expect to find many in a fort only occupied for a short time, and few or none in a "marching camp."

To sum up again still more shortly, the external evidence strongly suggests Roman work, whilst the excavations most strongly contra-indicate it. At the same time, it must be owned that the digging has been so extremely slight that the question can hardly be regarded as laid at perfect rest.

My strong belief is that the work is of mediæval origin, and not improbably the names of the two farms indicate that it was built not for defence, but for agricultural or pastoral uses. Again, I understand that earthworks sometimes simulating Roman "camps" are not infrequent in deer-forests (this is, of course, in Knaresborough Forest), and possibly we have here an example of such a "haye."

A further point of great interest, but, unfortunately, of an indefinite nature, remains to be recounted. Grainge (*Ibid.*, p. 36) mentions a "*magnam viam*," as named in deeds of about 1200 A.D., leading from Knaresborough to Bilton. This was rediscovered by "Blind Jack" (see also Baring-Gould's *Yorkshire Oddities*, vol. i, pp. 168, 169), and quarried by that worthy for material wherewith to construct the Knaresborough-Harrogate road in 1754. Such an account of an ancient and important road, lost for many years, and then recovered in a state worth digging for such a purpose, strongly suggests Roman work. Grainge traces it from the High Bridge towards Bilton Hall, when he says that paving was present in his time. Presumably this part is represented by the almost straight path still in use, but I can find or hear of no other traces. He then takes it through Old Bilton, past Bachelor's Gardens and Harrogate Hall, thus giving it a characteristic turn on high

ground, and pointing it past the earthwork just described within a few yards of the northern face. This part is presumably represented by the present lane as far as Old Bilton, the remainder being obliterated. Thence he produces it in a winding manner very unlike Roman laying out; but in continuation of the line just described there is an old and disused approach to Grange Farm, which appears to me to show signs of having once been more than a mere farm road. If this line is correctly traced, it would fit in with two recognised Roman roads, and link them up: (a) that laid down from York to Providence Green, on Erming Street, by Mr. Codrington (*Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 174), from which it is separated by a gap of six miles; and (b) that taken from Manchester to Ilkley and commonly to Aldborough, the most north-eastern certainly known trace of which lies two miles west of Grange Farm. This would give a road from York to Ilkley (or, perhaps, more probably to Ribchester),¹ and I point out the possibility in the hope that some local archæologist may investigate the matter, which may prove to be of no little importance.

I am much indebted to the owner, Mr. J. Peate, and the tenant, Mr. O. Y. Jackson, for permission to excavate.

¹ There is very little doubt that Ribchester *via* Elslack. I have dug it whether this road started from Ald- out three times near Beamsley and borough or York, it was built to reach Draughton.

SOME NOTES ON THE LORDS OF HAREWOOD CASTLE.

BY COLONEL JOHN PARKER, C B., F.S.A.

(Read on the site, 27 June, 1912.)

"The long series of the Lords of Harewood Castle produced nothing but ordinary knights and barons, who fought, and hunted, and died, and were forgotten."

Thus wrote Dr. Whitaker,¹ a century ago! Yet before him lay his own carefully-compiled descent of these Lords for five hundred years—a list which belies his sweeping summary, containing, as it does, many names famous in history and none that are entirely lacking in interest. Dr. Whitaker's account of these Lords is more accurate than any that has since been written of them; and it has the merit of being concise. So far as the early and more distinguished owners are concerned, it is needless to enter into details, and a brief summary will suffice.

After the Conquest, the manor of Harewood, with Skipton and all Craven, was granted to Robert de Romelli: it passed in direct descent, through the families of de Courci, Fitzgerald and Redvers, to Isabel, Countess of Devon and Albemarle, upon whose death in 1293 it escheated to the Crown.² Mr. W. Greenwood, to whose history of the Redman family attention is drawn in the programme for this meeting, claims³ that Harewood had at this time a Royal owner—Edmund Plantagenet, son of King Henry III. It is true that this Edmund (Crouchback) married Avelyn only surviving child of William de Fortibus and the Countess Isabel. But this was in 1269, and the child-bride died shortly after without issue; and, though Edmund obtained with her for that short space the vast estates of her father, he could not touch Harewood and the Redvers estates which remained until 1293 the property of her mother.

Isabel's heir was her kinsman Robert de L'Isle, Lord of Rougemont. An entry in the *Originalia Roll* for 1309⁴ states that Robert de L'Isle—then long since dead—held the manor of Harewood of the King's father (*i.e.* Edward I) in chief, and that

¹ *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 165.

² *Originalia Roll*, 21 Edw. I, m. 25.

³ *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood*, p. 132.

⁴ *Originalia Roll*, 3 Edw. II, m. 13.

it was in the King's hand by reason of the minority of the heir. The difficulty that arose, owing to the claim of Hugh de Courtenay to the Redvers estates, gave the Crown a pretext for seizing them until Hugh came of age. Meanwhile, Warin de L'Isle, son of Robert, also died leaving his son Robert a minor. Eventually,¹ the estates were partitioned between the claimants and Harewood was among the manors allotted to Robert son of Warin de L'Isle, as heir of the Fitzgerald blood.

The new Lord of Harewood, a distinguished soldier, was created a Knight Banneret for gallantry in the field and summoned to Parliament as Baron de L'Isle of Rougemont from 1311 to 1342. In the latter year, on the death of his wife, he assumed the habit of a Religious and himself died a few months later. In 1337, he had granted the manor of Harewood to John de L'Isle, his younger son, to enable him the better to serve the King in his wars.

John de L'Isle, a soldier like his father, distinguished himself at the battle of Cressy and was so highly esteemed by King Edward III that he was created a Knight of the Garter at the institution of that Order. In 1346 he was awarded a pension of 200*li.* to enable him to maintain his rank of Banneret; and from 1350 to 1354 (his elder brother having died *s.p.*) was summoned to Parliament as Baron de L'Isle of Rougemont. He died 14 October, 1355 leaving by Matilda de Ferrers his wife, who survived him two sons, Sir Robert and John.²

Robert de L'Isle was summoned to Parliament in 1357 and again in 1360. In 1364 he had permission from the King³ to alienate to Sir William de Aldeburgh, Elizabeth his wife, *and to the heirs of Sir William*, two-thirds of the manor of Harewood (a messuage and one oxgang in Carleton excepted) and the reversion of the other third which his mother Matilda held in dower. An inquiry had previously been held as to what loss if any the King, as chief lord, would sustain by this transaction and by a similar alienation from Robert de L'Isle to William Gascoigne of a close called *le Stokyng* and other land in Harewood; and in each case a fine was levied between the parties concerned. In the case of the manor, a further record of the fine was made in 1377 between William de Aldeburgh (Elizabeth his wife being dead) and Robert de L'Isle—

¹ See Speight's *Kirkby Overblow and District*, p. 29, for the King's writs to deliver seisin to the claimants.

² These two sons are named in a settlement of the manor of Kirkby Overblow

made in 1340. (Baildon's *Yorkshire Fines*, Yorks. Arch. Society's Record Series, vol. xlii, p. 140.)

³ *Patent Roll*, 38 Edw. III, Part i, m. 9.

styled *de Insula de Rubeo Monte*—confirming the manor with its rents and services to William and his heirs.¹

Sir Robert de L'Isle is usually said to have died without issue leaving his sister Elizabeth his heir—the wife of William de Aldeburgh. Yet Elizabeth and William both died many years before Robert; and there is no record, or even suggestion, that any part of the vast estates of Robert de L'Isle in other counties descended to William de Aldeburgh the younger or his heirs. Harewood was but one of some ninety manors held by Robert.² We must surely conclude that Elizabeth—if a sister—was not his heir. On the other hand, Burke³ quotes the Somerset Visitation of 1623 as saying that Sir Robert “left a son, Sir William Lisle of Waterperry, co. Oxford,” adding the opinion “but this is very doubtful.” Coming to facts, we find in the *Coram Rege Roll* for 9 Henry IV (1407–8) two charters of William de L'Isle *de Rubeomonte* Knight, reciting the grant by John de L'Isle to the Prior and Convent of Bolton-in-Craven of the advowson of Harewood Church on condition that they find a suitable chaplain to celebrate masses for his soul etc.; which advowson, by another charter, is now conferred on Richard Redman Knight and William Gascoigne Justice of England to hold to them and their heirs until such time as William de L'Isle or his heirs shall pass a Recovery of the manors of Harewood and Gauthorpe.⁴

The identity of Rougemont is of some interest. If we follow Dugdale, Rougemont was in Bedfordshire. Yet, within a mile of Harewood, across the Wharf, is Ridgman Scar, which has been identified as Rougemont by Whitaker and others. Here, existing remains indicate the site of an early fortified manor house and, possibly, here is the ancient house of the De L'Isles. But was it the place whence they derived their style of *de Rubeomonte*? If so, how is it that we find the style in use before the De L'Isles succeeded to Harewood⁵ and long after they had alienated it to the Aldeburghs?⁶ After all, Dugdale is correct. Ridgmont in Bedfordshire is surrounded by manors which are enumerated in 1368 among the possessions of Robert de L'Isle,⁷ held by his under-tenants; and there we must place the chief residence of his family.

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, iv, p. 110.

² *Originalia Roll*, 42 Edw. III, m. 30.

³ *Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, p. 326.

⁴ *Coram Rege Roll*, 9 Hen. IV, m. 33.

⁵ Robert de L'Isle, of Rugemont, 1 Hen. III. (Bank's *Baronage*, i, p. 360.)

⁶ William de L'Isle de Rubeomonte, 1408, above named.

⁷ *Calendar of Originalia Rolls*, ii, pp. 298–300.

Harewood, after all, was a remote manor—usually given away to a younger son, a brother, finally—it may be—to a sister. At Ridgman Scar we have the site of their local residence named,¹ as so often happens now as then, after their Bedfordshire home; and here would be the manor house until William de Aldeburgh acquired the estate and built the castle at Harewood itself.

William de Aldeburgh, the new Lord of Harewood, was summoned to Parliament as Baron Aldeburgh from 1371 to 1386. He was a close friend and adherent of Edward Balliol, the three-months' puppet King of Scotland, and his devotion to his lord is evidenced in stone by the presence of the Balliol arms in the place of honour over the entrance to Harewood Castle. Mr. Greenwood² pictures the Scottish exile gazing at his own arms, fresh from the chisel, over the gateway of the castle, regardless of the fact that Balliol died two years before Aldeburgh acquired the site on which to build. The records show that most intimate relations existed between Edward Balliol and Aldeburgh whose father, Ivo de Aldeburgh, had also been a strong supporter of the Balliol claims. Not only outside the castle, but on the walls within also, the arms of Balliol and Aldeburgh stand side by side; and together they were worked in tapestry.³ And this was after—immediately after—the death of Edward Balliol. Curious to note, we have no evidence that the arms of De L'Isle were ever set up here, in stone or otherwise. There is no evidence, except tradition, that Aldeburgh's wife, Elizabeth, was a De L'Isle; it is an accepted probability—nothing more—and has gained strength by constant repetition. It may yet prove to be the case that she was of Balliol blood.

William de Aldeburgh the son, who succeeded his father as second Baron of the name, died in 1391 childless; and Harewood passed to his two sisters, Elizabeth and Sybil, with whose descendants, Redman and Ryther, it remained for two centuries.

Elizabeth, the elder sister, was aged 28 when her brother died, and was then the wife of Sir Bryan Stapleton, of Carlton.

¹ If the name is not merely a coincidence. Rugemund in Harewood is named in the Inquisition of Baldwin, Earl of Devon, in 1263 (Yorks. Arch. Society's Record Series, vol. xii, p. 91); and the name is quite a common one elsewhere.

² *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood*, p. 145.

³ Tapestry, with the arms of Balliol and Aldeburgh, was bequeathed to Peter de Mauley, her son, by Margery, relict of William de Aldeburgh, the younger, in 1391. (York Registry, vol. i, p. 39.)

By him, who died in 1392, she had issue one son, Sir Bryan, and two daughters, Joan and Isabel. A year or so later she married Sir Richard Redman of Levens, the head of an ancient Westmorland family, himself a distinguished warrior and diplomatist. He was twice High Sheriff of Yorkshire, six times of Cumberland; he represented Yorkshire in Parliament, and in 1415 was elected Speaker of the House of Commons—one of Whitaker's "ordinary knights." We learn that Elizabeth was not on the best of terms with her Stapleton "in-laws," with the result that her share of Harewood was settled on Sir Richard Redman and her issue by him.¹

Sybil, her younger sister, born 1367, married Sir William Ryther, of Ryther, and in their descendants the other moiety of the manor of Harewood vested.

So amicable were the relations between the houses of Redman and Ryther that they have been credited with the joint occupancy of this castle for two hundred years. So far as can be ascertained, the Redmans practically monopolised the castle, the Rythers preferring their own home at Ryther; but of the close and intimate friendship of the two families we have ample proof.

Elizabeth died in 1417.² Sir Richard Redman survived her nine years, dying 22 May, 1426.³ It is not the case that he had a second wife, a daughter of Sir William Gascoigne; that lady was wife to his grandson. Still less is there any foundation for the absurd suggestion that he has the honour of two monumental effigies in Harewood Church—one in company with each of these ladies.⁴ It is, surely, apparent that there is a difference of fifty years in the date and style of

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, viii, p. 249; iv, p. 93.

² *Chancery Inq. p. m.*, 12 Hen. VI, No. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 25 Hen. VI, No. 28.

⁴ The altar-tombs in Harewood Church demand a much more critical examination than they have hitherto been accorded. It may be that the two nearest the chancel, on either side of it, commemorate the Aldeburgh sisters and their husbands—though buried elsewhere. The tomb to the north of the chancel is undoubtedly Redman, identified by the crest on the helm—a horse's head issuing from a ducal coronet; and these must be the effigies either of Sir Richard, the Speaker, and his wife, or of Sir Matthew, his son, and his wife. We have seen that the advowson was granted in 1408 to Sir Richard Redman and Sir William

Gascoigne—no mention of Ryther; and we should expect to find the chapels north and south of the chancel restricted to Redman and Gascoigne respectively, and their kin. Hence the presumption that the tomb south of the chancel is a Gascoigne and not a Ryther monument. In Glover's account of the arms in Harewood Church in 1585, there is shown, "under Gascoyn head," a helmet with a torse and bear's (?) head. If this tomb be examined it will be seen that the crest on the helm is an animal's head on a plain torse. Probably, then, this is the tomb identified in Foster's *Visitations of Yorkshire* as that of John Gascoigne, of Lasincroft, nephew of the Chief Justice, who died 1445. In *Loidis and Elmete* is a plan of these monuments in their original positions.

the armour and costume of the two figures who, in point of fact, are grandsire and grandson.

By Elizabeth de Aldeburgh, Sir Richard Redman had two sons. The elder, Sir Matthew, died before his father, leaving an infant son Richard, who, at the age of nine, succeeded as heir to his grandfather. The younger son of the Speaker, Richard, was ancestor of the Redmans of Bossall. He occurs frequently on the records, and lived much at Harewood during the minority of his nephew.

About the time that this nephew came of age the official mind awoke to the fact that, though he succeeded as heir to his grandfather, he must also have had a father as to whose death they were uninformed. An inquiry was therefore ordered as to whether Matthew son of Sir Richard Redman was dead; and, if so, who was the heir and of what age. By inquisition held at Sherburne on the 11th November, 1437,¹ it was found that Sir Matthew Redman Knight died 20 September, 1419 and that young Richard his son and heir had attained the age of 21 on the 18th October last. This necessitated a further inquiry and proof of age.² Twelve trusty and loyal men assembled at Wetherby on the 24th November, 1437 and, being diligently examined as to the age of Richard son and heir of Sir Matthew son of Richard Redman and Elizabeth his wife, declared that he was born at Harewood on the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist (October 18th) 1416 and was baptized the same day at Harewood Church.

Apart from this important event at the castle, this was quite a busy day in the village. One witness lost his son, who died after a long illness; to another a son was born; a third was married to Margaret his wife. Robert Butler had the event impressed on his mind by a great gale of wind which distinguished that day. Of the chief event, we learn that Thomas Johnson was hurried off to fetch the nurse, Margaret Urkylf (*ad predictum Ricardum filium lactandum et nutricendum*); John Harey carried a basin and a bath or font before the infant at the christening; William Dutton held the book before the priest; John del Wode gave water to the Godparents for washing their hands immediately after the ceremony; Thomas Warde bore to the church two silver dishes with silver and gold, which was thrown among those standing round; and Alexander West took two flagons of red wine to be drunk by

¹ *Chancery Inq. p. m.*, 16 Hen. VI,
No. 61.

² *Ibid.*, No. 69.

the Godfathers and Godmother, and other bystanders. This same red wine may have caused another witness to fall from his horse with such violence as to break his left shin. John Rede had cause to remember the day, because Richard Arthyngton, one of the Godfathers, made him a present of six pounds.

Having attained his majority and the possession of his estates, young Redman promptly got into mischief. Being fond of sport, he was not averse to a little poaching. In the following April he and two of his kin, John and Adam Redman, were charged¹ by Henry, Earl of Northumberland, with breaking into his free warren at Spofforth and hunting there and taking his hares, pheasants and partridges, in defiance of the statute which prescribed three years' imprisonment or banishment for life for such enormities. The Redmans did not appear at Westminster to answer the charge and the Sheriff was ordered to arrest them. Here the record ends, but we hear of no ill consequences to the poachers. Soon after this episode Richard Redman was knighted in due course, and in 1442 was returned to Parliament as Knight of the Shire for Westmorland. He was married when young to Ellen daughter of his neighbour Sir William Gascoigne, the Redman estate at Lupton near Levens being settled on them and their issue. This marriage is clearly proved by Inquisitions, at one of which² a juror having been challenged on account of kinship, a pedigree showing this Gascoigne marriage was duly set out and admitted to be correct. A pedigree in the Heralds' College³ makes this Sir Richard marry Margaret Middleton and allots to them thirteen children; but this Richard was of quite another family, and the Middleton match must be deleted once and for all from the Harewood line of Redman. Sir Richard died in 1476 leaving by Ellen Gascoigne four sons and one daughter. In Harewood Church are the recumbent effigies of this knight and his Gascoigne wife, resting side by side on a magnificent altar-tomb.

Sir William Redman, the eldest son, was knighted at the marriage of Richard, the ill-fated Duke of York, in 1477.⁴ In 1482, just before the capture of Berwick, he was created a

¹ *De Banco Roll*, 709, m. 28d.

² *Coram Rege Roll*, 1011, m. 3 (Easter, 6 Hen. VIII). The juror, Thomas Legh, was son of Roger son of Margaret, daughter of Anne, a daughter of William Gascoign, Knight, father of Elizabeth, mother of Edward, father of Richard Redman. Elizabeth is apparently an error for Ellen; but, whatever her Christian name, the mother of Edward

and wife of Sir Richard Redman was a daughter of Sir William Gascoigne.

³ *Vincent and Philpot (Duchetiana*, p. 24). The *Visitations of Yorkshire*, 1564, and *Westmorland*, 1615, show Margaret Middleton as wife of Richard Redman; but do not state that he was of Levens and Harewood.

⁴ Medcalfe's *Book of Knights*, p. 5.

Banneret by the Duke of Gloucester in Scotland¹; but he only enjoyed this honour for seven weeks, dying—perhaps from wounds received at the siege—on September 14th, after making a nuncupative will on the 11th.² He was married at the age of 12 to his cousin, Margaret Strickland of Sizergh³; but, having no issue, was succeeded in the estates by his brother Edward, then aged 27.⁴

On the death of Edward Redman in 1510 the ownership of Harewood was in dispute between his grand-daughter Joan (only child of Henry his elder son who predeceased him), and Richard his younger son. Eventually, after much litigation,⁵ Richard established his claim to Harewood as heir male under his marriage settlement, the Caley estate near Otley passing as her share to Joan, who was given in marriage to Marmaduke Gascoigne fourth son of Gawthorpe.

Richard Redman the successful litigant was twice married: first to Elizabeth Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, relict of Robert Ryther who died without issue; and secondly to Dorothy Layton of Dalemmain, by whom he had a large family. This Richard was in the retinue of Cardinal Wolsey, and during his absence in 1528, in London and beyond seas, in attendance on his Grace, his nephew Marmaduke Gascoigne endeavoured to seize some of his land at Pool, yet without success.⁶ This early training probably inclined Redman to sympathy with the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace. He was captured by the "Commons," as they styled themselves, while hunting in Sizergh Park and made to take their oath. For this however he managed to obtain pardon and was one of those suspected sympathisers whom the Duke of Norfolk, with refined cruelty, selected to serve on the Grand Jury which tried the leaders of the movement. Sir Richard died in 1544 and was succeeded by Matthew his eldest son, a youth of 17 whose wardship was committed to Sir Anthony Browne.⁷

Of Matthew, the last Redman to own this castle, we have but little to say. He has been unduly blamed for a supposed extravagance which compelled him to part with his estates; yet we must remember that service in the retinue of a cardinal and indulgence in sympathy with rebels were not inexpensive amusements; and that these estates probably came to Matthew

¹ Medcalfe's *Book of Knights*, p. 6.

² *York Registry*, vol. v, p. 43.

³ *Chancery Inq. p. m.*, 22 Edw. IV, No. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Coram Rege Roll*, 1011, m. 3.

⁶ *Star Chamber Proceedings*, Hen. VIII, Bla. 27, No. 108.

⁷ *Chancery Inq. p. m.*, 36 Hen. VIII, No. 62.

heavily burdened with debt. In 1574,¹ having no children, he and his next brother William conveyed all their interests in this estate to James Ryther and William Plumpton, Esquires. It seems probable (the documents have not been closely examined) that Matthew retained a life interest in the premises, but he did not long survive. His widow Bridget Gascoigne of Gawthorpe was married at Otley in 1586 to her own and her late husband's cousin, William Gascoigne of Caley, by whom she had issue.

Of the Ryther family—the owners of the other moiety of Harewood—it is perhaps enough to say that their portion descended in the male line until the death of Henry Ryther in 1544. It then passed to his cousin William Ryther, who probably inherited but a fragment of the original estate. By marriage with one of the daughters of William Atherton, James son of this William Ryther seems to have regained much that was lost and to have added part of the old Redman lands. James died in 1596 and the end came four years later, at Easter, 1600, when young Robert Ryther and his sisters and all others (fourteen in number) having an interest in the castle and manor of Harewood joined in a conveyance of the estate to Robert Chamberlain, John Gregory and Henry Atkinson, Esquires, with a warranty against any claim on behalf of the Redman and Ryther families.²

Thus, after an ownership extending over five centuries, the descendants of Robert de Romelli ceased to be Lords of Harewood.

¹ *Yorkshire Fines*, ii, p. 62. (Yorks. Arch. Society's Record Series, vol. v.)

² *Ibid.*, iv, p. 145. (Yorks. Arch. Society's Record Series, vol. viii.)

HOWDEN CHURCH.

SOME NOTES ON ITS ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.

By JOHN BILSON, F.S.A.

THE architectural history of the church is the subject of a paper read by the Rev. J. L. Petit at the Hull meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in 1867, and printed in the *Archæological Journal*, xxv, 179. As some of Mr. Petit's views on the order in which the different parts of the church were built appear to me to be untenable, and as his paper has been extensively used in subsequent accounts of the church, it may be worth while to print here a summary of the conclusions which I presented to the Royal Archæological Institute in 1903, and repeated at the recent excursion of our Society. These notes, however, will be confined to the fabric itself, and make no pretension to be an adequate description of the church.

On the outside of the transept and nave, especially on the north side, many large gritstones have been reused. Comparison with similar masonry at Skipwith, Hemingbrough, and Laughton-en-le-Morthen suggests that these gritstones probably formed part of the pre-Conquest church of Howden. There are some fragments of twelfth-century work in the garden of the vicarage, and some of the corbels to the eaves on the east side of the north transept seem to be of twelfth-century date.

The earliest work *in situ*, however, is the transept and crossing, and the question arises—what was the eastern arm to which this work was attached. An entry in the Chronicle of Lanercost,¹ under the year 1272, is important in this connection. It records the death about this time of a canon of Howden named John, who at his own cost began the new choir of the church. What was left over he predicted that he would finish after death, and we see it clearer than daylight. For being buried in a stately tomb in the middle of the choir itself, he is held for a saint, and from the offerings of the thronging people we see not only the choir, but a spacious and elaborate nave in course of completion (*non tantum chorum sed navem ecclesiæ latam videmus compleri et operosam*). This record receives

¹ *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 93.

some confirmation from the ordinance of 1265,¹ when the church was made collegiate, where it is ordained that the value of certain buildings shall be converted to the fabric of the choir. It is obvious that there can be no question here of the present choir, nothing of which can be placed within the thirteenth century. The western respond piers of the choir arcades (on the east side of the eastern piers of the crossing) have, however, been raised when the arcades were built, and the original capitals remain at a lower level than those which actually receive the arches. These original capitals of the choir responds have the same profile as those of the respond piers of the arcades on the east side of the transept, attached to the crossing piers on each side, and they differ slightly from the profiles of the other capitals of the transept arcades. The plan of the respond piers, too, repeats that of the piers of the transept arcades. The original capitals are at a lower level than those of the transept arcades, which would scarcely have been the case if these earlier respond piers had belonged to an aisled choir. Evidently they belonged to arches opening from the transept aisles into an unaisled choir, the roof-line of which is indicated by the lower of the two weather-moulds on the east face of the tower, and is a little lower than the roofs of the transept.

The conclusion from the above is that, when the rebuilding of the church was begun, at a date which must be placed somewhere near the middle of the thirteenth century, it was planned with a transept with an aisle of three bays on the east side of each arm, a crossing for a central tower, and a short unaisled choir; and that it was this choir which was built by canon John, and in which he was buried.

The transept aisles, each of which formed three chapels, were both altered in later times. The windows of the north and south gables are of the simplest early type of geometrical tracery;² the transoms are later insertions. The transept has no clearstory.

The extent westward of this first section of the rebuilding is marked near the east end of the aisle walls of the nave by a break in the masonry, and by a change in the section of the string below the aisle windows. This first section included the lower part of the crossing, and, although the pier plans of the transept and nave are the same, there is a differ-

¹ *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, by W. Hutchinson (1794), iii, 451. *The Institution of the*

Prebendal Church at Howden, by W. Brown, p. 170 *infra*.

² E. Sharpe, *Decorated Window Tracery in England* (1849), pl. 14 and pl. C, 14.

ence in their capitals which should be noted. The capitals to the arcades on the east side of the transept, to all four crossing piers, to the arches from the transept to the aisles of the nave, and to the eastern respond piers of the nave arcades, have octagonal abaci, but all the mouldings below the abaci are circular on plan. To all the other piers of the nave arcades, all the mouldings of the capitals are octagonal. It is certain that, when this first section was built, the intention was to build a nave different in some respects from that which was actually built. The arches from the transept to the aisles of the nave are at the same height as those of the arcades on the east side of the transept, and the corbel-table of the eaves on the west side of the transept shows below the roof of the nave aisles. Evidently it was intended that the aisles of the nave should be lower than they actually are. On the west face of the crossing, a weather-moulding indicates a roof-line of the same height as the existing roofs of the transept, and the crossing arches are designed to suit this lower roof. Evidently, therefore, the first intention was to build a nave without a clearstory, as in the transept. It has been suggested that such a nave was actually built, but this idea is decisively contradicted by the regular progression of design from transept to nave, and the work clearly progressed continuously, without any definite interruption or alteration.

The windows of the aisles of the nave illustrate the progression of geometrical tracery. The easternmost window of each aisle has tracery which is still of the simple early type, with the foliations bounded by circles. Westward the tracery patterns alternate. In the second, fourth, and sixth (from the east), there are three pointed trefoils, without any circle or bounding line, the foils forming the main lines of the tracery. In the third and fifth, the tracery is of what has been called the 'intersecting' type, and the spaces formed by the main intersecting lines are filled with pointed trefoils, and with quatrefoils not bounded by circles;¹ these latter also occur in the simple two-light clearstory windows. Pointed trefoils and quatrefoils occur in the great west window of the nave,² the transoms of which are later insertions. The west windows of the aisles already show the beginnings of the curve of contra-flexure.³ The jamb moulding of the aisle windows, both outside and inside, changes after the second window (from the east) on each

¹ E. Sharpe, *Decorated Window Tracery in England*, pp. 48 and 82.

² *Ibid*, pl. 27, and p. 42.

³ *Ibid*, pl. 20 and pl. C, 20.

side, and the section of the string under the windows changes on the north side at the west side of the north doorway. There are also some variations in the base mouldings of the arcade piers which may possibly have some bearing on the precise order in which the parts of the nave were built.

Some points of similarity may be noted between the nave of Howden and the aisles of the nave of York Minster which were begun in 1291. The alternate bays of the north aisle of Howden (first, third and fifth from the east), and the second bay (from the east) of the south aisle have a *crochet* cornice of French inspiration, which may be compared with that of the nave aisles of York. The crocketed gable moulding over the west window of Howden occurs over the aisle windows at York, and the wall-arcade inside the west end of Howden has mouldings which are very like those of the internal wall-arcade of the nave aisles of York.

The nave of Howden may have been begun somewhere about 1280,¹ and in 1281 the canons of Howden were working a quarry in Tevesdale, near Tadcaster.² The lower part of the west front may be attributed to the last decade of the thirteenth century, and the nave would seem to have been finished within the first decade of the fourteenth century. This is indicated by the arms³ of Anthony Bek (bishop of Durham, 1284-1311, and patriarch of Jerusalem, 1306), now placed in a window on the east side of the south porch; this shield was formerly in the west window of the north aisle,⁴ whence it was most unfortunately removed to make way for some modern glass. Bek died in 1311, and a window in this position would scarcely be glazed until the fabric of the nave was finished.

The south porch was a nearly contemporary addition to the south aisle of the nave. It is beautifully vaulted in two bays. Its doorway has a crocketed gable mould over the arch, and on the apex of the arch is the head of a king, which may be a representation of Edward II, who was at Howden in 1312.

Immediately after the completion of the nave, the small eastern arm which had been built some half-century before was replaced by the magnificent choir, the ruins of which show that it must

¹ The passage in the Chronicle of Lanercost quoted above would seem to imply a rather earlier date.

² *Yorkshire Inquisitions* (Yorks. Arch. Soc., Record Series), i, 219.

³ The dexter half of the shield bears the patriarchal staff of Jerusalem, and

the sinister half the cross moline of Bek dimidiated.

⁴ W. H. D. Longstaffe records that he saw it there in 1859, and he gives an illustration of it in his paper on *The Old Heraldry of the Percies* (*Archæologia Eliana*, iv, 167).

have been one of the finest things of its time in England. Like the nave, it is of six bays, and of much the same length, but unlike the nave, it possessed the great merit of being vaulted throughout.¹ In the aisle windows, the tracery moulds are similar to those of the nave aisles, but the tracery is more advanced. As in the windows of the nave aisles of York, there are three quatrefoils, not enclosed in circles, but here the upper quatrefoil has its lower foil of ogee shape, and the trefoiled head of the middle light is also ogeed at its apex. On the outside, these windows have crocketed gable moulds. The character of the work indicates c. 1310-1315 as probable for its beginning, but its completion must have extended well into the second quarter of the fourteenth century—nearly contemporary, in fact, with the later part of the choir of Selby, which had been begun while the nave of Howden was being built. The bay-design of the choir of Howden, too, resembled that of the choir of Selby; no triforium stage, but a wall-passage below the clearstory windows, with a quatrefoiled parapet in front of it. This and the splendid east elevation can be well studied in the drawings in Sharpe's *Parallels*. His restoration (on paper) shows flowing tracery in the three-light windows at the ends of the aisles, and the flowing tracery of the great east window, of seven lights, still retains something of geometrical character. All three windows have crocketed gable moulds, and the niches which flank the upper window in the great gable, with the remarkable "finial," and the great flanking turrets, combine to give rare distinction to this rich elevation.

The alteration of the aisle on the east side of the north transept closely followed the choir, and consisted in the extension of the central chapel eastward. The window in the westernmost bay of the north aisle of the choir is of two lights (the others have three lights), in order to clear the eastern wall of the transept aisle, before this extension was carried out.

We come now to the works with which the name of Walter Skirlaw is connected. William de Chambre tells us that Skirlaw built the very beautiful (*perpulchram*) chapter-house attached to the church of Howden.² Skirlaw only became bishop of Durham in 1388, and the building of the chapter-house must have been contemplated, at any rate, before that time, for in 1380 Henry of Snaith, canon of Lincoln, Beverley, and Howden,

¹ The cells of the aisle vaults were built of brick (as in the slightly later vault of the nave of Beverley Minster).

² *Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres* (Surtees Soc. ix), p. 144.

bequeathed £10 to the chapter-house of Howden.¹ Skirlaw, who was one of his fellow-canons at Beverley, was one of his executors. The chapter-house, which is octagonal and was vaulted, is approached from the south aisle of the choir, through a short passage. Its position is usual for churches of secular canons (Beverley, York, Southwell, Lichfield, Wells, Manchester). The windows are of three lights, with ogee crocketed hood-moulds externally, and with a wall arcade below them internally, the back of which is richly panelled with quatrefoils below the ogee heads of the arcade. The stone rings for the rain water pipes are noteworthy. The niches in the upper parts of the angle buttresses contain shields, one of which bears the Nevill saltire.²

The small chapel to the east of the passage between the chapter-house and the south aisle of the choir, was added afterwards, and was probably the chapel of the chantry of St. Cuthbert, founded by Skirlaw.³ His arms can (or could) be seen in the parapet of the east gable,⁴ and on the stop of the hood-mould on the west side of the south window. The staircase and the small chamber over the passage to the chapter-house are also additions to the original design.

Another work with which Skirlaw's name is associated is the fine central tower. William de Chambre says that Skirlaw built the tower (*campanilis*) of Howden, of great height, which he made for a refuge for the inhabitants if a flood chanced to happen (!).⁵ This refers to the tall and stately stage above the roofs, but it was evidently not finished when Skirlaw died here in 1406. In his will of 1403 he left £40 to the fabric of the bell-tower of Howden church.⁶ On the inside, the hood-moulds of the windows stop on angels; each pair of angels in the middle of each side holds a shield, with the following arms: east, Skirlaw; south, Metham; west, Langley⁷; north, Nevill.⁸ The upper stage of this fine tower is a later addition, probably of the end of the fifteenth century.

¹ *Test. Ebor.*, i, 111.

² On the buttress between the eastern and south-eastern faces. R. Nevill, son of Ralph earl of Westmorland, held the Laxton (or Skelton) prebend at Howden in 1416 (Hutchinson's *Durham*, iii, 453). Another shield, now very indistinct, may possibly be Pollington. See also *De la Pryme's Diary* (Surtees Soc., liv), p. 194.

³ Confirmation by the Chapter of Durham, 1 Sept., 1404. See also *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys* (Surtees Soc. xcii), ii, 559.

⁴ Noted by me with the then vicar, the Rev. W. Hutchinson, in 1887.

⁵ *Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres*, p. 144.

⁶ *Test. Ebor.*, i, 306.

⁷ Cardinal Langley (Skirlaw's successor), bishop of Durham, 1406-1437.

⁸ See note 2 *supra*.

Two other works of the latter part of the fifteenth, or early part of the sixteenth, century, close the story of the fabric. One was the alteration of the aisle on the east side of the south transept, by extending the two chapels eastward. The south window of this extension is a modern copy of the adjoining thirteenth-century window. The other was the addition of the school, on the south side of the two western bays of the south aisle of the nave, to the west of the south porch. Its basement is vaulted, and the upper room is still used as a school.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE PREBENDAL CHURCH AT HOWDEN.

BY WILLIAM BROWN, F.S.A.

THE recent meeting of the Yorkshire Archæological Society at Howden gives an opportunity of placing on record the way in which the church there became converted into a prebendal church in the third decade of the thirteenth century. Up to that time the church had been an ordinary parish church governed by a rector, in the patronage of the prior and convent of Durham.¹ In a Durham MS., now in the British Museum,² from which most of the information in this paper is derived, a list of the rectors as far as then known is given. They are as follows :—

PETER SON OF THEOBALD,³ instituted by Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet, 1191–1212. He was a contemporary of Philip of Poitiers, Bishop of Durham, 1197–1208, and of his successor, Richard de Marisco, 1217–1226.

SIMON DE FARLINGTONA,⁴ instituted, on the presentation of the prior and convent of Durham, in the fifth year of Archbishop Walter de Gray, 1219–1220.⁵ He was Archdeacon of Durham.

JOHN DE HAUTAIN, called, more correctly, in Gray's *Register* (p. 151), John le Hauteyn, a nephew of the Archbishop; was instituted before Sept. 27, 1224.⁶

FULK BASSET, Provost of Beverley. There is a very full account of this person in the second volume of the *Beverley*

¹ Mr. Burton, from the *History of Peterborough*, sets forth that "in the days of Edward the Confessor the manor church and lands of Howden were wrested from the monastery of Peterborough; and being in the king's hands, King William the Conqueror gave the said church of Howden, with all its chapels, lands, and appurtenances, to William Karilepho, Bishop of Durham, who immediately after conferred the same on the monks of Durham for ever. The manor and its privileges the prelates retained, and it still belongs to the See. (Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, iii, 447.)

² Stowe MS., No. 930, fo. 79.

³ Called 'Petrus Theobardi' in the Stowe MS. and 'Petrus Theberti'

in the *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis* (Surtees Soc., lviii, p. 254)

⁴ He derived his name from Farlington, a small village in the North Riding, 5½ miles south-east of Easingwold. In the list of archdeacons of Durham in Le Neve's *Fasti* (iii, 302), S. de Farlington is said to have held this dignity in 1290 but S., who was also parson of Howden, was Archdeacon of Durham on St. Hilary's Day before the arrival in England of Pandulph the legate (Gray's *Register*, p. 136), no doubt referring to his second visit in 1218 (*Nicholai Trivetii Annales*, p. 203).

⁵ Gray's *Register* (Surtees Soc., lvi), p. 150. See also the *Feodarium*, p. 254.

⁶ Gray's *Register*, p. 15111

Chapter Act Book (Surtees Soc., cviii, p. xxii). In March, 11 Henry III (1226-7), Archbishop Walter Gray, by the assent of Fulk Basset, parson of the church of Howden, and of the Prior and Convent of Durham, granted to Walter de Kirkham, clerk, afterwards Bishop of Durham, all the tithes of corn pertaining to the chapel of Estrington, by the name of a single benefice, without cure of souls or episcopal burdens, rendering thence yearly to the parson of Howden and his successors three bezants as a pension on Martinmas Day.¹ He was made Dean of York in Oct., 1239, when he seems to have resigned his provostship and, probably, this living. He was consecrated Bishop of London in 1241, and died in 1259.

JOHN LE MANSEL or MAUNSELL, also a Provost of Beverley. For a fuller account of him, the reader is referred to the *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. ii, p. xxvi. The date of his death is uncertain. The *Flores Historiarum* says, under the year 1264, that he died beyond the seas. It is true he is named as an executor in the will of Henry III, June, 1269, but he must have been already dead, as the inq. p. m. of John Mansel, lately deceased, was taken in 50 Henry III, 1265-6. (*Calendarium Genealogicum*, i, 118.) That no parson is mentioned in any of the documents referred to below shows that the church was vacant, so the year 1264 is probably the date of his death.

Of these five rectors, it is very unlikely that any were resident. The two last, as well as being Provosts of Beverley, were eminent lawyers, and must have had their time largely occupied with the discharge of their legal duties, nor is it probable that an Archdeacon of Durham would have leisure to superintend in person the affairs of a parish, situated at such a great distance from his archdeaconry, even though the parish were one of such importance as Howden. To obviate, as far as possible, these evils, the following scheme was devised. There was to be no rector, but in his place five prebendaries were to be instituted, who were to be paid out of the revenues of the church. To each prebendary a certain portion of the parish was assigned, with a condition that he should provide a priest and a clerk in holy orders to ensure the spiritual needs of the parishioners being duly attended to. Even then these prebendaries would be non-resident, as was often the case, for we find some thirty years later a prior of Durham sought

¹ Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, iii, 450.

to gain favour with the king in his quarrel with the bishop in the matter of an episcopal visitation, by giving prebends here to the clerks of the King's household.¹

According to Robert de Graystones, the Durham historian,² this conversion of Howden into a church of prebendaries took place in 1265, during the vacancy of the See, after the death of Archbishop Sewall de Bovill, and that, although Archbishop Walter de Gray at first objected to the arrangement as having been made whilst the See was vacant, yet, being propitiated by gifts, his ordinance did not differ much from the one already made.

By the help of the documents in the Stowe volume, it is possible to give a somewhat fuller account of this transaction.

The first step in the matter was a letter³ of Hugh of Darlington, the Prior, and the Convent of Durham, dated at Durham, 15 kal. Maii (April 17), 1265, and addressed to William, the Dean, and the Chapter of York, informing them that they had submitted their church of Howden, in which heretofore the Prior had exercised the powers of an archdeacon,⁴ to the ordination given below; and the same day the Dean and Chapter gave their assent.⁵

The deed,⁶ by which the church was divided into prebends, is dated "pridie kalendas Maii" (April 30), 1265. The commissioners who carried out the arrangement were Hugh (de Cantilupe), Precentor of York, and Rayner of Skipton, and Simon of Evesham, archdeacons of York and Richmond and canons of York. The reasons given were that the Prior and Convent, the patrons, being desirous⁷ that the worship of God should be augmented, and better provision made for the salvation of souls, as the parish was of such wide extent and the income so large that the revenues would suffice for the support of more clergy; and having earnestly besought the Chapter of York that prebends might be ordained in the church of St. Peter,

¹ *Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc. ix), p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³ *Stowe MS.* 930, fo. 77d.

⁴ In qua nos prior iuribus archidiaconalibus hactenus usi sumus.

⁵ *Stowe MS.*, 930, fo. 78.

⁶ There are two copies of this deed, one on fo. 27d, headed, "Submissio prioris et conventus super ordinacione ecclesie de Houeden' in prebendas," and the other, on fo. 77 "Ordinacio ecclesie de Houeden' cum diuisione eiusdem

in prebendas." The variations are unimportant. There is an abstract of the document in Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, iii, 450.

⁷ Affectantibus viris religiosis, priore et conuentu Dunelmensibus, in ecclesia sancti Petri de Houeden', ad eorum patronatum spectante, cuius parochia adeo est diffusa et prouentuum redditus habundantes quod plurimum sustentacionem suppetant facultates, cultum diuini numinis adaugeri et animarum saluti salubrius prouideri.

of Houeden',¹ out of its income, into which they said they had entered under an indulgence of Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241), they submitted their church of Houeden to the ordination of the precentor and archdeacons, so that they might ordain prebends in the same for the increase of the number of ministers, in such way as they should deem expedient for the honour of God and the cure of souls. To carry out this object, the commissioners ordained that there should be five prebends in the church, and that each prebendary should keep, at his own cost, a priest and clerk in holy orders, who should serve in the church in the habit of a canon after the custom of the church of York, and observe the manner of singing (*psallendi*) practised in that church, except as regards matins, which were to be said in the morning for the sake of the parish,² and that each should take his turn as vicar for the week.³ Each prebendary was, by means of his own priest, to take care of the portion of the parish assigned to him, as was also the case at Beverley. The priests of the altars of St. Mary, St. Thomas the Martyr, and St. Katherine were to be present at the canonical hours, processions, and high mass (*maior missa*), in dress like the others, and their altars were in no wise to be given over to the priests of the prebendaries, lest the number of the ministers should be diminished, and not increased. To encourage these three priests to be present on these several occasions, they were to receive yearly, in addition to their stipend, one mark apiece from the high altar by half-yearly portions at Martinmas and Whitsuntide. In return for this, the precentor

¹ From Domesday and all through the middle ages Howden appears as Houeden or Houedene, but in a charter of King Ædgar, dated 959, the word is spelt Hovedene in the heading and Heafuddæne and Hæafuddene in the body of the charter. A full abstract of this most interesting document has been given by the Rev. W. Hutchinson, a former vicar of Howden, in the *Y.A.J.*, xi, 363, from Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*. Since then it has been reprinted in De Gray Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii, 269, and is hereinafter referred to as A.S.C., *i.e.* the Anglo-Saxon Charter. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Ellis for calling my attention to this document, and also for other valuable help.

² *p' p' parochiam*. This does not mean that there were no matins at York, but that on account of the parish they were to be said early in the morning, that parishioners might attend, if

they chose, and not in the small hours, as was usual in monastic and other choral establishments.

³ "Et singuli sint ebdomodarii secundum ordinem vicis sue." Each prebendary was to have a vicar choral as elsewhere, and each was to take his turn as vicar for the week. It is not quite clear whether 'singuli' refers to the prebendaries or to the vicars, or to both. Probably it means that each prebendary and his vicar between them were to be responsible for their week.

Hebdomadary is defined in the *N.E.D.* as a member of a chapter or convent who took his (or her) weekly turn in the performance of the sacred offices of the church. Under the form *Hebdomary*, the following passage is quoted from the *Rule of St. Saviour and St. Bridget*, circa 1450: "The ebdomary is bounde to absteyn thynges that wyke (week) that myghte lette her to performe her office."

and the archdeacons assigned to the Prior and Convent, '*in proprios usus*,' the chapel of Esterington,¹ with the ecclesiastical revenues of the same vill and of the vills of Cayvile, Byreland, Portington, Ousthorpe, Hythe, Sandhol,² Neuland, Dike, of the farrier's land, and the land of the chamber,³ Lympenhill, Grenayc, Belaysise,⁴ and Benedicta's land,⁵ together with the tithe of John de Warwyc, with the burial of the parishioners of the said vill, and with all the emoluments and burdens of the parish, so that the prebends should be for ever free from the payment of pensions or procurations.

All the rest of the parish of Houeden was assigned to the five prebendaries, the prebends being thus divided: to the first prebend belonged all the predial tithes⁶ of hay, wool, and lambs from the vills of Houeden, Knedelington, and Bernhill; to the second prebend, from the vills of Barneby and Askelby; to the third, from the vills of Thorpe and Belleby, Balcolm,⁷ Linton, and Gayre, with the tithe of le Splen⁸ of Kylpin and Trandic; to the fourth, from Laxinton, Skelton, and Greseby; and to the fifth, from the vills of Saltmarsh (*Salsus mariscus*), Cothenes,⁹ Metham, and Uckesfleth.¹⁰

Offerings at the altar, mortuaries, and personal tithes from these towns were to be equally divided amongst the prebendaries. The area of the church was to be proportionally divided amongst the prebendaries for dwellings, and the price of the buildings thereon spent on the fabric of the choir.¹¹ The patronage of the prebends was to belong to the Prior and Convent, who were to present the prebendaries to the Archbishop, and in case of vacancy to the Chapter, for institution and installation. In case any question should arise about precedence, it was decided that on the south side the prebendary of the first prebend should have the first place, the prebendary of the third the second, the prebendary of the fifth the third, and the priest of the altar of St. Thomas the fourth. On the north side the prebendary of the second prebend should have the first place, the prebendary of the fourth the second, the priest of the altar of St. Mary the third, and the priest of the altar of St. Katherine the fourth.

¹ Estrington, fo. 77.

² Sandholm, *ibid.*

³ Terre marescalli et terre camere.

⁴ Belasis, fo. 77.

⁵ "Terra Benedicte," called Beneteland below. This place belonged to the Benedictine nuns of Thicket. (A.S.E.)

⁶ Tithes arising or derived from the produce of the soil.

⁷ Balholm, fo. 77.

⁸ Le Spen, *ibid.*

⁹ Cotesnesse, *ibid.*

¹⁰ Yackeflete, *ibid.*

¹¹ Area autem ecclesie ad inhabitandum inter prebendarios proportionaliter diuidatur, et precium edificiorum nunc ibi existencium in chori fabricam conuertatur

This arrangement of the stalls is set out in another place (fo. 78), where they are disposed under the names of their estates. It runs as follows:—

Ordo prebendariorum et capellanorum in ecclesia
de Houeden'.

Ex parte australi.	{	j stallum.	ij stallum.	iiij stallum in choro.
		Houeden'.	Thorpp'.	De Salso marisco.
			iiij stallum.	
		Presbiter altaris sancti Thome.		
Ex parte boreali.	{	j stallum.	ij stallum.	iiij stallum.
		Barneby.	Laxinton.	Presbiter altaris Sancte
			iiij stallum.	Marie.
		Presbiter altaris sancte Katerine.		

This ordination received the sanction of the Papal Legate, Ottobonus, cardinal-deacon of St. Adrian, on 12 kal. Marcii, 2 Clement IV (Feb. 18, 1266–7).¹

Unfortunately, the Stowe MS. is imperfect, so the confirmation by Archbishop Walter Giffard, mentioned by Graystones, does not occur, unless it be a document, of which only a portion has survived,² dated 6 kal. Marcii (Feb. 24), 1267–8. In this deed the Archbishop insists on three months' personal residence by the prebendaries, whether continuously or at intervals (*interpolatim*). He orders that the revenues be distributed at Martinmas and Whitsuntide, and those who have made half their residence were to receive, in proportion, a suitable share. They were not to be excused from residence for the rest of the time which they were bound to make, but were to be compelled by him or his successors to do it according as the canonical ordinances had decreed.³

On the same folio occurs a list of the names of the first five prebendaries of Howden. They are given in a confirmation by Archbishop Walter Giffard, dated at London, 5 kal. Maii (April 27), 1268, of a bond given at Durham, 4 ides Oct. (Oct. 12), 1265, by which Master John de Mechelton, Sir Richard de Evesham, and Masters Geoffrey de Forseth, Hugh de Evesham, and John de Neuton, canons of the church of Houeden, bound their prebends to contribute towards the cost of prosecuting the business common to them all, touching the church

¹ Stowe MS. 930, fo. 79.

² *Ibid.*, fo. 35. It is Giffard's confirmation, and is entered in Reg. Melton, fo. 608.

³ Secundum quod dictant canonice sanctiones.

of Houeden, and to act according to the wishes of the Lord Prior of Durham.

On fo. 78*d*, a list of the prebends of their values is set out, which will give an idea of their worth:—

FIRST PREBEND.—Houeden, 36 marks ; Knedelington, 16 marks ; Bernhille,¹ 3 marks 55 marks.

SECOND PREBEND.—Barneby, 30 marks ; Askelby,² 24 marks 54 marks.

THIRD PREBEND.—Thorp, 4 marks ; Belleby, 10 marks ; Balholm, Linton, Gayre, Spen, 24 marks ; Kypyn, Tranedyc,³ 16 marks 54 marks.

FOURTH PREBEND.—Laxton, 30 marks ; Skelton, Gryseby,⁴ 25 marks 55 marks.

FIFTH PREBEND.—Saltmarshe (*Salsus mariscus*), 25 marks ; Kotenese, Metham, 20 marks ; Yucflet,⁵ 12 marks 57 marks.

CHAPEL OF ESTRINGTON.—Estrington, 24 marks ; Kayville, Byrland, 20 marks ; Portington, 8 marks ; Ousthorpe, Hythe, Sandholm, 18 marks ; Neuland, Dike, the farrier's land, land of the chamber, Limpenhil, 20 marks ; Grenayc, 12 marks ; Belasis, Beneteland, the land of John de Warwyc,⁶ 8 marks . . . 110 marks.

¹ Howden, Knedlington (Cnyllingatún, A.S.C.), and Barnhill (Beornhyll, A.S.C.).

² Barmby-on-the-Marsh and Asselby.

³ Thorpe (Thorp, A.S.C.), Belby (Belleby, A.S.C.), Balkholme, Linton, and Kilpin (Celpene, A.S.C.). The site of Gayre, called Gaira in 1199 (*Yorks. Arch. Journal* xi, 187), is defined by Gare Lane. It is a triangular piece of ten or twelve fields adjoining Linton and Gare Lane, often called Gay Lane, a very fantastic name for an impassable road.

In the *E.D.D.*, s.v. Gair, the following passage is quoted from Morton's *Cyclo. Agric.* (1863):—The triangular portion of the field remaining to be ploughed, after all the furrows have taken its entire length, and which must then be finished by turning shorter each 'bout.' The word is yet occasionally heard in rural districts, 'a narrow gare' being a more common expression. It has reference to shape, rather than situation. *cf. gore*, as in *gore-acres*. In 1562, there was a manor of the Spennes in Eastrington, and there is still a piece of land, north-west of Eastrington Church, called the Spen Ings (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xvii, 99). "Manor del Spen juxta Howden." Fine, 4 Edward II. Michael Warton of Beverley had manor de

Spenyes, called Savill's land in Estrington, held of the bishop of Durham (A.S.E.). Tranedic (*cf.* Tranby), which was between Gayre and Kilpin, seems to have disappeared, though it occurs in an Act of Parliament as late as 1777.

⁴ Laxton and Skelton. Laxton, in Nottinghamshire, also occurs under the form Laxington. Gryseby, no longer known, appears as Grisby in 1367 (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xvii, 108). *Cf.* the North Riding Grisebi, now Girsby.

⁵ Saltmarshe, Cotness, Metham, and Yokefleet (Huickeflete in 1199; *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xi, 186).

⁶ Eastrington (Eastringatún, A.S.C.), Caville (Cafeld, A.S.C.), Burland, Portington, Owsthorpe, Hive (Hythe, A.S.C.), Sandholme, Newland, Gilberdike, Greenoak, Bellasize, Bennetland, Warricks. The jury found that John de Warewyk, in 40 Henry III (1255 6), had built a certain grange upon the common causeway near Grenhayk', and paid half a mark as pourprestre (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, i, 129). (A.S.E.) Gilberdike, an old outlet of the River Foulney, was the fosse or dike of Gilbert Hansard, known later as Haunsardam, or Blacktoft dam.

Bellasize (like Belasis, north-east of Billingham, near Stockton-on-Tees, and Bellasis, four miles south of Mor-

The only addition to the number of the prebends in Howden Church took place in 1280, when the church of Skipwith was made a prebend in that church. The prebendary had the third place on the north side assigned to him as his stall.¹

BELLASIZE CHAPEL.²

2 nonas Feb. (Feb. 4), 1279-80. Licence from Richard (de Claxton), Prior of Durham, and the Convent of the same, to their parishioners of the church of Estrington, dwelling in the vill of Belasys and Grenayk, together with the house of John de Warewyk, to build an oratory in the vill of Belasys, where, constrained both by the deepness of the road and the distance from the mother church,³ they might be present. They were to visit the mother church five times a year, unless prevented by a reasonable cause, namely, on Christmas Day, the Purification of the B.V.M., Easter, Whit-Sunday, and the festival of the mother church, that is, the day of St. Michael the Archangel. They were to come to the mother church on receiving due notice whenever there was a solemn preaching (*solempnis predicacio*), or any matter touching the mother church was being dealt with. On these days mass was not to be celebrated in the chapel.

As a recognition of what was due to the mother church, a pound of wax was to be paid yearly to the high altar there

peth,) is a post-Conquest name from the French, *Belle assise*, from the fine views obtained over the adjacent low country, as the three places of this name are all situated in flat districts.

Of the places not identified, the farrier's land occurs under the same designation, "terra marescalli," in a fine of 1199 (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xi, 187). No other mention of the land of the chamber (*camera*) seems to occur, nor is it easy to explain the meaning of the word. Limpenhill is met with in the inq. p. m. of Sir Alexander de Metham, who died June 8, 1417, seized of the manors of Metham, Pollington, etc., and of lands in, amongst other places, Greenoak, Sandholme, Limpenhill, Estrington, Linton, etc. It was evidently a hamlet close to Sandholme.

On ides Sept. (Sept. 13), 1269, Archbishop Walter Giffard ordained a vicarage in the church of Hestrington. The vicar was to receive the altarage, except the tithe of wool and lambs, and all the church land except the manor of Neuland (*Stowe MS.*, fo. 79d). The

church of Eastrington was at this time a very valuable one. In 1293, its income amounted to 125*li.*, though in 1348 it had sunk to 53*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (*Scriptores Tres*, pp. ccxlviii, ccxlix).

¹ *Stowe MS.*, 930, fo. 80, and *Wickwane's Register*, p. 229. In the latter place, for 8 kal. Feb. read 4 kal. Feb.

² *Durham Charters*, 4^{ta} 2^{da} Ebor., no. 21. See also *Miscellaneous Charters*, no. 5146, a draft of the above, dated pridie idus Aprilis (April 12), 1279. In 1549, Walter Wolfele, of Howden, and Robert Wright, of Great Grimsby, co. Lincoln, yeoman, bought from the Crown a yearly rent of 20*s.* from lands once belonging to Thomas Otye, and then in the tenure of Robert Freman, in Grenocke and Bellacys, and two messuages and thirty acres of arable land in the same tenure in Bellacis, all belonging to the dissolved chapel of Bellacis in the parish of Estrington (*Patent Roll*, 3 Edward VI, Part vii, m. 33).

³ "Itineris profunditate pariter et longinquitate compulsi."

on the feast of the Purification. The parishioners were to find at their own cost a chaplain and clerk to serve in the chapel, and make provision for vestments, books, chalice, wine, and candles (*candela*), and all else needful, and support the chapel in a fitting manner (*honeste*). The chaplain was to make oath to the vicar of Estrington', that he would answer to him for all oblations and obventions coming from the chapel, and would retain nothing for his own use, and that he would admit no other parishioners to the chapel, but would in all things save the mother church harmless. Under this licence no other sacrament was to be celebrated in the chapel.

If there should be any infringement of this grant, it should be lawful for the grantors and the vicar of Estrington to suspend the chapel and the chaplain till satisfaction should be made to the mother church. Sealed by the chapter and by William son of Adam and Long William (*Willelmus longus*) of Belasys, Roger Oty and Peter Barun, of Grenehayk, and John de Warwykhouses. Durham.

Five seals:—(1) green wax, oval, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $\frac{7}{8}$ in., a pelican in her piety above her nest, S' WILLELMI DE BELASYS; (2) yellow wax, defaced; (3) green wax, oval, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times $\frac{3}{4}$ in., a crescent below a star, S' ROGERI OTI; (4) green wax, oval, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 1 in., a fleur-de-lys, S' PETRI BARVN; (5) yellow wax, defaced.

Proceedings in 1912.

THERE were three meetings of the Society during the summer of 1912. The first took place on 27th June, when Harewood House and Church were inspected, together with the ruins of the ancient castle of Harewood. Mr. Sydney D. Kitson, F.S.A., acted as guide, and explained the various features of the buildings visited. Colonel Parker, C.B., F.S.A., also read a valuable paper on the Lords of Harewood in the Middle Ages, which is published in the present volume.

Wressle Castle and Howden Church afforded the subjects for the second meeting, on 18th July, when Mr. John Bilson, F.S.A., was again so kind as to place his services at the disposal of the Society. Mr. Bilson delivered most instructive addresses at each place, exhibiting specially-prepared plans of both structures; and since the excursion he has laid the Society under further obligation by a separate contribution to the *Journal*, consisting of notes on the architectural history of Howden Church. Mr. Bilson subsequently described the remains of the bishops' manor-house and their relation to the general plan. The description will form the subject of a separate article in a later part of this volume. The Society is much indebted to Mr. P. Kettlewell for his kindness in allowing the members to examine the ancient features of his house.

The third excursion, on 30th August, was in the Thirsk neighbourhood. The charming church of Feliskirk was visited—a vestige of the old Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The “unrestored” church of North Kilvington was next inspected, and afterwards that of Leake. At Feliskirk, Mr. A. J. Walker, a member of the Society, read an interesting paper on the history of the parish, while Mr. William Brown dealt with the heraldic problems presented by the stained glass windows. Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, F.S.A., conducted the party on this occasion, and his interpretation of the several buildings was listened to with great interest by the members. A very large amount of original information regarding these churches has been collected into the Proceedings.

HAREWOOD CASTLE.

HAREWOOD CASTLE, or, more properly, Harewood fortified manor-house, is an entirely new creation of the third quarter of the fourteenth century. There is no evidence of any earlier building on this site. The uneven ground to the north-east is evidently the remains of the quarry from which the stone of the present building was dug. Nor is the place a castle in the sense of being built for military purposes. It is simply an unique and most interesting example of an up-to-date mansion for the great territorial noble of the fourteenth century. The work can be dated with some precision, for William de Aldborough, Lord of Harewood, in the right of his wife (who is conjectured to have been a daughter of John de Lisle, of Rougemont) obtained licence to crenellate his house at Harewood in 1366—the year following his accession to the estate. It is important to remember the date of the Black Death seventeen years before. It is possible that the plague wrought great havoc among the dwellers in the damp low-lying dwelling-house at Rougemont, and that Aldborough—a man of energy and ideas—determined that the family seat should be moved to a higher and more hygienic position. Exactly the same thing happened four hundred years later, when, on the other side of the hill, Mr. Lascelles built Harewood House, on the pleasant southern slope, to replace the low-lying Gawthorp Hall, which existed in the hollow to the south of it.

And this is a point of great interest. In Harewood Castle and in Harewood House you have two mansion-houses built for the occupancy and enjoyment of two great landed families—that is, for men of the same class, with similar interests in the land; built of the same stone, and the workmen at Harewood House were probably direct descendants of the masons who had hewn the stones for the Castle. Exactly four hundred years separated the date of the building of the Castle from that of the building of the House. Far more interesting, however, than the mere details of architecture is the human and historical interest which such places bring to mind. We may well try to repeople this castle with the men and women who first dwelt here, and fashioned it to suit their own ideas and tastes. The effigies of some of these early inhabitants of the castle may be seen lying in their sumptuous apparel upon their altar-tombs in Harewood Church.



FIG. A.



FIG. B.

HAREWOOD CASTLE.

(Photos by H. E. Illingworth.)

The plan of the castle is a very interesting one; it is "tower-built," like the keep of a Norman castle, but it shows the partial step towards the English manor-house type of plan. In the Norman castle the kitchen occupies the lower floor, the hall the middle floor, and the solar the top floor. In the manor-house, kitchen, hall, and solar are on one floor, with the hall in the centre. Here the hall and kitchen are on the same floor, while the solar is above the hall. It is this fact of the kitchen being on the ground floor which makes the plan of Harewood Castle differ from the rectangular structures with a tower at each corner. If you take away the kitchen extension at the west, you get the exact plan of Dacre, or of many a Northumbrian peel-tower. Aldborough, therefore, had taken the peel-tower type of plan, and tacked on to it a spacious wing for the kitchen and buttery, with retainers' bedrooms above—an evidence of the growing luxury of the age. There are really only two things to bear in mind in studying the development of the plan of the English house—firstly, that the hall was the central fact of the house, from which all else radiated, like the blood from the heart—and, secondly, the desire for greater comfort and luxury which led to all the modifications of this central fact.

The entrance is in what would be the north-west tower, were it not for the kitchen wing to the west. There are remains of a platform outside, and portcullis grooves on the inner side of the door. Above is the portcullis chamber, and above, again, a three-light traceried window, with the shield of Balliol¹ on the left, and of Aldborough on the right. Above is the motto of the Aldboroughs, "vat sal be, sal." Inside can be seen the holes in which the wooden screen was housed, which separated the passage-way from the hall. The hall is on our left. The windows are high up for better protection, and steps lead up to the window seats. On the east wall is the fireplace, with a portion of its original hearth. (See page 176, fig. A.) On the south wall is a very richly-decorated recess—a veritable specimen of the so-called Decorated style of architecture. It is lighted by a small window at the back. Beneath the sill is a vine-leaf border. The ogee canopy is crocheted, and terminates in a finial. There is a frieze above, with a bird at the left-hand side. (Fig. B.) This was conjectured by

¹ Aldborough was "Valettus," or King of Scotland. Balliol had retired esquire, of the body to Edward Bruce, to Wheatley, near Doncaster

Whitaker to have been a sideboard, and it must have looked very well when loaded with plate.

The solar above the hall was reached by a spacious newel staircase on the north wall. The beams of its floor rested on large corbels. The plate lines on the roof gable of this upper room remain on the east and west walls. There has been a gallery at the east end, and the fireplace under would form an ingle-nook on a large scale. The upper storey of the entrance, or north-west tower, has traceried windows—such as occurs nowhere else—and coats of arms; among others, those of Aldborough, Balliol, Constable, Vipont, and Thweng. This room has been called by Whitaker the domestic oratory. Since there certainly would be an oratory or chapel in a house of this size, and since it is more richly decorated than any other room in the castle, it is probable that Whitaker's suggestion is correct. The kitchen is a large room below two screens, at the south-west corner of the building. There are two large fireplaces and a reddened oven. The room next to this was the pantry, or buttery, with separate access to cellar. There is a curious projecting window-sill to a lighted recess in this room. Above are two storeys, neither of which seems to have been sub-divided into smaller rooms, perhaps the women-servants slept on one floor and the men-servants on the other. The upper storey has two doors, which opened on to the walks along the leads. These dormitories were reached by a stair close to the entrance. The south-east and north-east towers are five storeys in height, and contained small bedrooms, about 10 feet square, for the use of the owner and his family and guests. Garderobes are attached to these towers. Notice the large number of cupboards or stone recesses in the walls. On the exterior of the south wall can be seen a postern-gate, which was protected by a lean-to building.

The exterior walls are 6 feet thick on the south, and 9 feet 3 inches on the north.

A later wing was built on to the north wall, but this has now disappeared. The bowling green to the east is probably an Elizabethan addition. Throughout, the masonry is of the highest excellence, and the work is well constructed and truthful. It is a sturdy, straightforward piece of English masonry. Ornament is sparingly applied, and only in places where it would tell. Here, as at all good periods in the history of building, the architecture is merely a background, well proportioned, and well built for the living people who used it.

The widow of the second Lord Aldborough (he was brother of Lady Redman and of Lady Ryther, the subsequent coheiresses) died in 1391 (twenty-five years after the castle was built), and the details of her will enable us to furnish the house anew. She bequeathed a bed of crimson and black, with white and red roses; another of Norfolk work with foxes. There was a red tapestry, with crimson border and the arms of Balliol and Aldborough; seven cushions of scarlet; a bed, embroidered with a tree and unicorn; a bed of crimson and grey, with vine leaves; a bed of green and grey, with birds and rabbits; a string of pearls, "of which any one is worth 6*d.*"; a red chest, with the arms of Mauley and Sutton painted on it, etc.

For nearly 250 years the castle continued to be occupied by either a Redman or a Ryther, either conjointly or turn and turn about by seven generations of one family, and by nine of the other—surely a curious and somewhat trying arrangement. The last Ryther who lived here died in 1637. In some way, that is not yet clear, the two moieties were reunited in the family of Wentworth, through the marriage of Margaret Gascoigne, the heiress of Gawthorp Hall, with Thomas Wentworth, the grandfather of Lord Strafford. The Wentworths never lived at Harewood. And in 1656, when the second Lord sold the estate, the castle is described as being ruinous. The advertisement of the sale reads:—"The castle of Harewood decayed, yet the storeys thereof being much ashlar, and the timber that is left fit for building an hansom new house, may save a deal of charges in the stonework." The estate of 12,000 acres realised £28,000.

HAREWOOD CHURCH.

At present the church stands in isolation in Harewood Park; but in mediæval times the large village, or, rather, market town, clustered up to the church. This was demolished when Mr. Lascelles, in the middle of the eighteenth century, rebuilt the village houses in the ordered and stately rows of arched groups of buildings which now border the Avenue and the high road between Leeds and Harrogate. Harewood is thus the only example—so far as I know—of eighteenth century town-planning in this country. This removal of the village from the precincts of the manor-house and the treatment of the church as a picturesque object in the Park, is thoroughly characteristic

of the aloofness of the eighteenth century aristocratic temperament, which is also conspicuous at Harewood House.

Of the church itself, it may be said that it is not mentioned in Domesday; that its dedication is not clear—whether it was to Holy Rood, to All Saints, or to Holy Trinity. There are no evidences of an earlier structure in the present building; but there is documentary evidence of a church at Harewood in 1171, when Archbishop Roger founded a chapel in York Minster, and endowed it with—among others—the church of Harewood, “*ex dono Avicia de Romelli.*”

In 1353, John de Lisle, of Rougemont—father-in-law of Aldborough, the builder of the castle—had the advowson transferred (for a consideration) to the Priory of Bolton, with the stipulation that a chantry of six priests should be founded at Harewood.

It is always noticeable that when a church passes into the hands of an important abbey, the subsequent building in that church is of a higher order of technical excellence than when a church remains simply a parish church. The monks of Bolton would keep a staff of highly-trained masons, who would be in touch with the best current work; and, therefore, when they were sent to repair or rebuild any of their possessions, the work is always well done and well designed, and such is the case here; the church presents a complete and homogeneous rebuilding at some period subsequent to the taking over of the church by the Priory of Bolton. It should be dated at some time after 1353 and before 1420—*i.e.* before the earliest of the magnificent altar-tombs, which we shall notice immediately.

The church is large, of excellent proportions, with arcades and windows of good design and workmanship, but it is dull; it is merely the background of all the colour and design which once filled it, and made it a living thing and a picture Bible for the inhabitants of Harewood. The windows were filled with stained glass, and the walls were covered with frescoes. But there have been drastic restorations, and now the place is swept and garnished. The background of dignified architecture remains, but everything that clothed that architecture and gave it life has disappeared. It was said the other day that the only man in high places in the nineteenth century in England who cared for decorative art was not an Englishman at all, but the Prince Consort. Certainly, Harewood Church is a monu-

ment to positive dislike of art in this country in the nineteenth century among those who ought to have known better.

Fortunately, six wonderful altar-tombs remain, and they form the glory of the Church. They are the work of the middle sixty years of the fifteenth century, and bring back to us the inhabitants of the castle in their armour, clothing, and head-dress, as they lived and moved about in the house we have lately been considering.

All these tombs are of alabaster, from the factory in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. How far the faces are portraits, it is impossible to say.

The one to the north of the chancel is of a Redman and his wife, as is proved by the crest of a horse's head on his helmet. It is probably that of Sir Richard Redman, the Speaker, who died in 1426, and of his wife, Elizabeth Aldborough—one of the coheiresses of Harewood Castle. Whitaker (with a love of symmetry worthy of the precise age in which he lived) attributes the tomb in the corresponding arch, on the south of the chancel, to Sir William Ryther and his wife, Sybil, who was the other coheiress with Elizabeth Aldborough. This, unfortunately, is only conjecture, but there is no reason why it should not be so, and if the supposition is correct, it is a pleasant thought, and an easy one to grasp, that the two heiresses and their husbands balance each other on either side of the chancel. It seems to fit in so well with the fact of the peaceful joint occupation of the castle by the Redmans and the Rythers for so many generations. Sir William Ryther died a year earlier than Sir Richard Redman. The bases of these two tombs are very similar. The most interesting tomb, however, in the church—or, indeed, in Yorkshire—is that which stands furthest to the south-west. It is also the earliest in point of date, 1419—though only a few years before those of Redman and Ryther; and its base is very similar to theirs. It is the monument of Sir William Gascoigne, Chief Justice of England—and an entirely honest man—and of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Alexander Mowbray, of Kirklington. The inscription is modern. On the west side of the base angels hold the arms of France and England. These tombs bear evidence of having once been richly coloured, and the arms which were painted on the shield would have made identification easy in all cases had they remained. These three altar-tombs form a group to themselves in point of design.

The other three are later, and their bases belong to another order of design; for, instead of the top moulding and angels carrying shields, there are arched niches and dividing pinnacles with crocheted tops. The one in the centre of the east wall of the south chapel has this elaborate base, with nine male figures, namely, five knights; St. Michael, holding scales, one of which a demon is trying to depress; a bishop; a saint, with chalice; St. Lawrence. On the west: St. John the Baptist, two angels with a blank shield, and a man. On the south side, eight females. This monument is that of a Neville. Probably Sir John Neville, who died in 1482, and whose heiress married a Sir William Gascoigne.

The next tomb on the south side is very similar to that last described, though both its east and south sides are now hidden by walls. On the north side are six female and five male figures; on the west, four males. This has been stated to be the tomb of John Gascoigne, of Lasingcroft, who died in 1445, and Elizabeth Heaton, his wife. But the tombstone of this couple is still preserved in Barwick-in-Elmet Church. It has also been attributed to Sir Richard Franks and his wife, of Alwoodley Hall.

The last tomb is that of a Redman, and is attributed, with every likelihood of truth, to Richard Redman, who died in 1475, and who married Margaret Middleton. It is the most elaborate and sumptuous of the series. The man is in plate armour, has his feet on a lion, and rests his head on a casque with the Redman crest.

On the north of the base are statuettes of St. Lawrence, a king, two bishops, and four other figures. To the west are four figures, St. George and the Dragon, and St. Christopher; to the south are eight male and female figures; to the east are four figures.

SYDNEY D. KITSON.

WRESSLE CASTLE.

THE house was built, probably about 1380-90, by Sir Thomas Percy, who was created earl of Worcester in 1397, and was executed in 1403. He was a brother of the first earl of Northumberland, and uncle of Hotspur. Many alterations were made in later times, especially after the Percies recovered possession of Wressle towards the end of the fifteenth century, but the buildings remained complete until the Civil War of the seventeenth century.

The house as erected by Thomas Percy consisted of buildings arranged around all four sides of a quadrangular court, which measured about 90 feet from north to south by 85 feet from east to west. There was, as Leland states,¹ a tower at each of the four angles, and also a gateway tower, which doubtless stood in the centre of the east front. Only the south range, with the south-eastern and south-western towers, now remains. The plan may be compared with those of three important quadrangular houses, which were erected about the same time: Sheriff Hutton, built by John lord Nevill, when Raby was on the point of completion (the licence to crenellate Sheriff Hutton is dated 1381); Bolton, in Wensleydale, built by Richard lord Scrope (contract, 1378; licence to crenellate, 1379); and Lumley, in Durham, built by Ralph lord Lumley (licence to crenellate from the bishop in 1389, and from the King in 1392). The family connections of the builders of these houses are of interest, in view of the general similarity of their plans. John Nevill's first wife, Maud Percy, was Sir Thomas Percy's aunt, and Sir Thomas' sister-in-law, Hotspur's mother, was John Nevill's sister. Ralph Lumley was a ward of John Nevill, and he and William, son of Richard Scrope, were married to two sisters, daughters of John Nevill, on the same day at Raby. The plan of Wressle shows the greatest similarity to that of Lumley.²

The great hall was in the western range, now destroyed, but its fireplace remains in the north wall of the south-western tower. This tower is three stories in height, and its first-floor is occupied by a large room, described as once having excellent woodwork, which has disappeared, though the fixing holes are still visible. This room was probably the "Paradise" described by Leland. The south range had, over a basement, a single tall story in the middle, divided into two stories at each end, and was approached by an external staircase from the court. The south-eastern tower was four stories in height; the first-floor was the chapel, and its altar-slab and piscina remain. The small detached building is a later addition in the north-west corner of the quadrangle; the original walls remain for a short distance on each side of the angle, showing the extent of the original quadrangle; and the walls, with the traces on the north face of the surviving south-western tower, afford some

¹ Leland's description of Wressle is printed in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, x, 314-5.

W. H. St. J. H(ope), with plan by Mr. W. H. Knowles, see *Country Life*, June 18, 1910.

² For description of Lumley, by

indications of the arrangement of the original western range. The lines of the moat which surrounded the house can still be readily traced.

The house appears to have begun to fall into decay in 1537, when the duke of Norfolk wrote to Cromwell: "I have just heard that my lord of Northumberland daily gives away houses and the brick of Wressle and other things, so that unless remedy be applied, it will be greatly decayed when it comes to the King's hands."¹ The King and the Privy Council were here on Sept. 6, 1541.² By the order for demolition, dated April 17, 1650, instructions were given "to throw down all the side wherein the hall standis, leaving only the south side."³ The south range was occupied until 1796, when it was burnt out.

JOHN BILSON.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

The Percies seem to have become possessed of the manor of Wressle early in the fourteenth century, William de Percy being returned as Lord of Wressle in the *Nomina Villarum* (1316).⁴ William de Percy had a grant of free warren in his demesne lands at Wressle from Edward III on May 8, 1328.⁵ In 1364 (Sept. 26), Henry Percy, father of Henry, the first Earl of Northumberland, gave the manor of Wressle to his son, Thomas Percy,⁶ who was afterwards created Earl of Worcester, to hold for life, at the rent of a rose at Midsummer; but from this grant the advowson of the church was excepted. On April 8, 1368, the year of his death, Henry Percy, by charter indented, granted the manor of Wressle and also the advowson of the church to his said son Thomas and the heirs of his body, with remainder to the said Henry and his right heirs.⁷ Sir Thomas Percy obtained a licence from Richard II, in 1379, to grant the advowson of Wressle Church to the priory of Drax,

¹ *Henry VIII, State Papers*, xii, 539.

² *Ibid.*, xvi, 541.

³ Some letters on this subject are printed in *The History of the Castle and Parish of Wressle*, by James Savage (London, 1805), pp. 43-8.

⁴ *Kirkby's Inquest* (Surtees Soc. xlix), p. 309.

⁵ *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, 1327-41, p. 83.

⁶ Son of Henry, 3rd Lord Percy, by his wife, Mary Plantagenet, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster. He died without issue (*Collins' Peerage*, v, 347).

⁷ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 454.

This entry on the rolls is unfinished, but the recitals, which include the information given above, are doubtless correct, and are supported by the fact that Sir Thomas was in possession of the advowson in 1379.

In *The Annals of the House of Percy* (i, p. 140), it is said that the manor of Wressle was brought into the family with the alliance of the 1st Earl of Northumberland and Maud Lucy in 1386. In face of the extracts quoted above from the *Nomina Villarum*, the Charter Rolls, and the Patent Rolls, this statement cannot be maintained.

and for the priory to appropriate the same.¹ The licence to crenellate here has not yet come to light, so that the date for the erection of the building must rest on the architectural evidence, but there can be no doubt that Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, who occupied many high positions in the State, was the builder.² In 1403, Thomas Percy, who had been created Earl of Worcester in 1397, and his nephew, Harry Hotspur, were in rebellion against Henry IV, and in an attempt to join hands with Owen Glendower were defeated at Shrewsbury on July 21 in that year. Hotspur lost his life in the battle, and the Earl was beheaded at Shrewsbury shortly afterwards, his estates being forfeited to the Crown.

It is now that the first mention of the castle seems to occur, for in this year (Aug. 8), Henry IV gave the constablenesship of the castle and the stewardship of the lordship of Wressle and the custody of the park to Robert Babthorpe.³ A large quantity of the Earl of Worcester's goods at Wressle, including an old bed of gold cloth, with a celure⁴ and 'quelepoint' of the same suit, and many other beds, hangings, coverlets, etc., with four little 'materasses' of 'card,' and also including an 'armyng slop' of 'motle velvet,' a 'reredose,' a frontlet of gold cloth, three pieces of linen cloth for the altar, an alb, an amice, a chasuble, a stole, two ridels⁵ of red 'tartaryn,'⁶ an old amice embroidered with a golden star, two 'gitons'⁷ for lances embroidered with ivy, two 'trappers,' a banner, two 'penons,' two tunics of arms, a standard, and four tablets for the altar, were given by the King to Robert de Waterton.⁸ By the Earl of Worcester's forfeiture, the castle and manor, with the exception of a short lease, now passed from the Percies for about seventy years; but during this period a number of names prominent in the history of England were associated with the estate.

In the first instance, the castle and manor were granted for life on Sept. 10, 1403, to Joan of Navarre, Henry IV's

¹ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 350.

² See Mr. Bilson's note, on pp. 182-3.

³ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 247. Robert Babthorpe married Eleanor, daughter of John de Waterton, who was lord of Waterton in 11 Hen. IV (1409-10) (Thoresby Society's *Transactions*, xv, 88), and she was possibly sister to Sir Robert Waterton (*ibid.*, 95). There is a pedigree of Babthorpe of Babthorpe in the *History of Hemingbrough*, edited by Canon James Raine (facing p. 173).

⁴ A canopy covering a bed (*N.E.D.*).

⁵ Altar curtains (*N.E.D.*).

⁶ A rich stuff, apparently of silk, imported from the East, probably from China, through Tartary (*N.E.D.*).

⁷ A small flag (*N.E.D.*).

⁸ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 408. A good deal of information about Robert de Waterton, of Methley and Waterton, will be found in the Thoresby Society's *Transactions*, xv, p. 81.

second wife, in part settlement of her dower.¹ The Queen's dower, assigned to her on March 8, 1403, was 10,000 marks per annum, to be received at the Exchequer for life, or until the King should provide her with lands to that value.² The issues of the castle and manor of Wressle were granted to her for a short time by the King in part satisfaction of the 10,000 marks, and in lieu of a money payment to the same value at the Exchequer. But Queen Joan's interest was only short, and when on July 1, 1409, the King made a formal grant to her and John Kyngton and John de Tibbay, clerks, her trustees, of lands, rents, and revenues in full satisfaction of the dower, Wressle manor and castle were not included.³ They seem, next, to have been bestowed⁴ upon Ralph, Earl of Westmorland,⁵ and Joan his wife, for life. The castle and manor were returned⁶ as part of the estates of John,⁷ Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and third son of Henry IV in his *Inq. p. m.* in 1435-6, and the castle (or part of it) was assigned⁸ in 17 Hen. VI (1438-9) to his widow, Jacquetta,⁹ of Luxemburg, in the settlement of her dower.

When Wressle was in the King's hands again, by reason of his uncle Bedford's death without issue, Henry VI gave the office of porter of the castle with the keeping of the park first to Henry Langton, a yeoman usher of the chamber (July 16, 1437),¹⁰ and afterwards to Henry Vavasour (Jan. 5, 1438).¹¹ The King next disposed of two parts of the manor and castle

¹ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 259.

² *Ibid.*, p. 213.

³ *Ibid.*, 1408-13, p. 85.

⁴ The date of the cancellation of the grant to the Queen, and the date of the grant to the Earl of Westmorland and his Countess are uncertain. But in an entry on the *Patent Rolls*, June 27, 1405, of the grant of some of the Earl of Northumberland's lands to John, Duke of Bedford, the castle and lordship of Wressle are excepted on the ground that they had been given to the Earl of Westmorland and Joan, his wife, for life (*Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1405-8, p. 40). This date is somewhat puzzling, as the Queen appears to have had a confirmation of the grant of the castle and lordship on Aug. 10 in the same year (*Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1405-8, p. 46). However, when the second Earl of Northumberland presented a petition respecting his lands, into which a commission was appointed to inquire (Dec. 17, 1435), he made reference to the castle and lordship of Wressle having been given at some time to the Earl of Westmorland, and Joan, his wife, for life (*Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 532).

⁵ Ralph Nevill, lord of Raby, created Earl of Westmorland in 1398. He married (1) Margaret, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, and (2) Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and widow of Sir Robert Ferrers, Knt. The Earl died on Oct. 21, 1425, and Joan on Nov. 13, 1440. His will has been printed in *Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Soc., ii), i, 68.

⁶ *Cal. of Inq. p. m.*, iv, p. 169.

⁷ He married, for his second wife, Jacquetta, daughter of Peter of Luxemburg, Earl of St. Paul, and died at Paris, Sept. 14, 1435, being buried at Rouen. His will, dated Sept. 10, 1435, will be found in *Test. Vetusta* (i, 241). The date of the grant of Wressle to the Duke is not known.

⁸ *Cal. of Inq. p. m.*, iv, p. 471.

⁹ She afterwards married Richard Wydevyll, or Woodville, who was created Earl Rivers. By him she had a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Edward IV for her second husband.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1436-41, p. 95.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

to Ralph, Lord Cromwell,¹ at first for life in 1438 (Feb. 3), and afterwards, in 1440, in fee simple, together with the reversion of the other third after the death of Jacquetta de Woodville.² In 1454 (Nov. 1), Ralph enfeoffed his trustees, the Bishop of Winchester, and others, in the estate,³ and died shortly after, on Jan. 4, 1455-6, without issue. After his death it was necessary for his feoffees and his executors to secure a pardon from the King for certain intrusions which they or he had illegally made into lands pertaining to the King which Ralph had had of the King's grant,⁴ but the particular offences are not specified. Again Wressle came into the hands of the Crown.

In 1458, for the first time since 1403, we find a Percy gaining an interest in Wressle, for on June 10 in that year,⁵ the castle, lordship, and manor were leased by Henry VI to Sir Thomas Percy⁶ for life, at a rental of 10*li.*, he sustaining the houses, closes, and buildings, and supporting all other charges, with the necessary repair of the castle. This Thomas Percy was made Baron Egremont. His occupation of Wressle only lasted a very short time, as he was killed, fighting for his King, at the battle of Northampton, on July 9, 1460. When the Duke of York claimed the throne, the castle was apparently held, with Pontefract, by Henry Percy, the third Earl of Northumberland, who was twice ordered to hand it over to the Earl of Salisbury,⁷ one of the confederate lords supporting the Duke's claim.⁸ Upon the Duke of York's son, the Earl of March, establishing himself upon the throne as Edward IV, Wressle was bestowed (Feb. 20, 1462),⁹ for a brief period, upon Lawrence, Bishop of Durham,¹⁰ and William, Earl of Kent,¹¹ but two years later Edward gave the castle,

¹ Of Tattershall. Treasurer of England in 11 Hen. VI (1432-3). He married Margaret, daughter and heir of Lord Deincourt, who predeceased him. His will, proved Feb. 19, 1455-6, has been printed in *Test. Vetusta* (i, 276).

² *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1436-41, pp. 165 and 384; *ibid.*, 1441-6, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, 1452-61, p. 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 341. Date of pardon, Aug. 9, 1457.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁶ The second surviving son of Henry, 2nd Earl of Northumberland, by his wife, Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, and great-great-nephew of Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, the builder of the castle.

⁷ The eldest son of Ralph Nevill, 1st

Earl of Westmorland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort. He married Alice, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Montacute, 4th Earl of Salisbury (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*).

⁸ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1452-61, pp. 610 and 649.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1461-7, p. 73.

¹⁰ Lawrence Booth, bishop 1457-76; and Archbishop of York, 1476-80. He was son of John Booth, of Barton, co. Lanc.

¹¹ William Nevill, Lord Fauconberg, created Earl of Kent, 1 Edw. IV (1461-2). He was the second son of Ralph Nevill, 1st Earl of Westmorland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort, and married Joan daughter and heiress of the last Baron Fauconberg, of Skelton Castle (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). The object of this grant does not appear.

manor, and lordship of Wressle¹ to John Nevill, Lord Montague,² and his heirs, a grant which was confirmed a year later,³ and again in 1468.⁴ Lord Montague had been created Earl of Northumberland, and had received a grant of all the forfeited lands of the Percies as a reward for his services at the battle of Hexham and against the Scots. But Edward, wishing to conciliate the Percies and their retainers, restored the earldom to that family, and raised Nevill to a marquessate, in compensation for the loss of the earldom, but without a grant of lands commensurate with the title. Montague, being dissatisfied with the treatment he had received at Edward's hands, deserted to Henry VI, when for a short time he regained his throne, and received from that monarch a confirmation of the grant of Wressle in 1471 (March 21).⁵ Montague was slain at the battle of Barnet (April 14, 1471), Edward won back the crown, and Wressle again came into the hands of the King.

Very soon afterwards Wressle was restored to the Percies. The grant does not appear in the Calendars of Patent Rolls, but a reference in the Inq. p. m.,⁶ taken 28 April, 1489, of Henry, the fourth Earl of Northumberland,⁷ to his having, by deed, on 10 April, 1475, given the castle and manor of Wressle to Thomas Ursewyk, knt., and others, shows that it could not have been later than that year.⁸

E. W. CROSSLEY.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NOTE ON THE CASTLE.

In a letter from Lady Elizabeth (who married Sir Hugh Smithson) to her mother (the Duchess of Somerset, who died in 1754), dated from Armin on 10th August, we have a description of the old family seat which Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, had delighted in strengthening and beautifying, etc. "We have been a long voyage this morning to Wressil Castle,

¹ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1461-7, p. 341.

² The third son of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and Alice Montacute. His eldest brother was Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, the "King-maker," and another brother was George Nevill, Archbishop of York, 1464-76 (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*).

³ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1461-7, p. 484.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1467-77, p. 91. A reminder of the connection of the Nevills with the castle is to be found in a licence dated June 13, 1469, to the vicar of Wressle to marry, in the chapel or oratory, within the manor house of Wressle, Sir Robert Manners, knt., lord

of Etal, in Northumberland, and Eleanor Roos, *domicella* of John, Earl of Westmorland (*Test. Ebor.*, iii, 340).

⁵ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1467-77, p. 239.

⁶ *Cal. of Inq. p. m.*, Hen. VII, i, no. 477.

⁷ The will of the 4th Earl, dated 1485, and proved in 1491, has been printed in *Test. Ebor.*, iii, 304. In it he directs "as for ye stuff that I had of ye Marqueux Montagugh at Wresill, I woll his executors have ten powndes, w^t recompense and satisfaccion therfor" (*ibid.*, p. 306).

⁸ The attainder of Henry Percy, the 3rd Earl, was reversed in the Parliament of 12-13 Edward IV.

by water. The outside of the building is in general very entire. It is situate about two hundred yards from the River Derwent, and seems to have been a very fine place. The tenant who inhabits it, with his family, lives in the offices below, which have the Percy, Lucy, Brabant, and Poynings arms stained on some of the windows; and all the ceilings are ornamented. From thence you ascend into a little room, which has abundance of odd carving about, and which leads to the hall. This is a very large and lofty room. The ceiling is carved, and from thence, about two feet deep, a line of coats of arms and other decorations, painted, carved, and gilt, go quite round the room. At each corner are some things in a sort of a semi-circular shape, which project into the room; they reach from the floor to the top, and are made of carved oak, and within each of them is a little staircase. There is also a small and very ordinary chapel, in which there is nothing remarkable, but Hotspur's motto, *Esperance*, which is to be seen on that ceiling and, indeed, all over the castle. There are two other large rooms still entire, finished in the same taste as the hall, but not so richly. From the leads there is a fine view over the adjacent country, which is well wooded, and the river." (*Annals of the House of Percy*, ii, 522-3.)

THE HERALDRY.

In the palmy days of Wressle Castle, heraldry helped considerably in the decoration of this home of the Percies. Looking at the ruins of the castle to-day, there is no trace of heraldic decoration anywhere. What we know of the heraldry is preserved in a small MS. book, apparently written and illustrated by "Mr. Bell, the architect, imployed in restoring of Alnwick Castle, 1765."¹ He gives sketches of coats of arms and various devices of the Percy family and its connections; he also gives, in some cases, the position in which the devices were placed. Mr. Bell does not give the position for a shield divided quarterly of five: (1) Quarterly, 1 and 4, a lion rampant (PERCY); 2 and 3, three lucies hauriant (LUCY). (2) Five fusils in fess (PERCY; ancient). (3) Barry of six, over all a bendlet (POYNINGS). (4) Three lions passant, in pale, over all a bendlet (FITZ PAINE); and (5) three piles in point (BRYAN).

The rampant lion of the Percy coat is supposed to be in some way derived from the arms of Brabant (sable, a lion

¹ This book is now in the library of the Yorkshire Archæological Society.

rampant gold), or from the arms of Louvaine (gold, a lion rampant azure). The arms of Lucy were introduced into the Percy shield when Henry Percy (the first of his family to be Earl of Northumberland) married, for his second wife, "Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord Lucy, sister and heir of Anthony, Lord Lucy and Baron of Cockermouth, widow of Gilbert Umfravile, Earl of Angus, who, when she saw that she should die without issue, gave to Earl Henry, her husband, the castle and honour of Cockermouth, with many manors in Copeland and Westmorland, with condition that his issue should bear her arms of the Lucies quartered with their own of the Percies."¹

The ancient arms of Percy (azure, five fusils in fess, gold) were dropped in favour of the blue lion on a gold shield, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the roll of Henry III the arms of Percy are given as azure, a fess engrailed or, for HENRY DE PERCY. In the roll of Edward II, Sire Henri de Percy bears or, a lion rampant azure; and the rolls of Edward III and Edward IV give the same gold shield, with blue lion, for PERCY.

The arms of Poynings (barry of six gold and vert, a bendlet gules), Fitz Paine (gules, three lions passant in pale silver, over all a bendlet azure), and Bryan (gold, three piles in point azure) were added to the Percy coat on the marriage of Henry Percy (the third of this family to be Earl of Northumberland) with Eleanor, daughter and heir of Richard, Lord of Poynings, Brian, and Fitz Paine. She died 11 Nov., 12 Edward IV (1472).

This coat of arms would seem to have been in some place where there were other devices. Under Bell's sketch of this quarterly coat, and below it on the same page, is another shield. He writes underneath it: "The opposite side the same." This device is a blue lion passant, crowned gold, on a red shield, and above the shield is a bag-piper sitting.

A blue lion passant crowned is given as a badge of Percy in a MS. survey of the estate of the Earl of Northumberland, in 1586 (quoted by Willement). A blue lion on a red shield is not good blazonry, and Bell has in the margin: "Azure Lyon passant wth coronet or, on the Lyon's head." This marginal note does not help the blazonry much.

The position of another device is not given, namely, a key carved in wood. A note by Bell says: "Thomas Percy, Earl

¹ Milles's *Catalogue of Honour*, p. 719.

of Worcester, bore this as one of his insignia as L^d Steward of the Household of K. Rich^d II."

In the "Dining Room at Wressel Castle" was a shield, quarterly, 1 and 4 (PERCY); 2 and 3 (LUCY); above the shield a helm with bars and crest of a black boar passant and chained, being a device of Lucy. With this shield are the devices of fish tails on the dexter side and a ragged staff on the sinister. Probably the fish tails were Lucy tails, and the ragged staff (a Warwick badge) assumed by the Percies, after the earldom was restored to them by Edward VI. The title having been enjoyed for a short time by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. This would make the heraldic decoration in part at least as late as the middle of the sixteenth century.

I presume, as no other apartment is mentioned with the following devices, that we are still in the dining room. "Near Midd of North wall" was a shield divided per pale, gules and azure, a boar passant sable, crowned and chained, gold. Above the shield is a round target, with two swords in saltire behind. The device of a black boar was derived by the Percies from the Lucy family, who still bear a boar's head for a crest.

Also "near Midd of North wall" are the arms of Percy (ancient), surmounted by a helm with bars, thereon a cap of dignity with the blue lion crest of Percy. Beneath the shield are two halberts in saltire. "At the west end of the north wall" was the device of a sable horn, garnished gold, in woodwork. This device was derived from the Bryan family, who used it as a badge. "Towards the East end of the North wall, next but one to it," was the device of the crowned key, and gold coronet alone. This device was a badge of the Poynings, and from them the Percies, no doubt, derived it.

"At the No. (North ?) end of the West wall," in wood, were the arms of Poynings, surrounded by the Garter. This coat of arms would be probably that of Sir Edward Poynings, who became Knight of the Garter in 1491, and died in 1521. Bell, in his sketch, gives the tinctures of this shield as barry of six, argent and sable, over all a bendlet gules. Blazoned thus we have the arms of Fincham. I find no Knight of the Garter of this name, nor can I account for the arms of Fincham at Wressle. I am of opinion that when Bell copied the arms the colours were probably faded and indistinct.

At the "end of the North wall" was a shield party per pale gules and azure, a unicorn passant sable horned, crowned and

chained gold. This device was a badge of the Poynings family. At one time the Percy supporters were a crowned lion and a unicorn ducally collared and chained.

“At the South end of the West wall” the black horn garnished gold occurred again.

“Adjoining on the above to y^e W. of it” were the arms of Lucy, with the Lucy crest, a demi boar sable, chained gold. At the “east end next the north” were the arms of Bryan with helm and cap of dignity. No object appears on the cap, but possibly the crest of Bryan was displayed, which was a bugle horn or garnished sable on a cap gules turned up ermine. “South of the above” was a shield party per pale gules and azure, a lion passant azure crowned gold. The badge or crest of Percy. “More to the south” were the arms of Percy (ancient), and a curious shield, perhaps representing Bryan quartering Poynings; the first and fourth quarters bore three piles in point, the second and third barry of six, and over the whole shield a bendlet, gold. The crest on a helm is a lion couchant azure, crowned or, standing on a cap. At the “East end of South side” is a shield quarterly, 1 and 4, PERCY (ancient); 2 and 3, BRYAN; and a shield, presumably of Poynings, although the colours are given as gold and blue for the bars, and the bendlet gules. Above are a helm and crest of a dragon’s head and neck argent. Bell says: “This is the scutcheon and crest of Poynings.” There are displayed, too, with these arms the silver crescent and double fetterlock. The crescent was divided palewise between the horns, and coloured red and blue. These were the badges of the Percy family. Many suggestions have been made to explain these devices, but none seem very satisfactory.

In Churchill’s *Divi Britanici*, fol. 1675, p. 257, is the following:—“In the tripartite league between Owen Glendower, Percy, and Mortimer against Henry IV, the countries from Trent northward were the lot of the Percies; in memory whereof (the same being in the geographical form of a half moon) they have since given the crescent for their cognizance.”

Willement, in his MS. work on badges, says the Percies in early days kept three minstrels amongst their retainers, all of whom wore the badge of the silver crescent. With this device some heralds couple the Percy motto, *Esperance en Dieu*, and think that it has reference to a knightly order, namely, the Knights of the Order of Bourbon (1360), who had for their

badge a virgin standing on the moon, with the word, *Esperance*. *Esperance* was the title of the Pursuivant of the Earls of Northumberland, in which office there was a succession. (MS. Ashmole, 1121).

At other times we find the motto, *Esperance ma comfort*. In a window of Beverley Minster was a kneeling figure with the word *Esperance* and the arms of Percy, and this inscription: "Orate pro animabus Henrici quarti Comitis Northumbriæ et domini de Poynings, et Matildis uxoris (ejus), filie Willi Herberti Comitis Pemb: etc.," and under the lady's picture: "*ma comforte*" (*Edmondson, Complete Body*, i, 128). "In the Great Room at Wressell Castle an ornament over one of the doors" was a row of crescents linked together by their horns. In this same room appear three other ornaments, probably not heraldic. These are in the form of ovals, one is charged with a sort of floral design, another has a tower within foliage (?), and a third bears a red heart within foliage which springs from it.

In the chapel, "in the body of the Church," was Percy (ancient), and in the choir window a shield bearing silver two chevrons gules, impaling gules a saltire silver, for "NEVILLE, Earl of Westmorland." The dexter of these coats was borne by a family of Grey. Alice, second daughter of Ralph, 1st Earl of Westmorland, married Sir Thomas Grey, of Heton, for her first husband, and Eleanor, second daughter of Henry, 5th Earl of Westmorland, married Sir Thomas Grey, of Chillingham, but both of these families of Grey bore a lion rampant on their shield.

C. V. COLLIER.

FELISKIRK. CHURCH OF ST. FELIX.

THE church consists at present of an apsidal chancel, a short rectangular space for the quire west of the apse, a nave of two bays with north and south aisles, a western tower, a south porch. There is a vestry at the east end of the north aisle, adjoining the north side of the quire.

There are remains at the south-west corner of the nave of the quoins of an aisleless nave, to which aisles were added in the later part of the twelfth century. Apart from this, the earliest portion of the existing church is the quire and the western portion of the apse. At the time of the restoration of the

church, which took place in 1865, the chancel ended in a straight wall, which was pierced by a three-light window-opening. An old drawing of the church, however, indicates that the western part of the south wall of the chancel showed a slight inward curve at its junction with the east wall, as though an original apse had been cut short, and the straight east wall built across it.¹ The methods adopted with regard to the early fourteenth-century insertions in the north wall of the chancel also point to an original apsidal termination. During the restoration, the foundations of the apse are said to have been discovered. The east wall was taken down, and the apse rebuilt on the old foundations. Unfortunately, no definite record of the discovery of the old apse has been preserved, and the date of the building of the straight east wall is unknown. The drawing already mentioned, and a small photograph taken shortly before the restoration, show that the east window had tracery of a poor fifteenth-century type, whether mediæval or not, it is impossible to say.

The whole of the three bays of the apse proper, with the pilaster buttresses which divide them, are modern; a few of the corbels in the corbel table below the outer roof appear to be old, but have been partially recarved. The western bay of the chancel on each side is straight-sided, and is divided externally from the apsidal bays by a pilaster buttress, also in great part new, which is more than double the width of the buttresses of the apse, and projects some $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches further. On the north side, the western bay has been left without much alteration as it existed after the insertions made about 1300. The corresponding bay on the south side has suffered little external change since that period, but the wall has been refaced internally, and the new arcade of intersecting round-headed arches has been carried along it. This alteration involved the destruction of old sedilia, and the removal into the tower of some eighteenth-century tablets which had been placed against the wall at their back.

The space for the quire, west of the chancel, is unusually short, and its oblong form is in striking contrast to the approximately square shape of the similar space at Birkin and other twelfth-century churches. The single window-opening on each

¹ A well-known example of an alteration of an apsidal termination in this way is the chancel of Melbourne Church,

in Derbyshire. See illustration in F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 213.

side is not in the centre of the wall, and this may point to some shortening of the space, possibly at the time of the mediæval alterations in the western part of the chancel. This, however, is merely a possibility. The arch which divides the quire from the chancel is semi-circular and of two orders, and is modern; but the jamb-shafts, consisting of a cylindrical central shaft on either side flanked by two smaller shafts, are substantially old, and the capitals, although in great part recarved, show rich and delicate sculpture of an early twelfth-century type, and of some variety. The arch between the quire and nave is also modern, with chevron and beak-head ornaments, but the shafts, of similar plan, retain much of the old masonry. The capitals of the central shafts have neck-mouldings of cable ornament, and are sculptured with intertwined bands of foliage in flat relief, with small heads at the angles and in the centre of the faces. The lesser shafts have scalloped capitals; that of the western shaft on the south side shows, in addition to scalloping, incised voluting. The window-openings in the side-walls are original. They are long and narrow, with rounded heads, cut externally in lintels. Their internal splays are deep, but very slight; the rear-arches have thick edge-rolls and cylindrical jamb-shafts. The capitals of the eastern shafts are cubical; those of the western are scalloped.

Externally a string-course, consisting of a segmental roll between two chamfers, runs beneath the window-openings of the quire, and was originally continued round the chancel; it has been imitated in the modern apse. Beneath this, in the south wall of the quire, is a doorway, now blocked, with a head composed of two large stones, with a straight joint between them. The under-sides are cut so as to form a segmental arch, with a semi-circular projection beneath the crown, and another at each springing-point. The upper portions, forming a plain tympanum, are enclosed within a semi-circular arch with an edge-roll and a chamfered hood.

The details of the older work of the chancel and quire point to the first quarter of the twelfth century as the original date for this part of the building. The restoration has somewhat obscured this probability by the addition of details of a rather more advanced character.

Aisles were added to the nave in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The arcades of two bays have no eastern responds, the pointed arches of two orders without mouldings

springing directly from the wall. Much rebuilding has been done here, but the large cylindrical column which divides the bays on each side is largely original. The bases are of a distinctly twelfth-century character, with a hollow chamfer in the upper member. The capitals are plain rectangular blocks, with their under-sides chamfered at the angles to adapt them to the cylindrical shafts below; the abaci are square, with chamfered under-sides.

The aisles have been entirely rebuilt. In the west wall of the south aisle is a large round-headed window. This may be a restoration of an older window; if so, the south aisle is probably of its original breadth. The walls appear to be built on old foundations. The south porch is modern. The north aisle is of considerable breadth, and may take the place of an aisle rebuilt in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century two-light window-openings were inserted in the western bay of the chancel, in place of the earlier round-headed openings on each side. That on the south has two trefoiled lights, with a rudely cut piercing of approximately vesica shape in the spandril. The insertion involved the cutting away of the string-course beneath the old sill-level, but internally the eastern jamb-shaft of the old rear-arch was retained. The northern window was formed by removing every trace of the older opening; it consists of two trefoiled lights, with a pointed quatrefoil in the spandril. The tracery, however, has been renewed, but the date indicated is about 1300. Beneath this window internally is a handsome tomb-recess, with a crocketed pediment. The carving of the crockets is rather coarse, but the general detail suggests that the work is contemporary with the window above. The recess contains a beautiful effigy of a knight in chain-mail, with surcoat and plate knee-caps. The shield is plain. The face has, apparently, been recarved, but the detail of the mail armour is worked with great delicacy, and the naturalistic carving of the folds is worthy of special remark. It is probable that this effigy commemorates Sir William de Cantilupe, who died in 1309; the details of the recess, effigy, and window taken together indicate that the tomb may have been prepared a few years earlier, during his lifetime.¹ On the chancel floor, close

¹ The effigy is very similar in detail to the two fine effigies of members of the Goldesburgh family in the chancel of Goldsborough Church, one of which is as late as 1310. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, plate 36, figures another effigy

of this type in Hatfield Broad Oak Church, Essex. Such effigies probably came from one workshop, the shields being left bare, for armorial bearings to be filled in by the purchasers.

to the south wall, is the effigy of a lady, which may be assigned to the first quarter of the fourteenth century; her feet appear beneath her dress, and her head rests on a pillow supported by two angels. The tomb in the north wall is somewhat large in scale for the space it occupies, and its position was probably cramped by the curve of the apse, which began immediately to the east of it.

It is possible, as has been noted, that the north aisle was enlarged at some period subsequent to its original building. The present vestry is composed of much old stone-work, and the window in the east wall, of three lights, with tall shouldered heads, appears to be made up of parts of an older window of the later part of the fourteenth century, which may have been the east window of the north aisle. This aisle contained an altar,¹ which was dedicated to our Lady.² There was probably an altar in the south aisle dedicated to St. Anne.³

The lower part of the western tower may be in part of the twelfth century, but towards the close of the Middle Ages it was apparently refaced, and the belfry stage rebuilt with a two-light window-opening, square-headed, in each face. A three-light west window with narrow mullions was inserted in the lowest stage. Diagonal buttresses, 1 ft. 11¼ in. broad, with a projection of 4 ft. 8½ in., were made at the western angles without bonding; but the plinth and base-moulding of the buttresses was continued round the tower. The date of this work may be indicated by various bequests made to the "church works" between 1530 and 1536.⁴ Internally, the tower has been entirely refaced, and the arch into the nave is modern; before the restoration the tower and the west end of the nave and north aisle were filled by galleries, which were then removed.

There is some early fourteenth-century heraldic glass in the window above the tomb on the north side of the chancel.⁵ On the central capitals of the shafts between the chancel and

¹ *Test. Ebor.*, iv, 260.

² *Reg. Test. Ebor.*, xi, fo. 285d: "Thymage of our Ladie in the northsyde of the kyrke."

³ *Ibid.*, x, fo. 45. At Sibthorpe, Notts., there was an altar of our Lady in the north aisle, and of St. Anne in the south aisle. (*Reg. Zouche*, fo. 92 *et seq.*)

⁴ *Reg. Test. Ebor.*, xi, fo. 96d, etc. The "church works," however, may imply a permanent fabric fund.

⁵ This glass is contemporary with, and probably came from, the same workshop as the heraldic fourteenth-century glass in the nave of York Minster. Cf. the influence of the York glaziers in the fifteenth century on Yorkshire churches, *e.g.* at Almondbury, where two windows in the Kaye Chapel are obviously from the same workshop as contemporary windows in All Saints', North Street, and other parish churches in York.

quire are two small iron stanchions; these seem to be old, and were probably employed to hold the hooks of the Lenten veil, which would, naturally, hang in this position.

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.

ON THE HERALDRY AT FELISKIRK.

The effigy on the north side of the chancel mentioned above may be compared with the Brian fitz Alan monument at Bedale, which must date from about 1306. Other fine contemporary examples in the North Riding are the Stapleton effigy at Kirkby Fleetham and an anonymous knight at East Harlsey, with beautiful curling hair. The Feliskirk knight, like the East Harlsey one, has no heraldic bearings, but it is believed that with the aid of the shields of arms in the contemporary window above it is possible with a fair amount of probability to indicate who is the person commemorated. The ancient arms in the window are those of Walkingham, Cantilupe, and Roos of Ingmanthorpe. The connecting link between these families is furnished by Eva, daughter of Sir Adam de Bolteby, of Boltby, in the parish of Feliskirk, silver on a fess three sheaves gold.¹ She had a sister Isabel, wife of Sir Thomas, son of Alan de Moleton, to whom her father gave his Northumberland property by a deed, dated at Scarborough on the Friday before Michaelmas, 2 Edward I (Sept. 28, 1274). Eva and her husband, Alan de Walkingham, were not willing to assent to this arrangement, and when it was acknowledged in chancery by Adam de Bolteby on the day it was executed, they laid claim to the tenements, and said they would speak about them when they wished.² This property was, no doubt, inherited by Bolteby from his mother, Philippa, daughter of Adam de Tindale.³ Eva's husband, Alan de Walkingham, of Walkingham, near Knaresborough, was probably considerably her senior, as he was acting as a judge of assize in 1280.⁴ He died shortly before 1284, leaving Adam, his son and heir, a minor. In the same year his widow paid the king 8*li.* to marry whom she would.⁵ The arms of Walkingham, vair two bars gules,⁶ occur in the window.

¹ *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vi, 103, 167. The family also bore canting arms, azure three pheon (bolts) gold.

² *Cal. of Close Rolls* (1279-1288), p. 62.

³ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, i, 120; ii, 6.

⁴ Foss's *Judges of England*.

⁵ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, ii, 6; and *Cal. of Close Rolls* (1279-1288), p. 248.

⁶ Sire Johan de Walkingham de veer a ij barres de goules. (*Roll of Arms, temp. Edward II*, p. 95.)

Her second husband, whom she had married before 1284-5, the date of Kirkby's Inquest (p. 97), was Richard Knut, or Knoute, whose family lived at Kepwick,¹ a few miles north of Feliskirk. This husband seems to have had business engagements in Scotland, which kept him some time in that country during the years 1287 and 1288, when he had letters authorising him to appoint attorneys to represent him whilst away.² In 1290 he and his wife paid the final instalment of the fine for leave to marry.³ Knut did not live long after this, for in February, 1292, his widow and William de Cantilupe had licence to marry.⁴

By this third and last marriage Eva became allied with a member of a great baronial house, the main line of which, lately extinct, had held the manor of Bingley.⁵ Some law proceedings⁶ in the time of Richard II, which recites the inq. p. m. taken after the death of William de Cantilupe, knt., give a pedigree of the family, and show the exact position in it of Eva de Bolteby's husband. The inquisition was taken at Malton on Saturday before St. Matthew, 1 Richard II (Sept. 19, 1377), and found that he died seised of the manor of Ravensthorpe (which shows that the Walkingham line had become extinct), with its members, Thrilby, now Thirlby, and Boltby, held of Thomas de Holand, Earl of Kent, by knight service, and lands in Azerlawe of Lord Mowbray, and in Braythwayte of John de Nevell; the whole worth by the year, clear 40 marks. He also had lands in Staynlay, Farnam by Knaresburgh, and Rydmer (now Redmire), in Richmondshire.

The pedigrees following will show the descent of the manor of Ravensthorpe:—

¹ *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 322. In a seal attached to a deed at Durham, Richard Knut bore three bars and three roundels in chief. (*Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vi, 118.)

The family of Knut continued for some time in the neighbourhood. On the last day of February, 1397-8, Margaret Knut, of Kepwyk, made her will there (proved the same day), in which, after desiring to be buried in the church of Silton, near Nicholas Knut, her husband, and bequeathing her best animal as her mortuary, 12*d.* to the fabric of St. Peter's, of York, and the same amount to the light of the Blessed Mary in the chapel of Kepwyk, she left the residue to her executors, Master Adam de Fenrother, Sir Elias Graunt, and John

Pete. (*Reg. Test.*, ii, 12.) The chapel at Kepwick was dedicated to St. Margaret, as appears by the will of William Brandesby, of Kepyk. (*Ibid.*, iii, 311.) Oct. 4, 1476. Administration of the estate of David Knute granted to Agnes, the relict. (*Ibid.*, v, 2*d.*)

² *Cal. of Patent Rolls* (1281-1292), pp. 269, 292.

³ *Cal. of Close Rolls* (1288-1296), p. 63.

⁴ *Cal. of Patent Rolls* (1281-1292), p. 472.

⁵ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, i, 133.

⁶ *Coram Rege Roll*, No. 487, m. 45. Hilary, 6 Rich. II (1382-3). See also *Fine Roll*, No. 194, m. 12, 14 Rich. II. The information given above is taken from both these sources.

Mr. Skaife says :¹ " The vill of Ravensthorpe has disappeared, but the moat which once nearly surrounded its ancient manor-house may still be traced in a field near to Ravensthorpe Mill, about one mile south of Boltby." The house must have been of some considerable size, as Archbishop William Wickwane stayed there two days in 1281, September 19 and 20,² when he must have been the guest of Eva and her first husband, Alan de Walkingham.

William de Cantilupe's inquisition for his Ravensthorpe property was taken on Thursday, the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, 2 Edward II (Aug. 29, 1308). The manor was held by his wife, Eva, of the Lady Joan de Wake, the tenant-in-chief, by the service of one knight's fee. Sir John de Walkingham son of Alan de Walkingham, and Eva, aged 24, was her nearest heir. The elder son, Adam, who was heir at the time of his father's death, must have died in the interval. William de Cantilupe's son and heir was aged 16.³ Eva was still alive in 1316, when she was returned as owner of Boltby and Thirlby.⁴ The exact date of her death does not appear to be known.

The Cantilupe arms, gules, a fess vair between three fleur-de-lys or, which occur in the window, deserve particular attention. The original bearing of the Cantilupe family was gules three fleur-de-lys or.⁵ This line became extinct in 1273 on the death of George de Cantilupe. The arms were quartered by the Lords La Warr, who, however, made the lilies issue out of leopards' heads.⁶ On William de Cantilupe's seal, affixed to the Barons' Letter above referred to, the arms are precisely the same as at Feliskirk.⁷

However, in the description of his arms at the siege of Caerlaverock in 1300,⁸ the writer thus describes them :—

E Guillemes de Cantelo,
Ke ie par ceste raison lo
K'en honneur a tout tens vescu,
Fesse vaire ot el rouge escu
De trois floures de lis espars
Naissans de testes de lupars.

¹ *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 97n.

² *Wickwane's Register* (Surtees Soe., cxiv), p. 346.

³ *Calendar of Inquisitions*, v, 52.

⁴ *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 322.

⁵ *Roll of Arms*, temp. Henry III, p. 5 ; and *Archæologia*, xxxix, 401.

⁶ *The Ancestor*, iv, 228.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii, 254.

⁸ *Siege of Caerlaverock* (ed. Nicolas), p. 40.

And William de Cantilo, whom I praise for this reason that he has always lived honourably, had a fess vair with a red shield, and three fleur-de-lys opened springing out of leopards' heads.

Cantilupe was much employed in public affairs. In May, 1299, he went beyond the seas on the king's business with the Bishop of Salisbury,¹ and in November he went to Scotland.² In 1301 and 1302, William de Cantelou was appointed a purveyor for provisioning the army assembled at Berwick,³ and again the next year. In the year following (1303) he, with Thomas de Furnivall and Marmaduke de Tweng, were directed to summon men for the Scotch war.⁴

The third coat⁵ in the window, azure three water bougets or, belongs to William de Roos, senior, of Ingmanthorpe,⁶ who married William de Cantilupe's mother. By his inquisition,⁷ which was taken on Thursday after the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, 4 Edward II (July 9, 1310), it was found that he held the manor of Ilkesdon, in Derbyshire, by the courtesy of England of the inheritance of Eustacia, some time his wife, of Henry de Bello monte, of the fee of Gaunt, and that William, son of William de Kauntelopo, was Eustacia's nearest heir.

Eva, dau. of Adam de Bolteby=(1) Alan de Walkingham*;⁸ ob. 1283

└─┬─┘
 (1) Adam, *o.s.p.*

(2) John, living 1309

=(2) Richard Knut

=(3) About 1292, Will. de Cantilupe*; died in 1309; son of Nicholas de Cantilupe and Eustachia, d. and h. of Hugh son of Hugh fitz Ralph. She mar. 2ndly Will. de Roos, of Ingmanthorpe, senior*

In conclusion, it may be fairly argued that the knight in Feliskirk Church is that of William de Cantilupe, who died in 1309. The character of the armour suits this date, and the fine workmanship shows it must have been made to commemorate a person of rank. The occurrence in the window of the arms of William de Cantilupe, in association with those of his wife's

¹ *Cal. of Patent Rolls* (1292-1301), p. 419.

² *Ibid.*, p. 456.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 578; and *ibid.* (1301-1307), p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵ There is a fourth coat, quarterly or and argent five roses gules, ELSLEY, a family long resident at Mount St.

John, in the parish, as lessees of the Archbishops of York.

⁶ Sire William de Ros de Yngmanthorp de azure a les bouces de or. (*Roll of Arms, temp. Edward II*, p. 3.)

⁷ *Calendar of Inquisitions*, v, 91.

⁸ The asterisks refer to the arms in the window.

first husband and his own stepfather (the wife's having probably been destroyed), and the fact that he resided in the parish all concur to prove that this attribution is correct. The female effigy, which is of rather later date, may very well be that of the Lady Eva.

EXTRACTS FROM WILLS RELATING TO THE CHURCH.

June 14, 1489. Thomas Dale, of Filicekirk, yeman. My body to be beride in the chyrch of Sanct Felic'. Also I beqweith to the said chyrch j hoill westment to syng in. To the chappell of Boltby a cope, and to the chapell of Sanct Sebastian,¹ for to holde the water fra the same, xld. (*Reg. Test.*, v, 361).

July 31, 1486. Thomas Marshall, vicar of Felicekirk, beyng in my hole mynde, makes my testament in this wyse. In the fyrst parte I wit my soulle vnto God Almighty, oure Lady Seynt Marie, and to al the seyntes of heven; my bodye to be beryd in the queere of Felixkirk aforesaid. I witt my best horse in the name of my mortuary *cum aliis de more consuetis*. Also I wit to a prest vj marcs for to pray a yere for me in the paryssh kirk aforesaid for me and my gud doers. Also I wit xxs. for an ornament to be bought to the high alter of the foresaid kirk. Also I witt to the chapell of the Trinite of Boltby vjs. viijd. Also to the chapell of Sutton, iijs. iiijd. Also to the paryssh kirk of Watlows, vjs. viijd. Also to Saynt Peter werk, iijs. iiijd. Also I wit to my maister, William Pote-man,² xs. Also to Maister Robert Welyngton, parson of Gilling and Cesay, xs. Also I wit to Thomas Dale my secund horse. Also to Jamys, my seruaunt, a why of ij. yere age. Also to Mariorye Halidaye a whye of the same age. Also to John Thomson and William Richardson, ij whyes that is at Boltbe with calfe. Also I wit to Alison, my seruaunte, ij kye called Nightigale and Luffly. Also to Johannet, my seruaunt, a cowe called Tymelt. Also to William Marshall, of Bagby, a cowe with calfe called Dokett. Also to John Storer a cowe called

¹ The chapel at Sutton-under-White-stonecliff. In 1507, the testator's son, James, bequeathed 6s. 8d. "to make the dyke aboute Saynte Sebastian Chapel. (*Test. Ebor.*, iv, 260.) There was an image of St. Sebastian in Rotherham Church in 1521. (*Ibid.*, v, 128.) James Dale's will is printed (*Test. Ebor.*, iv, 260), so it will only be necessary to quote the parts referring

to the fabric of Feliskirk Church. He desires to be buried before the altar in the north side of the church, and provides for an obit being instituted. "I will that ther be maid of my cost one cancell in the north side of the kyrke of Saynt Felix, that one aulter may be maid ther concernyng my chantry, and at all lede at Rawynsthorpe remayn therto."

² Archdeacon of Cleveland, 1470-1484.

Sternelld with calfe. Also to John Squyer a cowe called Wright. Also to Agnes Chapman a cowe called Tydee. Also to William Emson ij oxon. To Sir John Emson, my cousyn, all my bookes. The residue of my goodes not wit and my dettes payed fyneally to be done I wit to Thomas Emson, my cousyn, vppon certein condicones as it shall appere afore his ordinaries. Also I ordeign and make Maister Robert Welyngton aforesaid and the said Thomas Dale and Thomas Emson, my said cousyn, myn executores, and my maister, William Poteman, superuisor. And if my saide kynnesman, Thomas Emson aforesaid wilbe agreed and rueled in his mariage and all other by the said Thomas Dale, that than I will he haue all the saide residue of my goodes, and if he doo the contrarie I will he haue but the third parte, and the residue to be disposed for my sall at the will and discrecion of the said Thomas Dale. Also it is my will that the said residue of my goodes be in the rule and gyding of the said Thomas Dale iij yeres at my propre costes, to see in the said season the gyding and demenaunce of my said kynnesman, Thomas Emson aforesaid. In wittness of the same, Sir John Cure, prest, of Bolteby, John Troughton, of the Mounte Seynt John, and Thomas Emson, parissh clerk of Felixkirk, and other. Proved Dec. 1, 1486, by Dale and Emson, power reserved to Welyngton (*Ibid.*, v, 295*d*).

April 24, 1531. Rob. Nodall. To be bereyd within the church or church yerde of Saynt Felles. To the church of Saynt Felles xs., to go to the church warkes. Also my will is that my wiff vphold a serge before Saynt Anne in the sayd church of Saynt Felles. Also my will ys that ther be an othir serge made and sett vpp before our Lady, and at my wiff vphold it after ye same maner; and in defaute she do nott, than my will is that there be iijs. iiij*d*. gyffyn to vphold thayme bothe withall. To the parishe church of Thryske xs., to go to the church warkes. Also I witt ij*d*. to the mindyng of the rowell¹ in the sayd church of Saynt Feles. To the chapell of Boltby iijs. iiij*d*., to go to the church warkes. To Bagby church iijs. iiij*d*. (*Ibid.*, x, 45).

June 21, 1530. Rob. Carleton. To be beried in [the] kirk of Sanct Felicie, and therfor I giffe to the kirkwarkes a bay coltte stage. To my cosyng, Ric. Hoton, ij oxen last drawne and ij kye, named Meridew and Strange. To my curate, Sir

¹ Probably a wheel-shaped chandelier. The *N.E.D.*, s.v. *rowell*, quotes from the Masham Parish Accounts (1542):

“Resauyd and gathryde in the church for the rowell Candell afore the rood, xx*d*.”

Ric. Johnson, a bushell wheat to pray for me. Also I will that my executor deale for me at the day of my buriall, xxxiijs. iiij*d.*, if it may be doyne (*Ibid.*, xi, 96*d.*).

Aug. 3, 1536. Mawde Troughton, of Marderbye, wydowe. My bodie to bee beryed in the qwere of my paryshe church afore Sancte Felicie, where my sone, vicare Troughton, lyeth. To my sone, Maister Ecclesfeld, xxs. To my doughter Ecclesfelde my beste gowne and a sperver that ys aboute my bedde. To my curate, Sir Ric. Janson, to pray for me, xx*d.* and a syluer spone. To my suster Fownder 4*li.* and one cove named Mopcy. To my cousing, Thomysyn Troughton, x*li.* and the great bras potte and vj siluer spones that was at Dalton. To Felicie kyrke a baner clothe of silke brodered with golde and syluer. To Thyrsk kirke workes, vjs. viij*d.* (*Ibid.*, xi, 238).

March 3, 1536-7. Thomas Wright, of Thirleby. To bee beryed in the kyrk of Sancte Felice. To the kyrke of Sancte Felice, xvj*d.*, to haue iiij torches to meete mee at Catlyf noike whan I goe to the kyrke, and so to burne aboute me to I be beryed. Also I gyve vs. to the fynding of one serge to burne yearelie afore thymage of our Ladie in the northsyde of the kyrke for euermore, where it standeth at thys day, and I will that my maister, Mr. Roberte Mennell, haue thordering of the said serdge (*Ibid.*, xi, 285*d.*).

WILLIAM BROWN.

THIRSK. CHURCH OF ST. MARY.

THE church consists of a chancel, with a basement chambre or crypt, a clerestoried nave of six bays, with north and south aisles, a south porch with upper chamber, and a western tower.

There are some slight remains of an earlier building. When the present tower was built, much of the east wall of the previous tower was retained, and a portion of the hood-moulding of a wide semi-circular tower-arch, probably of the early part of the twelfth century, remains in the wall south of the tower-arch made in the fifteenth century. The south-east buttress of the tower rests on a foundation which seems to be part of the west wall of the twelfth-century church; and at right angles to this, north of the centre of the west wall of the south aisle, a large block of stone, projecting into the aisle, appears to mark the limit of the south wall of the building. The position of this block, however, postulates either an aisleless nave of

unusual width or an unusually narrow aisle on this side. There are no corresponding remains on the north side of the church.

An entire rebuilding was begun in the early part of the fifteenth century. The work was, apparently, started by laying the foundations of a new tower; for it is noticeable that the north-east and south-east buttresses of the tower have been built up entire from the ground, and are not bonded into the west walls of the aisles, which were built up to meet them after they were completed. The buttresses are set at right angles to the sides of the tower, two at each angle, and are of considerable projection, somewhat out of proportion to the height of the tower. It is clear that the tower was not completed until a much later date; but it was probably built as high as the floor below the belfry stage before the middle of the fifteenth century. The lofty tower-arch of three orders bears a striking likeness to the arches of the central tower of the priory church at Mount Grace, to which a date early in the fifteenth century is attributed.¹

The old nave arcades, of whatever date they may have been, were probably left east of the new tower, while the new aisles were set out and their walls built.² The date of this work can be fixed approximately by various notices relating to the chapel in the south aisle. On 25 May, 1415, Robert Thresk, chaplain, had a grant of royal letters patent authorising him to found a chantry of three chaplains at the altar of St. Anne in the church of Thirsk, and granting licence to the chaplains of the chantry to acquire lands and rent to the value of £20 or advowsons to the value of £40.³ Thresk, who was one of the remembrancers of the exchequer,⁴ and held the rectory of Market Bosworth, Leicestershire,⁵ died in 1419, before he could carry the grant into effect. New letters patent, however, were applied for by Nicholas Dixon, clerk, one of the feoffees of Thresk's lands; and on 12 May, 1431, Dixon obtained licence to found a chantry of two or three

¹ See W. H. St. John Hope, in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xviii, 284, 285.

² This was the usual method of mediæval rebuilders. Striking examples, in which there was an interval of several years between the completion of the aisles and the rebuilding of the nave arcades, are seen in the large churches of Cirencester and Northleach, in Gloucestershire.

³ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1413-6, p. 361. The grant was made in return for the surrender by Thresk of letters patent, by which he had obtained the alien priory of Ware from the Crown.

⁴ See *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 3; 1413-6, p. 11.

⁵ He also held a prebend in St. Stephen's, Westminster, at his death (*Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1416-22, p. 254), and a few other livings. He was parson of the church of Yelvertoft, Northants, in 1399 (*ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 3), which he exchanged for the vicarage of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, in 1403 (*ibid.*, 1405-8, p. 375). He was presented by the Crown to the church of All Saints, North Street, York, 14 Feb., 1402-3 (*ibid.*, p. 194).

chaplains at St. Anne's altar on the previous terms, the chaplains being allowed to appropriate the churches, the advowsons of which they might acquire.¹ This second licence took effect; and it is probable that the foundation of the chantry of St. Anne, which was served by a *custos* or warden and a *secundarius* or secondary priest,² was the immediate cause of the rebuilding of the aisles. Thomas Raynton, chaplain of the parish church of Thirsk, made some bequests in April, 1436, which show that the chantry chapel of St. Anne was nearing completion, and needed little but its roof and necessary furniture.³ The glass in the east window of the chapel, which remains in great part, can be proved by its heraldry to have been put in about 1460; but it may fairly be assumed that the fabric of the south aisle was completed before 1440. The brass of Robert Thresk, which is in the floor in front of the screen of the chapel, was probably placed there by Nicholas Dixon or his executors, when the foundation of the chantry had become an accomplished fact.⁴

There is no definite evidence for the building of the north aisle, but the character of the work is uniform with that of the south aisle. The windows of both are of three lights with equilateral pointed arches; the tracery, of good early fifteenth-century character, has been much restored. The stone-work is somewhat rough, considering the spaciousness and beauty of the general design; but it is probable that old masonry was employed to some extent in the rebuilding.

The new arcades, of six bays, corresponding to the plan of the aisles, were next taken in hand. Each pier is composed of four shafts, about three-quarters of a circle in section, attached to a slender central block, with a hollow chamfer at the angle between each shaft. The capitals and bases of the shafts are octagonal in section, with mouldings characteristic of the middle of the fifteenth century. The arches, of equilateral pointed shape, have two orders, each with an ogee moulding, divided by a casement, and have prominent hood-mouldings. The arcades, together with the tower-arch, are an unusually fine example of the work of a period of which the North Riding possesses very few elaborate specimens.

¹ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 212.

² See will of Thomas Smelt, *capellanus secundarius* of the chantry, 1482. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, fo. 37.)

³ *Ibid.*, iii, fo. 452d.

⁴ The inscription is given in Dods-worth's *Church Notes* (ed. Clay), 1904. (*Yorks. Record Soc.*, vol. xxxiv, p. 216; see also *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xvii, 321.)

Some time seems to have elapsed before the clerestory of the nave was built. In each bay there is a large three-light window, with a segmental-headed arch drawn from three centres. The character of this work indicates the later part of the fifteenth century, and is in keeping with the architectural detail of the chancel.

The chancel is two bays in length. The chancel-arch is four-centred, of two orders, with a hood-mould. The side windows are of three lights, and are similar in form to those in the clerestory. The east window is of five lights, and has a four-centred arch. Owing to the rapid fall of the ground at this end of the church, the eastern bay of the chancel, as at Bedale, is constructed above a spacious basement-chamber or crypt, which was probably intended to serve its present purpose as a vestry. A doorway on the north side of the chancel gives access to a straight stair, formed by thickening the lower part of the north wall, and lighted by small loop-holes. Another doorway at right-angles to the foot of the stair leads into the eastern part of the crypt, which has a flat segmental barrel-vault, and is lighted by a window of three lights in the east wall. There is no apparent trace of earlier work in the masonry of the chancel, which seems to be all of one date. This indicates that the rebuilding in the fifteenth century included the lengthening of the church; and the unusual length of six bays in the nave suggests that the new nave occupied the site, not only of the nave, but also of the chancel, or, at any rate, of the western part of the chancel, of the earlier church.

The chancel was, doubtless, rebuilt at the expense of the Prior and Convent of Newburgh, who appear to have been impropriators of the rectory from the twelfth century. No ordination of a vicarage exists, and it is therefore impossible to say with what share of the expense the vicar was charged; but his ordinary proportion in such cases was a third or a quarter of the whole. The expenses of the rebuilding of the nave were met, as usual, by the parishioners. In the fourteenth century a dispute arose between Sir John Lascelles and the inhabitants of Sowerby, and the inhabitants of Thirsk and the hamlets of Carlton Miniott and Sand Hutton, with regard to the proportion of repairs to the mother church chargeable upon the people of Sowerby, who had their own parochial chapel. An ordinance of Archbishop Melton, bearing date 27 June, 1326, decreed that repairs should be assessed, when necessary, by

mutual view of both parties, and that Sowerby should contribute a penny for every twopence contributed by Thirsk, Carlton, and Sand Hutton.¹ It may be assumed that this ordinance formed the basis of the rebuilding of the nave and tower; but the work was also helped by individual bequests. Thus Robert Thresk's feoffees no doubt paid for the erection and furnishing of the chapel in the south aisle; and the repeated legacies to the "church works" in wills indicate that here, as in many other cases, a permanent fabric fund was established.²

A series of bequests between 1520 and 1545 refer to the "steeple building," under various terms.³ Whether anything was actually done to the tower at this time is not clear; and there is, on the face of it, no noticeable difference in style which would point to a long interval of time between the upper portion and the rest of the tower. In 1527 there is a bequest of half a mark to the building of the steeple, 'when it shal go forward.'⁴ From this it may be inferred that a special fund was set aside for the completion of the tower, the great buttresses of which suggest that a somewhat loftier tower was originally planned, but that little or nothing was actually done. The handsome pierced parapet of the tower and the whole church was probably the latest mediæval addition to the building.

The church contains much excellent woodwork, and the beautiful roofs of the nave and aisles, although much restored, are substantially the roofs of the fifteenth century rebuilding. The rood-screen has disappeared, but the screens or 'entercloses' of the chapels at the ends of the aisles remain, and there is some old woodwork reused in the modern font-cover. The east window of the south aisle, as already noted, contains a large amount of fifteenth-century glass. On the wall between the clerestory windows are remains of life-size paintings of the twelve apostles, with their names painted in Roman letters in oblong panels below; these appear to have been executed in the seventeenth century.

There were several altars and images in the church.⁵ Near the high altar was the statue of "our Lady in the quire." Bequests allude to the lights before the Rood and St. John, and

¹ *Reg. Melton*, fo. 297 (245).

² See will of Robert Marschall, p. 218. This fabric fund doubtless received John Wynter's legacy of 3s. 4d., "to the re-

edificacion of the parishe church of Thirske." (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ix, fo. 375d.)

³ See wills, pp. 217 *et seq.*

⁴ *Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ix, fo. 374d.

⁵ See wills, pp. 216 *et seq.*

to altars or lights before the statues of Our Lady of Pity, St. Anne, St. Anthony, St. Erasmus, St. Katherine, St. Lawrence, St. Loy, St. Ninian, St. Peter, St. Sithe, St. Thomas, and King Henry VI. Of these the position of the altar of St. Anne alone is certain. There were 'porches'¹—*i.e.* chapels with enclosures of wood or stone beneath the arches of the nave—of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist. Allusions to the guild of our Lady '*in porticu*,' and to the statue of our Lady of the porch show that the loft or upper chamber of the large south porch was, as at Cirencester, the meeting-place of the brethren of the guild, and probably contained an altar. The inner walls of the south porch are deeply scored with marks, according to the usual conjecture, of arrows, sharpened here during archery practice. The south door is contemporary with the porch and aisle, and is in an excellent state of preservation; there are few finer doors of the period in England. The parish chest, which is now placed in the nave, near the south doorway, appears to belong to the fifteenth century.

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.

ON THE HERALDRY AT THIRSK.

There are two ancient descriptions of the heraldry in Thirsk Church. The earlier was made by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, in 1584, when making his Visitation of Yorkshire.² Besides the coats described later on, he notes, azure a chevron argent between three cocks gules [*sic*],³ "two knights kneeling with these arms, argent three hedgehogs purple,⁴ Orate pro animabus Thomae et Ceciliae, etc.," and a window to the memory of John Wright *alias* Osgodby, all of which have been since destroyed. The other description was made by Roger Dodsworth on Oct. 16, 1622.⁵ He mentions two shields, Scrope of Masham impaling Greystock, and Lascelles, sable a cross flory or, which are no longer extant.

At the present time, with the exception of two shields which also occur again in this window, all the ancient heraldic glass

¹ See Dr. Fowler's notes in *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 208, 209, 210. Such stone "porches" remain in considerable numbers in our larger churches, *e.g.* at Winchester, Wells, Worcester, Bath Abbey, Boxgrove, and Christchurch Priors, etc. There is a wooden "porch" of a type once common in our parish churches at Burford, Oxon.

² *Visitations of Yorkshire in 1584-5 and 1612*, p. 449.

³ The family of Laycock of Copmanthorpe bore argent a chevron between three cocks gules, which is, perhaps, the coat intended.

⁴ The families of Biram and Heriz bore argent three hedgehogs sable. The last is Scotch, and the first Lancashire.

⁵ *Dodsworth's Church Notes* (Yorkshire Record Series, xxxiv), p. 216.

in Thirsk Church has been gathered together into the window at the east end of the south aisle. Dodsworth tells that in his time there was "in the north quire a knight armed, kneeling, behind him 8 sons, tow of them armed likewyse. On his brest Strangwaies armes. On the first son armed per pale Strangwaies and argent a lyon rampant azure.¹ On the second son armed, per pale Strangwaies and azure a maunch or.² His wief and 3 daughters, kneeling. On her gowne paly Strangwaies and Ingleby, another paly Strangwaies and Maliverer.³ In the middest, quarterly, Strangwaies, and 2 quarter, quarterly Darcy and Mennell. Under all: Orate pro bono statis Jacobi Strangwaies, militis, et Elizabeth[e] uxoris ejus."⁴ In the quire window there were the arms of Strangwayes quartering Darcy and Meynell, and in another window Orrell, argent three torteaux between two cotises and a chief sable.

The heraldry is commemorative of Sir James Strangways, of Harlsey Castle, near Northallerton, the first of his family to come into Yorkshire. According to the usually-accepted pedigree, he was the eldest son of James Strangwayes, who owned the manor of Strangeways, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Wigan, and Joan, daughter of Nicholas Orrell, whose arms are given in the window. The Strangwayes arms were sable two lions passant, paly of six argent and gules, or as it is phrased in the Fifteenth Roll, which seems to be the earliest time they are mentioned, "gobbone sylvyr and gowlys."⁵ By a wealthy marriage, a fashion followed by his descendants, Sir James Strangwayes laid the foundations of the prosperity of his family, which afterwards attained so great proportions. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Philip, Lord Darcy, and Eleanor, daughter of Henry, 4th Lord Fitzhugh. The other daughter, Margery, married Sir John Conyers, of Hornby.⁶

¹ The arms of Fauconberg of Skelton. Sir Richard Strangwayes, Sir James' eldest son, married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of William Neville, Lord Fauconberg, and Earl of Kent. The proper bearing of the family was a white saltire on a red field differenced by a rose (*The Ancestor*, iv, 232), or, according to another authority (*Harleian MS.*, 6163), by a red mullet.

² James Strangwayes, the second son of Sir James, married Ann, daughter and heiress of Robert Conyers, of Ormesby.

³ Margery Strangwayes married John Ingleby, of Ripley, and Elinor Edmund Mauleverer, of Wothersome.

⁴ "Orate pro bono statu Elizabet . . . vxoris," still existing in the window, probably forms part of the above

inscription. Two female heads there depicted may be Lady Strangwayes and one of her daughters.

⁵ *The Ancestor*, iv, 233. These were the bearings of Sir James Strangwayes. Robert Strangwayes had his lions crowned, "gobbone of vj pecys." (*Ibid.*, v, 183.)

⁶ March 7, 1438-9. Institution of William Boynton, clerk, in the person of Christopher Boynton, his proctor, to the free chapel of Whorleton, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Henry Chicheley, on the presentation of James Strangways, junior, and Elizabeth, his wife, one of the daughters of Philip, Lord Darcy, and of John Conyers and Marjory, his wife, the other daughter (*Reg. Kempe* fo. 395.)

Lord Darcy's great-grandmother was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Nicholas, Lord Meynell of Whorlton Castle. This alliance accounts for the presence of the arms of Darcy, azure crusilly three cinquefoils argent, and Meynell, azure two bars gemelle and a chief or. These coats are not quarterly, as noted by Dodsworth, but on separate shields.

Sir James married, as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Eure, by whom he had four children, having had seventeen by his first. He was High Sheriff for Yorkshire in 1446, 1453, and 1469; and M.P. for the county and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1 Edward IV (1461). In 1470, he and his wife, Elizabeth (probably his second wife), and daughter, Lady Welles, were admitted to the Corpus Christi Guild at York.¹

The other arms in this window are England and France quarterly, and Mowbray, gules a lion rampant argent. Also three coats of the Askwith family, sable a fesse gules between three asses argent, differenced respectively by the imposition on the fess of a mitre, a mullet, and a crescent, all white. The two first shields also appear in the window at the west end of the north aisle. The family of Askwith was seated at a later period at Osgodby, in the parish of Thirkleby, about four miles south of Thirsk. The shield, differenced with a mitre, commemorates William Ascough or Askwith, Bishop of Salisbury from 1438 till June 29, 1450, when he was murdered at Edington, in Wiltshire, where he was buried. His will is dated 1449.

On a pair of stall-ends, now fixed in front of the organ, there are a couple of coats of arms: (i) Quarterly (1) and (4), a fess over all a lion rampant; (2) and (3), on a bend three billets between two balls. The latter coat has not been ascertained. The former may be for Gibson of Welburn (one of whom, Sir John, was buried at Crayke in 1639), barry of six ermine and sable a lion rampant or. (ii) Askwith, with a mullet for difference, impaling three calves. Brian Askwith, who heads the pedigree of Askwith of Osgodby in the *Visitation of Yorkshire in 1612* (p. 487), married Dorothy, daughter of Ottiwell Metcalfe, of Swinethwaite and Bekards, in Wensleydale. Brian Askwith's will is dated Feb. 18, 1589-90.² In it, after stating he was sick in body, he made a profession of faith,

¹ *The Guild of the Corpus Christi, York* (Surtees Soc., lvii), p. 75.

² *Reg. Test.*, xxiv, 238.

such as suited a man whose daughter married a son of Whittingham, the strongly Protestant Dean of Durham:—"I bequeath my soule unto Almighty God, my Creatour, who, through the merittes and precious bloodshedding of his deare and onelie sonne, Jesus Christ, hath satisfied his owne justice for my sinnes, and of his great love hath provided, and through his sonne Jesus Christ, my Saviour, hath purchased an everlasting kingdome for me for ever; and my bodye to the earthe to be buried, ther to remaine untill the glorious coming of our Lorde and Saviour Jesus Christe." To his wife Dorothy the profits of his land till his son William should attain the age of 24. Stipend for son's maintenance at Cambridge or one of the Inns of Court to be provided at the discretion of his brother-in-law, John Coniers, of London, Esq.,¹ and his son-in-law, Timothy Whittingham. To his good friends, John Woolmer and Thomas Wright, Esquires, the lease of Solbargh. Sons-in-law, Francis Davell, Timothy Whittingham, and Thomas Conyers. Daughters, Agnes Davell, Elizabeth Whittingham, and Isabel Coniers. "Sonne William my chaine of gold, my signet, and half my plait. Vnto my good frindes [*sic*] John Wolmer and Thomas Wright, Esquiers, eyther of them, an old ryall, for a remembrance of auncient frindship." Supervisors, his brother-in-law, Mr. Coniers, and his sons-in-law. Wife sole executrix. Witnesses, Fraunces Davell, Tymothie Whittingham, Leonerd Coniers, and Thomas Frear. Proved March 16, 1589-90, at Osgodby, before Master John Gibson, LL.D., and administration granted to the executrix.

The will² of his widow, Dorothy Askwith, of Osgodby, was made on Nov. 2, 1596. Her profession of religion is much briefer than her husband's, "I give and bequeath my soule unto Almighty God, my maker and redemer." Her kinsfolk and neighbours, the Metcalfes of Hood Grange, were recusants, but her branch of the family appears to have been Conformists. Her will is interesting, so the greater part of it is given here:---

"Dorothie Askwith, of Osgodby, widow. My bodie to be buried in the parish church, where yt shall please God to call me to his mercy. Unto my sonne-in-lawe, Francis Davell, two olde ryalls, and other two to my daughter Davell, and one white goblet of silver like to a chalice. To my sonne Whittingham two olde ryalls, and other two to my daughter, and one

¹ Probably John Conyers, an auditor and whose son Thomas married the in London, whose mother was a Metcalfe, testator's daughter, Isabel.

² *Reg. Test.*, xxvi, 429.

other goblet of silver like to a chalice. To my sonne Conyers two olde rialls, and to my daughter other two and one gilde peece. To my daughter Davell's children one hundreth poundes, and to my daughter Whittingham's children one hundreth poundes. To my daughter Conyers her children fiftie poundes. To Thomas Jackson, my daughter Whittingham's eldest sonne, the bigger of the two peeces I bought of my brother Anthonie [Askwith]. To Roger Davell, my daughter Davell's eldest sonne, the other peece I bought of my sayd brother Anthonie. To Katherine Conyers, my daughter Conyers daughter, one silver salt gilded with a cover. To my daughter Davell's daughters, and to my daughter Whittingham's daughters, eache of them, a paire of linnen sheetes, to be taken in the lowe cheist in the lowe parlour of the best, and fowr dozen and a halfe of new napkins unmade, and as many moe as will make eache of them a dozen out of the cheist in the lowe parlour. To my daughter Davell's daughters two new table clothes, and to my daughter Whittingham's two, all unhemmed. To the yongest daughter of my daughter Conyers one gilded silver spoone that Sir John Hart gave me. To my daughters Agnes and Elizabeth my apparell, both linnen and woollen (my satteyne kirtle excepted), which I give to my sonne William's wife. To my sonne William one howpe of golde, my weding ringe, and my ringe with the asse head¹ to his wife. To my daughter Agnes one ringe with an agget sette in yt. To my daughter Elizabeth one ringe with the deathes heade. To my daughter Conyers one ringe with a red stone. The plate which was bought of Mr. Jackson I give the one halfe therof to Thomas Jackson, and the other halfe to Roger Davell. To Thomas Jackson a tablet of golde² and a brouch which my husband bought, and was his father's, and one golde ringe which was his father's with a red stone in yt. To William Whittingham, my sonne Whittingham's sonne, one halfe dozen of new silver spoones. To my brothers-in-lawe Robert and Anthonie Askwith, to my sister Maude Man, and to my brothers George and James Metcalfe, eache of them xls. To my brother and sister Conyers, eache of them, one golde ryall. To my brother Thornton one olde ryall. To Mr. Alderman Askwith and my ladie,³ either of theime, one angell. To my cozen Gillinge and his wife,

¹ The family crest was an ass's head erased argent. (*Visitation of Yorkshire in 1612*, p. 487.)

² A tablet was an ornament of precious

metal or jewellery of a flat form, worn about the person.

³ Robert Askwith was Lord Mayor of York in 1593.

either of theime, one angell. To Sir John Harte one spurre riall, trustinge they will all give my children good counsell. To my cozen Dorothe Thornborowe vs. in gold. To Thomasyn Frear vs. To Elizabeth Fuyster vs. To my good freinde, Mr. Wright, of Bagbie, xs. in golde. To my brother Anthonie Askwithes wife xxs., for taking of paines with me in my sicknes. To John Reynewicke, my servante, vs. To every householde servant ijs. iiij*d.*, and to the boye xxs. To John Gilmyn and Robert Anderson, either of theim, ijs. iiij*d.* To Anthonie Johnson ijs. iiij*d.* To my sonne William all the landes that I bought in Sowber for the terme of his life, the remaynder therof to the right heires of his body lawfully begotten; and for default of such yssue to the heires of my three daughters, provided alwayes that yf Thomas Jackson dye without yssue of his body lawfully begotten, that then my mynd and will is that his parte of the said lande shall remayne and come to the right heires of my daughter Whittingham. I give xxs. to be bestowed of the poore of the parishe of West-Wytton at the discretion of the curate and churchwardens of the said parishe. To my brother George¹ his wife xxs. To Lancelot Brand xs. To Ottywell Metcalfe vs., and to every one of his brothers vs. To the vicker of Thirkelbie vs. Supervisors, my trustie and welbeloved freinde, Mr. Cristofor Ashe, and my brother George Metcalfe, and my brother-in-lawe Anthonie Askwith. All the rest unto my sonne William Askwith, whom I make my sole and full exequutor. Witnesses hereof, Henry Gillinge, John Wright, John Cooke, and John Newsom's marke." Jan. 13, 1596-7. Proved by the executor.

As the will² of Brian Askwith's son William is but brief, and as he was possessed of the parsonage of Thirsk, I give an abstract. William married,³ in 1590-1, Dorothy, daughter of William Thornton, of East Newton, in Ryedale, and Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Grimston, of Grimston.

March 1, 1600-1. William Askwith, of Osgodby, Esq. "Sicke of body. I commend my soule into the handes of Almightye God, who made it, and by and through the pretious death and resurrection of his Sonne, my Saviour, my onelie hope and truste is to be saved." Son and heir apparent, William Askwith, lease of the rectory and parsonage of Thirske. Second son, Robert Askwith, and such as my wiffe is now with.

¹ George Metcalfe. His wife's name is not known. Ottiwell Metcalfe was his eldest son.

² *Reg. Test.*, xxviii, 341.

³ Licence for their marriage at Stonegrave. (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*. vii, 100.)

“ Vnto my said wife her cheane of gold and other such jewells, borders,¹ and ringes, as she hath vsed to weare, togeather with all her apparell and lynnens belonginge to her wearinge, and also one geldinge called Graie Talbot, and her saddle and pillyon and all furniture belonginge to the same, and also my beste bedd and bedsteade, with all the furniture belonging to the same. Vnto my said sonne William Askwith my cheane of golde, my seale or signett of golde, and all my plate whatsoever, and all my bookes and instrumentes of musicke.” Cozen Mr. Robart Askwith of the cittie of Yorke, to have the tuition of his son, William, with 40*li.* a year; and my good friend, Christofer Ashe, Esq.,² to have the tuition of second son Robert, with 30*li.*; and brother-in-law, Timothy Whittingham, to have tuition of the unborn child, with 20*li.* Dau. Eliz. to his wife, with 20 markes. Parish of Kilburne, 10*s.* Uncle Mr. Robert Askwith; 40*s.* Uncles Mr. George Metcalfe and Mr. Anthony Askwith, either of them, 40*s.* Executors, Christofer Ashe, Tymothy Whittingham, Francis Davell, and cozen Robert Askwith, Supervisors, uncle Marmaduke Grimston, Esq., my loving father-in-law, William Thornton, Esq., and loving cozen Henry Gillinge, of Yorke, gent. Witnesses, Henry Gillinge, Thomas Jackson, Richard Milnes, Thomas Benyon, clk. Proved April 10, 1601, by Christopher Ashe, Tymothy Whittingham, and Francis Davill.

EXTRACTS FROM WILLS RELATING TO THE CHURCH.

April 24, 1436. Thomas Raynton, capellanus, ecclesie parochialis de Thresk. Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie S. M. de Thresk predicta. Item lego unam vaccam cum vitulo, precii *xs.*, nomine mortuarii mei. Domino Willelmo Cressop, canonico,³ *iijs. iiij*l.** Domino Johanni Esyngton, socio meo, *vjs. viij*l.** Henrico Roose, clerico parochiali ecclesie predicte, *xij*l.** Lego *xs.* pro torchiis emendis et ignendis ad altare S. Anne in ecclesia prenominata, *vjs. viij*l.** pro tectura cantarie S. Anne in ecclesia prescripta, *vjs. viij*l.** pro le sillornyng⁴ altaris S. Anne prefate,

¹ BORDER, a piece of ornamental work round the edge of a garment, cap, etc.; “ You wore a velvet hood, rich borders, and sometimes a dainty miniver cap.” (Massinger, *City Madam*, iv, 4, quoted *s.v.* in *N.E.D.*)

² Probably Christopher Aske (more correctly, Ashe), of Woodhall (query Woodhill, in the parish of Thirsk), who married Ursula, daughter of Sir Thomas

Lascelles, of Brackenbury. March 7, 1610-1. Administration of the goods of Chris. Ashe, of the city of York, Esq., granted to John Darley for the use of the children. (*City Act Book*.)

³ Canon of Newburgh priory, who owned the advowson of Thirsk.

⁴ The ceiling. Silouring is the more usual form.

iijs. iiij*d.* pro fabrica unius armarioli expectant' in cantaria predicta. Proved May 11, 1436. (*Reg. Test.*, iii, 452*d.*)

March 12, 1466-7. Joh. Cooke de Thirske. Sep. in porcia S. Johannis Baptiste infra ecclesiam parochialem de Thresk. (*Ibid.*, iv, 42*d.*)

Feb. 2, 1484-5. Henricus Lokwod de Thyrsk generosus. Sep. in porticu ecclesie B. M. de Thyrsk. Gilde B. M. in porticu predicte unum cornu argenteum. Fabrice dicte ecclesie, xi*d.* (*Ibid.*, v, 250*d.*)

July 8, 1499. "Thos. Nosterfeld de Thirsk. Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie parochialis de Thirsk. Fabrice, iijs. iiij*d.* Fabrice ecclesie de South Kilvyngton, xx*d.* Lumini crucifixi in ecclesia parochiali mea unam libram cere. Luminibus¹ B. M. in choro, Sancti Thome, et B. M. in porticu, cuilibet lumini, vj libras cere. Luminibus S. Johannis Baptiste, S. Erasmi, regis almi Henrici, et B. M. pietatis, cuilibet lumini, dimidiam libram cere." Wife Joan, sons William and John Nosterfeld, chaplains. He found an obit after his son's death of 6s. 8*d.* a year, viz., "sex vel octo presbiteris ejusdem ecclesie, cuilibet presbitero, iiij*d.*; clerico parochiali, i*d.*; et pro pulsacione campanarum, ii*d.*; et quatuor aliis clericis, iiij*d.*; preconii, j*d.*; pro duobus capitalibus denariis, i*d.*; et pro duobus cereis comburendis tempore exequiarum et misse, i*d.*" The income to be paid to the Masters of the Guild of the B. M. "in porticu in ecclesia predicta," or to the chaplain of that Guild. If they made default, to be paid to the chaplain of the chantry of St Anne, or the rector. Witnesses, Sir John Smythson, curate, Henry Trewman, chaplain. Proved Oct. 4, 1499. (*Ibid.*, iii, 342.)

Nov. 24, 1501. Rob. Sanderson de Thryske. Fabrice ecclesie de Thryske pro sepultura mea, iijs. iiij*d.* Gilde B. M. in porticu pro anima recommendanda per capellandum predicte gylde, sicut fit recommendacio pro fratribus gilde predicte, iijs. iiij*d.* (*Ibid.*, vi, 46.)

May 12, 1502. Johanna Nosterfeld de Thryske. Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie parochialis de Thryske predicta, juxta sepulturam Thome Nosterfelde, viri mei. Ad edificacionem campanilis ibidem, xiijs. iiij*d.* (*Ibid.*, vi, 30.)

June 10, 1503. Ricardus Robynson de Thirske. Sep. in ecclesia parochiali B. M. de Thirske. Fabrice ecclesie mee

¹ An interesting list of the images, seven mentioned, in Thirsk Church at the end of the fifteenth century. The presence of one of Henry VI is to

be accounted for by the fact that the Earl of Derby, the lord of the manor, had married the countess of Richmond, Henry VII's mother.

de Thirske et pro sepultura mea in eadem ecclesia, xs. Imagini B. M. de le Porche, xij*d.* Ecclesie de Kylvyngton, ijs. Johanni Funder duos perapsides electri¹ et unam ollam eneam cum duobus discis electri. Roberto, filio meo, capellano, meum optimum lectum plumalem. (*Ibid.*, vi, 68.)

Feb. 13, 1514-5. Rob. Marschall. Sep. in ecclesia parochiali de Thirske juxta pulpitum. To ye kyrke warke for my buriall, vjs. viij*d.* Also I giff xxxiijs. iiij*d.* that Maister Graburne gaue to the stepill byldyng. (*Ibid.*, ix, 10.)

Sept. 10, 1510. Georgius Kelchif, ballivus dominii de Thrisk. Sep. in ecclesia parochiali de Thriske. Six marks for a chaplain celebrating for one year a trental of St. Gregory during his octave for his soul, his relations' souls, and those of Chris. Wardroper and Ric. Warde. "D'no Johanni Neccham, iijs. iiij*d.* ad standum pro me et in recompensacionem talium factorum meorum per me dictorum et factorum per mandatum domini mei, domini Thome Derbey [*sic*], comitis Derbey, sic quod dictus dominus Johannes remittat et dimittat in omnia illa facta et contra se acta penes se et servicium suum apud Thorneton super Montem." Wife Agnes property at Wermfeld, Altoft, and elsewhere, to bring up sons Robert and George. If she die during their minority, Sir John Frankysssh, vicar of Wermfeld, Sir Will. Nosterfeld, cantarist of St. Anne of Thriske, and Rob. Pert of the same, to be guardians. (*Ibid.*, viii, 53*d.*)

Dec. 31, 1520. William Whippe de Thriske, draper. My body to be beried in chirch yerd of Seynt Mary in Thriske, as nere the place wher my fader and my childer was beried as may be. To the parishe chirche for my beriall, iijs. iiij*d.* To the steple beldyng, xls. To the mendyng of ill wayes aboute the towne most necessary, iijs. iiij*d.* (*Ibid.*, ix, 137.)

Feb. 7, 1520-1. William Palicer, of Sandhoton, wever. My body to be beried in the chirch yerd of Seynt Mary in Thrisk. I gif my broder, Cristofer Palicer, a broode wolyn lome and ij lyn lomys w^t al ther gerys [that] belong them to thuse of his son, the which the said Cristofer will putto the wever craft. To the chappell of Seynt Leonard in Hoton a whether hog, and to the Chapel of Seynt Lawrence in Karleton a wether hog. Witnes, Sir Thomas Knollys, curet. (*Ibid.*, ix, 151*d.*)

April 18, 1521. Thomas Stevynson, of Thriske, merchand. My body to be beryed in the chirch yerd of Thryske emong

¹ Dishes, properly square in form, of mixed metal, probably latten or zinc.

For *electrum*, see the *Durham Account Rolls*, iii, 912.

my childer. To the steple beldyng xxs. To byeng of a paire of organnys, to be our Lady messe with all, vjs. viij*d*., if the organys be bowght and go forward, or els I will the said vjs. viij*d*. ramayne to the said steple. To the house of Newburgh, for clene absolucion, xs. To our Lady in the where, iijs. iiij*d*.; also to our Lady in the porche, iijs. iiij*d*. and a sleyveles jacke. To Seynt John alter a hangyng to be before hitt. Also I will my wif fynd a shelage¹ before Saynt Kateryn her lyf, and after her departyng I will my son William fynd it. Also I will my litle gray mere be sold, and the money to be bestowed of menddyng of ways moost nedful aboutte the towne. Allso I will my wiff haue my house duryng the terme of hir lif, and after hir deithe I will and gyf the said house w^t thappurtenances to my son William Stevynson and to his heres of his body lawfully begottyn, and in defawte vnto my doughtour, Margaret and in defawte vnto Sir George Stevynson, my son, terme of his lif, and after the deith of the said Sir George I will that the said house remane unto the parishe churche of Thriske, oppon this condicion folowyng: that is to say, the chirch wardyns of the said chirch shall yerelye for euer cause an obite to be song in the forsaid chirch for me, for my wiff, and for all my childer, at the which obite I will shalbe xij prestes and xxiiij scholars with other expenses nedfull, al mountyng yerelye to xs. Also. I will if the parishing do fynd a gyld preist that the forsaid house be gifyn vnto that gilde oppon the condicion aforesaid, and that the gilde preist shall kepe the forsaid obite after the maner before spokyn. And if nother the chirch wardyns, nor the preist, kepe the forsaid obite trulye and yerelie on the day of my bereyall, than I will that the forsaid house remayne vnto next of my blode then reigntyng. To euery one of the iiij orders of Freres, iijs. iiij*d*. Also I will my son William haue forty nobles in penny and penny worth at the seight of thes iiij men, that is to said [*sic*], John Wyntter, William Dowson, Richard Woodroper, and John Fox, with certayn herelowmys as a cowntour, a steippe fatte, a kylne, a hare,² w^t other certayn bordes that er nallyd, as beddes, formys, and trestils. Also I gif the said William a gowne lynyd w^t watteryd tuyke,³ and a bucskyne dublett, and my best jacke, my swerd, and al my harnes, and thus he to be content. Also I gif my wif

¹ A candle (*cierge*).

² Hair cloths for drying malt in kilns after it has begun to put out rootlets,

but before it sprouts. See *Durham Account Rolls*, iii, 923.

³ *Tuyke*, tick or ticking.

my white furryd gowne. Also I gif John Smyth a bukeskynne dublett. Also I gif to Lord of Lanmouth my vickett¹ jackett. (*Ibid.*, ix, 174.)

Sept. 29, 1521. Richarde Dobson, of Thriske, bocher. To be beried in the chirche of Saynte Marye in Thriske. To the steple beldyng, xxd. To our Lady in the porche my best gowne. Also to our Lady in the where, xijd. Also to Saynte Sithe, iiijd. Also to Saynte Petir, iiijd. Also to Saynte Anne, xijd. Also to Saynte Laurence, iiijd. Also to Saynte Nyneand, iiijd. Also to Saynt Antony, iiijd. Also to Saynte Loys, iiijd. Also to torches, xijd. My sister Elezabeth, ij silver crokes and a dawke.² (*Ibid.*, ix, 208d.)

May 3, 1527. John Cawton, of Thirsk. To be beried within the parishe church yerde of Thirsk. Settlement of property in Thirsk and Dalton, Micklegate, Rogerfeld, the chantry of St. John and St. Nicholas, Sand flattes, all in Thirsk. To Henry Cawton, my son, a fetherbed and a bolster. To the beldyng of the steple of Thirsk, when it shal go forward, vjs. viijd., of the whiche there is ijs. paid to Roberte Cuttworth. To Roberte Cawton, my sone, a Flandders chiste, and all thynges belongyng to one bed, and one siluer spone and an newe almary. To Roger, my sone, a siluer spone and all thynges belongyng to a bed. To Henry, my sone, my best siluer spone. To Thomas, my sone, a siluer spone. To the howse of Newburghe, iijs. iiijd. To the causey in Sancte Marygate, xijd. To the abbay of Ryvax, xxd. To my daughtour at Arden Abbay a fedderbed. To Alicie Skinner a hoole bed, a brasse pott, and a ambre and a calle.³ (*Ibid.*, ix, 374d.)

May 11, 1527. John Wynter, of Thirsk. To be beried within the parishe church of Thirsk afore the hie altar where agaynst my stalles end. To the re-edificacion of the parishe church of Thirsk, iijs. iiijd. (*Ibid.*, ix, 375d.)

May 14, 1529. Alicie Perte, of Thirsk. To be beried within the church of oure ladie of Thirsk, besides my husband. To the newarke of Thirsk steple a riall. To Barker Bridge, vjs. viijd. To Sir Thomas Aldeburgh, curate of Thirsk, iiijd. (*Ibid.*, ix, 444.)

¹ This word seems to defy explanation.

² Dalk=a pin, brooch, clasp, buckle. See the *N.E.D.*, where the following passage is quoted from the will of John Gregson, of Ripon (1488), who bequeathed to William Fox, chaplain, "unum portiferium cum a dalk cum ymagine Beatae Mariae." The will is printed in *The Ripon Chapter Acts* (Surtees Soc.,

lxiv), p. 285. The testator also left a gilt dalk.

³ Cawl, an East Riding word, meaning a kitchen dresser with hutches underneath for young chickens or ducks in cold weather. (*E.D.D.*) See also William Dowson's will below, where the word occurs again in association with an ambry.

June 28, 1529. Rob. Cawton, of Thirske. I bequeath my sall to Almyghtie God and our lady Sancte Marie, and to all the fare company of hevyn, and my body to be beried within the churche of our Ladie of Thirske. To the beldyng of the steple of Thirske, xxs., and iijs. iiij*d.* for lyeng in the churche. Sir Roger Cawton, my broder, my best gowne, a girkyn of chamlet, a par hoise, a silver spone which was his fadders, and vjs. viij*d.* to his offering when he synges his first messe. To the roode lofte, vjs. viij*d.* To the thre Mares in Thirske churche and Sancte Sithe, ij*li.* wax. To the caucey in Kirkgate, xx*d.* To the caucey to Bagby More, xx*d.* To the hanker,¹ xij*d.* To Sir Thomas Aldburgh, xv*d.* (*Ibid.*, ix, 457.)

May 26, 1531. John Fox, of Thirsk. To be beried within the parishe church of Owr Lady in Thrisk afor the rood. To the hye altar at Thrisk, in the honour of the sacrament, xij*d.* To the beilding of the steipull of the parish church at Thirsk, vjs. viij*d.* To the mending of the cawcey in Sanct Marie gait in Thrisk, xij*d.* (*Ibid.*, x, 77*d.*)

1532. [No day.] James Marshall, of Upsalle, gentilman. To be buried in the churche of Oure Ladie at Thirske afore the roode nyght [*sic*] wher my mother liethe, and ther one crosse of woode and one serge of wax to be founde in the honour of God by the space of one yere and one day. To the buyldinge of Thirske steple an acre of rie whiche was Pallesers, and one acre of hauer and one of barle that liethe besides Bolliffe. To Kylvington hie altare, for tithes forgotten, xij*d.* Also my chamlett gowne and my rede satten doblett and iijs. iiij*d.* in money, to make one cope withall. To euere of thes iiij howsses of Frears, that is to say, the Austen Frears of Yorke, the frears of Richmunte, Allerton, and Yarme, xij*d.* Also I will that the freares of Richmunde and Allerton say one trentalle of messes for my saull and all Cristen saulles, all of one daie, and eyther howse to haue for the same vs. Also I will that euere prest in Thirske that haithe one cope vpon hym the daie of my buriall [haue] vj*d.* To the roode warke at Kirkebe Knoll, xij*d.* To the parson of Kirkebe Knoll, viij*d.* To the churchwarke of Filliskirke, xij*d.* Also I will that euere house in Kylvington parishe haue ij*d.* To my sone, William Marshall, my best cownter, my longsettill, my sestorn, and my bay geldinge if his mother die, or elles not. Sons Thos. and Roger lands in Norton, now in the holding of Rob. Sedlee,

¹ The anchoret.

annual value of xxxijs., and ij acre of land in Thirsk, in the holding of Chris. Choltroppe and one Palisser. Son Will. Walcar a tent in Morton upon Swalle. Daughters Elenor and Anne. Son Roger, one cownter and one cubborde that standithe in the haull and my whitte fille. Wife Elinour a farmhold in Murton of Swalle in the holding of Lumlay, and another in the holding of Smelt. Daughters Margaret and Jane. Sister Alice. To Marmaduke Lee, xiijs. iiij*d.* to fest hym to one craft, and one whie withe calf to fynde hym reyment. To Mr. Commander of Sanct John is my lute. Sir Thomas Smythe, iiij*d.* To Sir Thomas, of Boltbie, v*d.* To Thomas Tolthorpe iiij wenchis, eche of them, vjs. viij*d.* to ther marriage. Brother Sir Rob. Marshall, parson, Thomas Rickebie, supervisor, my cote of plaite. (*Ibid.*, xi, 339*d.*)

Sept. 22, 1534. Will. Barton, of Thirske, smyth. To be beried in the kirke of our Lady of Thirske. To the stonbrig, 12*d.* (*Ibid.*, xi, 123.)

Dec. 2, 1535. Will. Dowson, of Thirske. To be beryed in the churche yearde of oure ladye of Thirske nyghe to my grandfadre, Thomas Nosterfelde. To my servaunte, Elezabeth Baker, all the brewing vessell within my house, as leide, mashefatte, gyylfatte, stades, and ayle pottes, my ambrye and my caule, a gowne of musterdeilles,¹ and ij siluer spones, a payre of syluer croukes, and my best beades with all their yowelles. To John Dowson, my kynseman, my gawberdyne. To my suster Jenett a beefe flycke.² To George Allayne a hert of syluer and gylte. To my suster Metcalf a tryangle of syluer and gylted. To the churche of Thirske a masse booke written on parchment. To Ric. Dowson, my brodre sone, my borgage in Mekilgate. Witness, Sir Thos. Aldburgh, curate, Sir Rob. Dowson, preste (brother of the testator) (*Ibid.*, xi, 176*d.*)

March 30, 1538. John Sober, of Sandhoton, par. Thirske. My soule to Almightye God and hys mercie by the helpe and prayers of his glorious moder, oure Ladie Sancte Marie, and all the holie company of heven, and my bodie to be buried in the churche garthe of Our Ladie in Thirske. To the building of the steple in Thirske, iijs. iiij*d.* To Sancte Leonarde chapell in Sandhoton, xij*d.* To Sancte Laurence chapell in Carleton Mynyote, xij*d.* (*Ibid.*, xi, 294.)

¹ A kind of mixed grey woollen cloth, much used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, named from Musterdevillers

or Monstervillers, now called Montivilliers, a town in Normandy.

² A flitch of beef,

July 29, 1538. John Smythe, of Thirske. To be buriede in the churche of Our Laidy at my nawne stalle ende. I wyt and gyves vnto the steple, ijs. Unto Will. Smythe wif, my doughter, a ledder belt withe syluer stoths.¹ (*Ibid.*, xi, 313.)

Dec. 24, 1545. Raufe Sparlinge, of Thriske. My bodie to be buried within my parishe churche of our ladie of Thriske, in the alie before Sancte Anne closet, if there can be plaice conuenientlie for me there, if not, in the middest alie before the roide, painge therfore to the churche wardons for the time beinge iijs. iiij*d.*, accordinge to the custome. Towarde the beyldinge of the steple, iijs., that the churche owithe me sens I was churche wardon myself, whiche I laid furthe of my purse than to the necessarie chargies of the churche, as George Hoopes and Richarde Ragnell, withe other of my fellowes, knowe. Witness, Sir Ric. Lollye, the curate. (*Ibid.*, xiii, 141.)

Jan. 1, 36 Henry VIII (1544-5). Thomas Cawton, of Thirske, yoman. My bodie to be buried in the churche earthe besides my father stone at the quere doore, where my father and my mother doithe lie, whose soules Jesu have mercie vpon. Wife Dorithie land in Thirsk, Lofthus house, Mikillgaite, Bailegarthe, Gisburghe cloise, Dawber sike, Kelde hilles, Bridge flate. Item I will that one greate shete, the bed in the parloure, one prisser their, with tubbes, troghes, bowtinge tonnes in the bowtinge-house, one litle cupborde, one greate chaire in the chamer, mannegers, hekkes in the stables, one coueringe of the bed in the parloure, all thies to be areloomes lefte in the saide house to Michael Cawton, my sone. Residew of all my landes in Thirske, Berbekke, Rogerfelde, Bagbie, and Dalton to Henrie Cawton and his heires maile, and in defalte to Anthony Cawton and his heeres maile. Item I will that if my wife do not dwell in the greate house, or do marie awaie frome it, then I will that Michaell Cawton, my sone, shall enter into the house, and to all the areloomes their beinge as inheritance to hyme and to his assignes, discharginge the fre rente therof yerlie, viijs., to the Ladie preste. Henrie Cawton shall haue all the kinges lande in Thirske feldes and Barbek, the greate cloise at Woodside nexte Norbie, painge the kinges rente and farmes, that is to saie, ix*s.* xvii*d.* ob. yerlie, accordinge to my couents seale, and my sone, Mychaell Cawton, to haue the other cloise, and to paie yerlie to the kinge is graice iijs. continuall duringe my

¹ Stoths=upright pieces of wood, Here it means bars fixed across the such as laths are nailed to in stoothing. leather belt. (J.T.F.)
See *Durham Account Rolls*, iii, 971.

yerres. Michaell Cawton, my sone, haue all my farmolde in Kilvingeton, withe couent seale. Item I will that one leade, one mashefatte, one gile fatte, one trowghe in the kitchinge, and too litle leades in the gile house, all thies to be are loomes frome hensforthe to Michaell Cawton. To Jennet Marshall too landes of rie nexte Abbotte Wise house in Kilvington. I will that myne executoures doo paie and content to Isabell Cawton, one litle lasse in the house, the some of xls., one couerlet, and one litle brasse potte at Crathorne withe the persone theire. I will that Michaell Cawton, my sone, and other my heires, do finde the lampe in the roideloft, or els a serge of halfe a pounce of waxe their or better yerlie, and so to continewe. Executoures, Michael Cawton, my sone, and Margarete, my doughtour. Supervisoures, Sir Roger Lasselles, Knight, James Danbie, and Raulfe Grene, of Topcliffe, gentlemen. Recorders, Sir Richarde Lollie, curait, John Butterwike, Sir Henrie Cawton, Richarde Craue, John Collyer, thelder Robinson [*sic*], and other, 'p me Thomã Cawton.' Proved May 12, 1546, by son; daughter under age. (*Ibid.*, xiii, 145*d.*)

April 4, 1540. Thomas Smyth *alias* Burton. To be buried within the kirke of Oure Ladie in Thirske. Also I will that ther be dirige the day of my buriall, and Sir Richard Janson to have *vjd.*, and Sir Thomas Watson *vjd.*, and euery other prest *iiijd.*, euery parishe clerke *ijd.*, and euere scoller *jd.* And also I will that ther be a dynner at Georgie Hopes for prestes and other whome that those which I do make for me thinkes is necessary and nedful. Also I bequeath vnto the saide church for my buriall a bible of parchment of this condicon, that if John Butterwith do make any clayme or title therto, then he for to [have] the saide booke, and to giue vnto the kirke *vijs. iiijd.*, which he is dettabell vnto me at this day. (*Ibid.*, xi, 623*d.*)

Aug. 20, 1543. John Foxe, of Thirske. To be buried at thende of my stall wher I dide vse to sitt in the church. To the steple warke one quarter barlie. To the mendinge of Skipton Bridge one quarter barlie. To the amendinge of Topclif bridge one quarter barlie. To the amendinge of the stone bridge and the hie ways aboute Thirske one quarter barlie, (*Ibid.*, xx, 722.)

Marche 13, 1547. Isabel Barton, of Thirske, widue. To be buried within my parishe church of Thirske in the allie as nighe the plaice where my husbände was buried as mae be sufferid. To the church one couerlett of reade and yolowe

for this vse, that whan an honest wif is purified it mae be spred before her, and the mid wif vpon a litle forme in the quere, at the messe tyme, or suche like honest vses to the honor of God as the belman, curaite, or churche wardens thinke conveniente; and that the said belman to haue the custodie of it. To the churche a linnen towell to be vsid at suche tymes as the aforesaide mynisters thinke convenient. To Thomas Burton a chaffinge dishe. Witness, Sir Richard Lollie, my curaite. (*Ibid.*, xiii, 742.)

WILLIAM BROWN.

SOUTH KILVINGTON. CHURCH OF ST. WILFRID.

THE church consists of chancel, nave, and south porch. There is a wooden bell-cot above the western gable.

Substantially, the building is a plain twelfth-century church of the normal aisleless type, with a rectangular chancel. The lower part of the west wall, below the gable, retains its original ashlar casing, and the walls of the nave, now covered with lime-wash, are probably of the same date. One small round-headed window with a wide inner splay remains in the south wall.

The chancel appears to have been rebuilt early in the fourteenth century, when it was probably lengthened. The piscina and the three-light east window are of this date. The chancel arch may also belong to this rebuilding; but its supports, composed of dwarf octagonal shafts, with moulded capitals imposed upon shafts of a very rough and clumsy type, seem to have been reconstructed within comparatively recent times.

Three windows, one in the north and two in the south wall of the nave, were inserted about the time of the rebuilding of the chancel. These windows, as well as the east window, were made by piercing the lights and simple quatrefoil tracery through the wall, without building up an outer arch. The window west of the south porch has either not been completed, or its tracery has been blocked. The internal openings are rather widely splayed. The tracery and lights are moulded on the inner face, with a swelled chamfer. Owing to the method of piercing adopted, a considerable thickness of stone-work is left between the tracery and the lights, which suggests an earlier date for these windows at first sight; but they were probably made at some time between 1300 and 1320. The south doorway was also made about this date.

All the later work of the fabric appears to be due to an eighteenth-century restoration, with the exception of a three-light window, inserted in the west wall during the fifteenth century. Late in the eighteenth century the western gable of the nave and the south porch were rebuilt, the church was covered internally with a flat ceiling of plaster, hiding an older timber roof above, and the square bell-cot with a pyramidal roof was made. At the east end the plaster ceiling was curved upwards on both sides of the east window, so as to avoid cutting into it. The bell-cot, of very flimsy construction, contains two bells, one of the seventeenth century. An earlier campanile is mentioned in a will as needing repair in or about 1520.¹

The inscription and heraldry on the font are described below. It is of a black marble, similar to that used for the Catterick font, and is octagonal in shape; each of the faces of the bowl, stem, and base is concave, which produces a very handsome effect. A large stone holy-water bowl of the fifteenth century has been inserted in a niche in the south wall, just east of the doorway. There is a shallow niche for a small statue in the outer face of the west wall near the south end.

Some of the pew-ends in the nave are of the fifteenth century. Modern stalls with canopies have been placed on the north side of the chancel, the south side, and a large part of the area of which are occupied by the organ. There is an old hour-glass on the capital of the south shaft of the chancel arch, next the pulpit; the capital has been cut to make a ledge for it.

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON

ON THE HERALDRY AT SOUTH KILVINGTON.

Before considering the font, which is the principal heraldic object in the church, it will be convenient to notice the glass in the east window, which now consists of two coats: (1) Argent a cross sable, for Upsall,² the owners of Upsall Castle before the Scropes; (2) gules a chief or over all a bend checky argent and azure, borne by Sir John Mauleverer,³ but who he was or why he deserted his ancestral greyhounds is not known. Formerly there was a third shield in this window, azure a lion

¹ *Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ix, fo. 30d.

² Sire Geffrey de Opsale de argent, a une une crois de sable (*Roll of Arms, temp. Edward II*, p. 95).

³ Sire Johan Maulevere, de goules

od la chef de or, a un baston goboune de argent e de azure (*Ibid.*, p. 94). Dr. Francis Collins has a drawing of this window and the font made early last century.

rampant or, attributed to Sir Hugh Neville,¹ but there is nothing known to connect him with this place.

The font, of black marble, is octagonal in form, resembling the ones at Catterick² and Richmond; the former of which is also heraldic. The following inscription runs round the base:

D'ns Thomas le Scrop' Et Elizabeth vxor eius.
 i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. vii. viii. ix.

The numbers below refer to the shields in the compartments above, descriptions of which follow:—

(i) Quarterly, 1 and 4, azure a bend or over all a label of three points argent. Scrope, of Masham and Upsall.³ 2 and 3, azure two chevronels or. Chaworth.⁴ John, the fourth Lord, 1418–1455, Treasurer of England in 1432, will printed in *Test. Ebor.*, ii, 184, married Elizabeth, only child of Sir Thomas Chaworth, of Wiverton, in Nottinghamshire, and Nichola, daughter of Sir Reginald de Braybroke. She died in 1466.

There is an interesting document in the archbishops' registers at York (*Reg. Will. Booth*, fo. 396), dated Dec. 18, 1455, being a commission from Richard Tone, "decretorum doctor," Archdeacon of the East Riding, Vicar-General of Archbishop William Booth, to the Bishop of Philippiolis, the Archbishop's Suffragan, to veil Elizabeth, widow of John, Lord le Scrope and of Masham. The form of the oath to be taken is given in English, and is very quaint:—

Commissio ad velandum dominam Elizabetham, relictam J.,
 domini le Scrop' et de Masseham.

Reuerendo in Cristo patri J., dei gracia Philopolensi episcopo, reuerendissimi in Cristo patris et domini, domini Willelmi, permissione diuina Eboracensis archiepiscopi, Anglie primatis et Apostolice sedis legati, suffraganeo, Ricardus Tone, decretorum doctor, archidiaconus Estridding' in ecclesia Cathedrali Eboracensi, prefati Reuerendissimi patris vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, reuerencias et honores. Cum Venerabilis domina, domina Elizabetha, relictā et executrix honorabilis domini Johannis, nuper domini le Scrop' et de Masham, defuncti,

¹ Sire Hue de Neyvile de azure a un lion rampaund de or (*Ibid.*, p. 9).

² Mr. McCall (*Richmondshire Churches*, p. 24) gives a drawing of the Catterick font, which is very like the one at Kilvington. It also bears the arms of Fitzhugh and Scrope of Masham. The Scropes were the patrons of Kilvington Church. At the *Inq. p. m.* of Henry le Scrope, of Masseham, who was executed for treason, taken at Pocklington on Sept. 4, 3 Henry V (1415), it was found

he held, at the time of his forfeiture, the advowson of Kilvington, worth 23 marks a year beyond all charges, and an annual rent of five marks a year, payable to the abbot and convent of Byland, granted by Geoffrey de Upsale (*Inq. p. m.* 17 Henry VI, No. 60).

³ Willement's *Roll of Arms*, temp. Richard II, no. 82, where these arms were borne by Sir Henry le Skrop.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 458.

desideret, prout sua nobis relacione monstrauit, votum emittere perpetue castitatis, et eo liberius et quocius accipciorem altissimo exhibere famulatum; Ad velandum, igitur, dictam dominam Elizabetham et tradendum eidem annulum et mantellum; Necnon votum huiusmodi castitatis iuxta formam in cedula presentibus annexa contentam ab eadem recipiendum; dumtamen de singulis circumstanciis in hac parte requisitis plenius instruamini, super quibus vestram conscienciam in domino oneramus, liberam tenore presencium concedimus facultatem et licenciam in Domino specialem. Dat. Eboraci, decimo octauo die mensis Decembris, Anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo} quinquagesimo quinto.

In y^e name of god Amen. I, Elizabeth Scrop', late wife to my worshipfull' lord John, Newly lord Scrop' and of Masham, a vow to be chaste fro this tyme forward In the presence of you worshipfull' fadir, John, be y^e grace of god bisshop of Philopolen', be y^e auctorite y^t ye haue of my most reuerent fadir in god William, archiebisshop of Yorc, Primat of England and legate of y^e Court of Rome, and I bihote to lefe stably in yis a vow duryng my life. And in witnenes here of I with myne owne hand make this subscripcon, ✠

(ii) Quarterly, 1 and 4, Scrope of Masham; 2 and 3, fretty a chief or, Fitzhugh. The fourth Lord is said to have married twice, and his first wife, by whom he had no issue, to have been Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph, Lord Greystock.¹ These arms would make it probable she was a Fitzhugh. There had been an earlier connection between the families. Henry, third Lord Fitzhugh, who died in 1386, married Joan, daughter of Henry, first Lord Scrope of Masham.²

(iii) Quarterly, 1 and 4, Scrope; 2 and 3, quarterly: (1) and (4), argent a fess azure between three chaplets gules; (2) and (3), gules three pillows argent. These were the arms of Greystoke. The second and third quarters are the original Greystoke bearing; the first and fourth the Grimthorpe arms, which were still retained when the family assumed the name of Greystoke. It should be barry silver and azure of eight pieces.³ Thomas, the fifth Lord Scrope, 1455-1475, married Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph, Lord Greystock, and Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Fitzhugh. She was living in 1483.

(iv) Scrope, with a fleur-de-lys on the middle file of the label, possibly commemorating John, son and heir of John,

¹ *Test. Ebor.*, ii, 185n.

² Plantagenet Harrison's *History of Yorkshire*, i, 136.

³ *The Ancestor*, iv, 230.

fourth Lord Scrope of Masham, who died before his father, in 1452. He left to the rector of Kilvington two palfreys, called Lyard Gib and Lyerd Lounde, and two oxen, as his mortuary.¹

(v) Scrope, impaling on a chevron three crosslets fourchy fitchy between three chaplets. It has not been possible to ascertain what family bore these arms. As the arms of the wives of the second, fourth, and fifth Lords Scrope are given, the third Lord, who was attainted for treason and executed, died with issue, it seems very probable that this coat belongs to the wife of Sir Henry le Scrope, 1315-1391, who was created Lord Scrope of Masham in 1342. Her parentage is unknown, and even her Christian name is uncertain. Joseph Foster² says it was Joan, but in 1343 Henry le Scrop, of Manfield, who elsewhere is called Henry, son of Geoffrey le Scrop, Knight, was married to a wife named Agnes.³

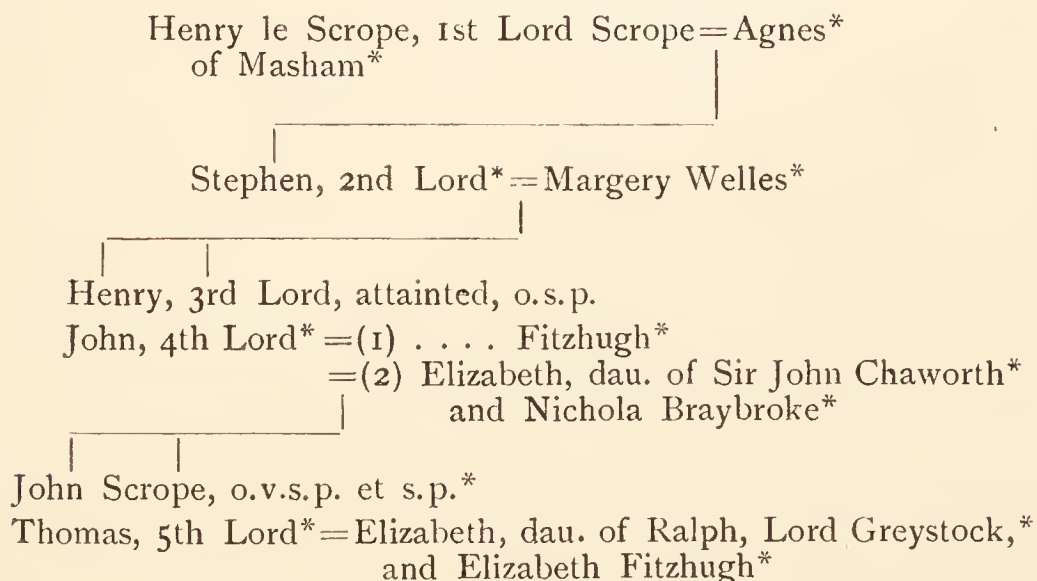
(vi) Scrope of Masham.

(vii) Scrope, impaling or a lion rampant sable, with two tails, Welles.⁴ Sir Stephen, the second Lord Scrope, 1391-1401, married Margery, daughter of John, Lord Welles. They were married before 1376. She died 1422.

(viii) Chaworth, impaling three mascles, *i.e.* voided lozenges, in pale, for Braybroke, argent seven mascles, three, three, and one gules.⁵ (See No. i.)

(ix) Scrope, with a bordure or sown with blue mitres. Archbishop Scrope.

The following skeleton pedigree will assist in understanding the above remarks. The asterisks denote the persons whose arms are given on the font.



¹ *Test. Ebor.*, ii, 160.

² *Pedigrees of the County Families of England. Yorkshire: North Riding.*

³ *Yorkshire Fines (1327-1347)* pp. 141, 170.

⁴ Le Sr. de Welles, or, a lion rampant, queue forchée, sable (*Willement's Roll of Arms, temp. Richard II*, no. 63).

⁵ The arms of Sir Gerard de Braybrok (*Ibid.*, nos. 143, 492).

The font must have been erected some time during the life of the fifth Lord, 1455-1475, probably not long after his father's death, and before the marriage of Thomas, the sixth Lord, and Elizabeth, daughter of John Neville, Marquess of Montagu. Unluckily, all that is known as to the date of this marriage is that it had taken place before 1475.

EXTRACTS FROM WILLS RELATING TO THE CHURCH.

Sept. 2, 1472. Willelmus Stevyn, rector ecclesie parochialis de Kilvyngton. Sep. in cancella ecclesie predicte. Pro mortuario meo secundum consuetudinem ecclesie. Johanni, servo meo, unum plastrum et unum aratrum cum omnibus suis pert. cum quatuor bovibus [*sic*] cum una equa. Ecclesie predicte unam torch' precii iijs. iiij*d*. Executores meos, dominum Ricardum Smyth, et Johannem Wakefeld, Thomam Staynton armigerum. Testibus, domino Johanne Wynterton, capellano, Johanne Standwith, Simone Coke, cum aliis. (Proved by executors, Oct. 8, 1472.) (*Reg. Test.*, iv, 179*d*.)

Sept. 14, 1480. Joh. Morland, nuper rector ecclesie parochialis de Kylvyngton. Sep. in choro S. Wilfridi de Kylvyngton. Nomine mortuarii mei meum optimum animal cum sella et freno ac cum una cica.¹ Res. Emmote Knyght, ut disponat et gubernet diversos pueros ad placitum dicte Emmote. She executor, and Mr. Wm. Poteman, LL.D., Archdeacon of Cleveland, supervisor. Witness, John Nesseham, of Thirsk, chaplain. (Proved July 14, 1481.) (*Ibid.*, v, 109.)

April 10, —. Ric. Thwaytes. Sep. in ecclesia parochiali de Kylvyngton. Reparacioni ejusdem campanilis, xij*d*. (Proved May 4, 1516.) (*Ibid.*, ix, 30*d*.)

July 4, 1521. Will. Cartar de Upsall. Sep. in cimiterio S. Wilfridi de South Kilvyngton. Capelle de Knaton unum arietem. Beate Marie de South Kilvyngton unam barbicam cum agno. (*Ibid.*, ix, 212.)

Jan. 12, 1549-50. Richarde Metcalfe, of the parishe of Kiluyngton. Bur. in the churche yerde at my stall side, and for the same I giue to the churche iijs. iiij*d*. To John Lumbeley and Jennett, his wif, a flat of wheat in Mydle Bawes, vj landes of hauer in the Banks that spornes² of Litle Moore, and the hindermer flat of barlie of Litle More. To Thomas Lumbeley a blacke hawked stotte, my weddinge jakett, and best dublett. To my brother, William Metcalfe, a tagge³

¹ A dagger.

² This word, which has not been found elsewhere, seems to mean 'borders upon.'

³ More usually *tagged*, that is, having the tail tipped with white or other distinctive colour.

stott, a paire of boittes, and a bukskinne dublett. To almosse chiste ij*d*. Witnesses, Sir Christofer Tipladie, prest. (Proved April 23, 1550.) (*Ibid.*, xiii, 622.)

April 27, 1551. Wilyame Greyne, of Upsall, in the parishe of Kilvington. To be buried in the churche earthe their, as the body of my wif lies. Item I will that John Greyne, my sone, bringe me honestlie furthe and I giue to be distribute to the poore folkes of the saide parishe of Kilvington xs., and to be given to the prestes and clerkes at the discrecon of my sone, John Greyne. To almos boxe xij*d*. Mentions dau. Agnes, wife of Thomas Cooke, of Stillington, and Elsabeth, wife of Will. Hobson, of Worsall. (Proved June 16, 1551.) (*Ibid.*, xiii, 741*d*.)

WILLIAM BROWN.

LEAKE. CHURCH OF ST. MARY.

THE church consists of a chancel, clerestoried nave of three bays, north and south aisles continued westward to engage a western tower, and a south porch.

The quoins of the early nave remain in large part at the north-east, and can be traced at the south-east corner of the present nave. The western tower, which is the most substantial survival of the church before its enlargement, was probably built about 1100. It is a low tower of massive construction, consisting of three stages, divided from each other by plain off-sets. It had no buttresses at the angles, and in this respect and in the division by off-sets it bears some resemblance to the well-known type of Early Romanesque tower, of which there are several examples in Yorkshire.¹ There is, however, no appreciable lessening of the area of the tower above each off-set. The belfry windows in each face consist of a double opening recessed within a semi-circular enclosing arch. Each opening has a rounded head, and the openings in each face are divided by a roughly-dressed monolithic shaft with a scalloped capital, not unlike the "mid-wall" shaft usual in the earlier type of tower just mentioned.² The middle stage of the tower is without window openings; a fine cross-head, apparently of pre-Conquest date,

¹ Cf. Appleton-le-Street, Hovingham, Kirk Hammerton, Skipwith, etc., and the large number of such towers remaining in Lincolnshire.

² The "mid-wall" shafts at Hornby, with cushion capitals, belong to a rather

earlier date. Towers of a date contemporary with or not much later than this at Leake, are those of Brayton and Riccall, where the double openings are similarly enclosed within arched recesses.

has been built into its western face. A three-light window was inserted in the west wall of the lowest stage during the fifteenth century. The western face of the tower is scored in places with diagonal lines, which, apparently, afforded keying for plaster.

The arch opening into the nave from the tower is wide, and has a semi-circular head without moulding. The jambs are ornamented with slender angle-shafts, which have scalloped capitals.

A north aisle was added to the nave about 1200. The arcade is of three bays; the arches are of two orders, and are round-headed. On the side towards the nave the outer order has a slender edge-roll; the inner order is chamfered. The east respond is a corbelled shaft, with a plainly moulded capital; the west respond is a shaft with similar plain treatment. Of the two cylindrical columns, that on the east side has its capital elaborately carved with a series of upright trefoils with stiff stalks; the extremities of the lateral lobes of the trefoils touch each other. The capital of the other column is surrounded by a series of broad leaf-like fillets, which curve outwards with the capital, and probably were intended for further carving which was never executed.

The church was greatly enlarged about a hundred years later, when the chancel and north aisle were rebuilt and a south arcade and aisle made. The character of the mouldings of the capitals and respond-corbels of the south arcade indicates a date about 1300; the two-light side-windows of the chancel and another in the south aisle, however, suggest a somewhat earlier date. These windows, on the other hand, are of a rather clumsy and disproportionate shape, and their tracery seems to be comparatively modern; it may be doubted whether they are not imitative openings altered from the original at some later date. The chancel received some alteration in the fifteenth century, as will be noted later. The chancel-arch, springing from corbels, appears to be of the date already mentioned, but has probably undergone a later restoration. The south arcade of the nave has pointed arches with two chamfered orders. The respond-corbels rest upon small carved heads, which seem to be of thirteenth-century date, and to have been removed from some other part of the building. The eastern column has a moulded capital, rather coarsely carved. The capital of the western column has a band of roughly sculptured oak leaves and acorns

in low relief, which resembles seventeenth-century work of this type rather than work of the date to which the rest of the column belongs. Both columns are octagonal.

Much old masonry was reused in the building of the south aisle, which, as noted above, was continued westward to a point slightly beyond the west face of the tower. At the east end of the south wall is a small piscina, with an ogee head and hood-moulding. In the outer wall, east of the porch, are two carved stones, one a portion of a large sun-dial, the other bearing, within a medallion, the figure of a beast devouring leaves and fruit.¹ Both stones are probably of the twelfth century. The porch and south doorway are plain in detail, and are contemporary with the aisle. The walls of the aisle were probably heightened, and largely rebuilt in the fifteenth century, when the east, west, and one side-window were inserted.

The north aisle, as rebuilt, was extended westwards in a similar way, and the walls may have been heightened later. The east window and one of the side-windows are square-headed, with two trefoiled lights. The head of each window is cut out of a single large stone.

The clerestory of the nave has square-headed windows of two lights, and belongs to the fourteenth century additions. The housing-slot of the old steep-pitched roof may be traced below the present roof in the east wall of the tower.

In the fifteenth century, the east wall of the chancel and its angle-buttresses were entirely rebuilt, and the three-light east window made. It is probable that the side walls underwent extensive repair at this date, as the buttresses appear to have been rebuilt about this time. The western buttress of the south wall was built with a very broad base, through which a doorway was made into the chancel. This doorway has a low drop-arch, and in the buttress above its eastern shoulder is a small sun-dial, which has evidently been recut. The masonry of the side walls shows work of some three periods, the fifteenth-century stonework being of a dark bluish-gray colour and a harder texture than the rest.

In the south wall, nearly six feet west of the present eastern buttress, is the projecting foundation of an earlier buttress, which probably marks the south-east angle of the thirteenth-century chancel. Inside there is a round-headed piscina of the

¹ A nearly similar stone occurs in the south wall of the twelfth-century church of Hilton-in-Cleveland.

early thirteenth century in the south wall of the chancel ; the head consists of a solid stone, with a moulding carved on the outer face ; in a stone below is a deep sloping drain. It would appear, therefore, that the first rebuilding of the chancel followed shortly upon the building of the north arcade of the nave. The disposition of the buttresses and windows indicates a complete rebuilding with a slight lengthening towards or about 1300, while a general repair took place in the later part of the fifteenth century.

On 22 January, 1330-1, Archbishop Melton issued a commission to inquire into a petition from Lewis Beaumont, Bishop of Durham, asking leave to appropriate Leake Church to the expenses of his table, which had been much impaired and wasted by the inroads of the Scots and other causes. The ordination of the vicarage was not decreed until 27 July, 1344, by Archbishop Zouche. The vicarage was endowed with the larger part of the rectory house, the whole altarage of the church, and the tithe of hay and the small tithes of Leake, Knayton, Landmoth, Brawith, Nether Silton, Kepwick, Crosby, and part of Northallerton, which appears to have lain within the parish, with the remainder of the rents and provents of the church with certain exceptions, and with two bovates of the demesne of Leake Church lying in Nether Silton. To the Bishop were reserved the rest of the rectory house, the tithe of corn from the whole parish, a yearly rent of two marks formerly payable to the rectors, the tithe of hay from the rector's demesne land under Cotcliffe, and from the meadows of Borrowby. The whole burden of meeting the various church expenses, with the upkeep of the fabric, books, and ornaments of the chancel were charged upon the vicars, one of whom may be credited, therefore, with the fifteenth-century repair of the chancel described above.¹

There is much interesting woodwork in the building. The seating of the nave is largely composed of seventeenth-century pews, and the font-cover is plain work of this date. The font itself is plain, with a large cylindrical bowl ; there are no definite signs of date. The present low screen in front of the quire is made up in great part of fourteenth-century woodwork from some earlier screen. At the west end of each row of quire-seats is a very fine stall-end, with poppy-head finial and a projecting ledge in front, supported by a carved octagonal up-

¹ *Reg. Melton*, fo. 619d.

right. The ledge of the northern stall-end bears a figure of a crocodile; the side of the main portion has a carved shield with crossed keys and the word "*barde*" below, probably alluding to a donor named Peter Barde. The southern stall-end has in a similar position a figure of St. John the Baptist, holding an open book, on which is a lamb; below is the legend, *hamp* above a tun, and the inscription: "*Hoc opus factum est anno domini 1514*" (or 1519, it is not clear which). The sculpture appears to be the rebus of one John Hampton. On the ledge of this stall-end is the figure of a dragon. It seems probable that these stall-ends have been removed from some more important church. There is a brass in the central alley of the nave to the memory of John Watson and Alice his wife, *c.* 1530. John Watson was auditor to Lord Scrope of Upsall. The brass is described in vol. xvii of this *Journal*, p. 301.

Of the three bells in the tower, one is mediæval, and bears an inscription from the donor, one Grendale, to St. Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx: "O . PATER . AELREDE . GRENDAL . MISERI . MISERERE." In 1483-4, John Bussy, of Borrowby, bequeathed 12*d.* to the bell fund (*ad fabricam campanarum*) of the church.¹ A second bell is quite plain. The third bell has the inscription: "FILY . DEI . MISERRERE (*sic*) . MEI . 1618."

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.

Close to the church is Leake Hall, a seventeenth-century building, formerly the seat of a branch of the Danby family. A certain amount of oak panelling is still preserved, and in one of the upper rooms there is a shield, bearing quarterly, 1 and 4, argent three chevronels braced in base sable, on a chief of the second as many mullets of the first, Danby; 2 and 3, gules six billets ermine, three, two, and one (Britlevile). The Britlevile arms occurred in 1584 on the monument in Leeds Church amongst the quarterings of Sir Christopher Danby, of Thorpe Perrow, Knt., who died in 1530.² There is a pedigree of the Leake family in Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665* (Surtees Soc., xxxvi, p. 93).

There are two other old houses in the parish: Marygold Hall, 1679, with the initials W. A. M., for William Metcalfe

¹ *Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 215*d.*

² *Visitations of Yorkshire in 1584-5 and 1612*, pp. 463, 464. Britlevile, or more correctly Bretvill, was the name of the possessors of property in Yafforth,

near Northallerton, which seems to have descended to the Danby family (*Kirkby's Inquest*, pp. 176, 335, and *Yorkshire Lay Subsidies* [30 Edward I], p. 11).

and Anne Marwood, the ancestors of the present Marwoods of Busby, to whom Marygold Hall still belongs. Mr. Metcalfe had already built Porch House, in Northallerton, in 1674. The other is Landmoth House, an Elizabethan structure, with the initials W. G., possibly referring to William Green, of Landmoth, who was aged twenty in 1612. The Greens were recusants. They continued to hold property here till the beginning of the eighteenth century. Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Anthony Green, Esq., married Joseph Pattinson, of Sixhills, co. Lincoln, and afterwards of Newark. Their only child, Elizabeth, married Thomas Middleton, Junior, of Hollings, alias Brantbery Grange, in Sigston parish, son and heir of John Middleton, of Middleton-upon-Leven, Esq. Marriage settlement dated Nov. 16, 1728.¹

WILLIAM BROWN.

¹ *North Riding Records*, viii, 255 ; ix, 97.

Notes.

[The Council has decided to reserve a small space in each Number for notices of Finds and other discoveries; and it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all matters of archaeological interest which from time to time may be brought to light in this large county.]

III.

NOTE ON A BRONZE OBJECT FOUND NEAR GIGGLESWICK.

The ring figured here (scale about $\frac{3}{4}$) was unearthed early in 1912 on the land of F. Marler, Esq., of Close House, Giggleswick (to whom I am indebted for much courtesy in the matter), in digging a trench in the field known as High Haw, and at about 100 yards south of the old high road from Giggleswick to Lawkland where it crosses the High Rigg. As it was not noticed except in the upcast, its original vertical and horizontal position cannot be given more exactly. Nothing else was recovered.

Interesting in itself, the ring derives additional interest from other Roman traces which have been noticed hereabouts. An anonymous



writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1784, p. 259) placed on record a hoard of Roman coins accidentally found at Craven Bank, Giggleswick. The exact position is again indeterminable; but probably Craven Ridge, a farm about three-quarters of a mile to the west, perpetuates an alternative form of Craven Bank; and

in that case the coins were probably discovered at any rate not very far from the ring. They were mostly of the two Constantines, but some were of Gratian, whilst others bore the device of the wolf and twins. This writer also mentions a Roman road as being visible from Craven Bank on the moors near Sunderland, a name corrected to Saukland in a subsequent communication (*ibid.*, p. 963), which, again, can hardly be other than a misprint for Lawkland. There is but little doubt that the present road near which the ring was found represents this ancient road in part, and that the Roman line formed a communication between Ilkley and Overborough. On this point it is hoped that fuller evidence will be available before long.

The ring can be ascribed with practical certainty to the Roman period ; for though somewhat similar remains of Late Keltic manufacture exist, there is nothing whatever to indicate such an ascription of this particular example. It is cast hollow (at least so far as the thicker parts are concerned), is of excellent workmanship, and weighs 4 oz. 377.5 grains. As to its use, two theories are possible ; for it may have been either the handle of a box or a terret for the passage of harness reins. The basal part is flat, as if designed to fit against a plane surface.

FRANCIS VILLY.

IV.

BRIDLINGTON PRIORY CHURCH :

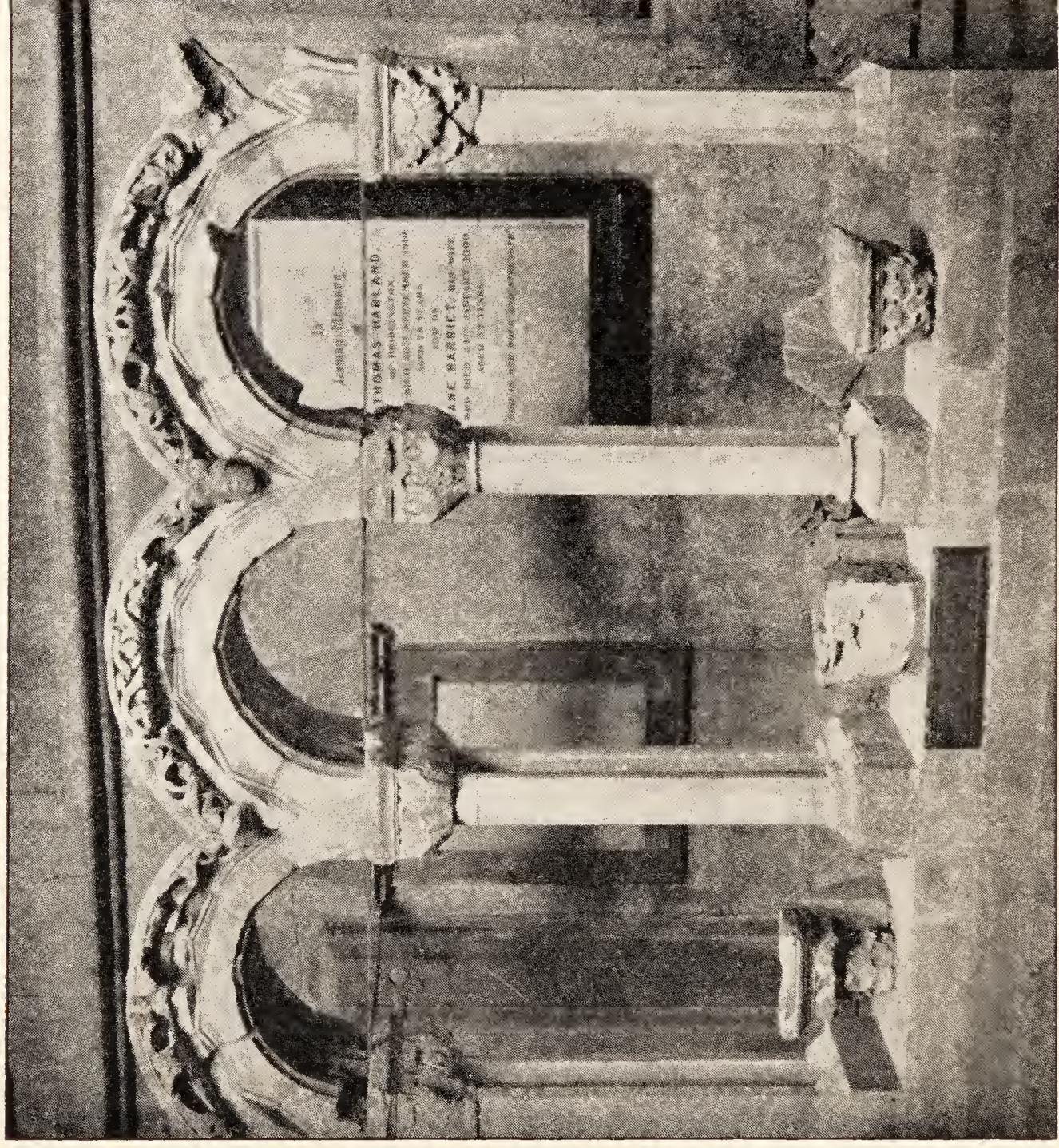
THE CLOISTER ARCADE.

When the Society visited Bridlington on July 14, 1910, I suggested that the very interesting fragments of the twelfth-century cloister arcade, which were then stacked at the west end of the north aisle, should be set up for better preservation, as well as for greater facility of study.¹ This has now been done, in memory of the late Mr. Thomas Harland, of Bridlington, by his family. It may be well, therefore, to put on record precisely how the work has been carried out. The fragments have been erected towards the west end of the north aisle in two sections, one of three arches, and the other of two arches (see the accompanying photographs, kindly furnished by Mr. Cecil Harland). The arcades have been built on low walls, which are entirely of new stone. Two of the bases are old, and the others, which are new, have been simply chamfered to distinguish them from the old moulded bases, which have griffes. One of the original octagonal shafts had survived in two pieces, and these have been put together and set up, giving the height of the arcade ; the other shafts are new. All the capitals and all the arches are old. The arches are of two different patterns ; those of the set of three have grooved angle rolls and two keeled rolls on the soffit, with chevron decoration between them ; those of the set of two have chevrons flat on the face, and two rows of chevrons on the soffit forming lozenges, and the lozenges and triangles are carved with leafage. The beautiful open-worked hood-mouldings are old. It is not, of course, certain that the arches, capitals, etc., which are now placed together, were so placed in the original arcade ; they have simply been fitted

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxi, 174-5.



BRIDLINGTON PRIORY, CLOISTER ARCADE.



BRIDLINGTON PRIORY, CLOISTER ARCADE.

together as well as they could be, so as to necessitate the use of as little new stone as possible. Other fragments of the arcade, or of the same date (including the beautiful capital illustrated in the *Journal* xxi, 174), have been fixed on the walls between the bases.

JOHN BILSON.

V.

YORKSHIRE PECULIAR WILLS.

As the result of a memorial presented by the Society to the President of the Probate Division, the wills proved in certain Yorkshire peculiar courts, which for a good many years were deposited at Somerset House, London, have recently been removed to the District Probate Registry at York. The collection includes the documents of:—

A. The Archdeaconry Court of Richmond, Eastern Deaneries (Boroughbridge, Catterick, and Richmond). These consist of: (1) the original wills, inventories, administration bonds, etc., from 1536 to 1857; (2) five act books—(a) Dec. 18, 1663, to Dec. 31, 1664, (b) April 20, 1736, to Sept. 29, 1741, (c) 1744 to 1746, 1766 to 1771, and 1777 to 1806, (d) Oct., 1809, to June, 1830, (e) June, 1830, to Dec., 1854; (3) two journals¹—(a) 1680 to 1694, (b) 1707 to 1714, and 1746; (4) the official calendars to all testamentary documents relating to the three eastern deaneries.

The five small, and in two cases imperfect, registers of wills are still retained at Somerset House, together with the original wills, etc., belonging to the Yorkshire part of the deanery of Lonsdale before 1748, the Lonsdale wills subsequent to that date being at Lancaster.

An index to the probate records of the three eastern deaneries, prior to 1617, was commenced by the late Mr. A. Gibbons, F.S.A., and printed as a supplement to the *Northern Genealogist*, but it only came down to the letter "G" (Gristhawite, John, of Askrig).

B. The Honour Court of Knaresborough. These comprise: (1) original wills, etc., in rolls and bundles; (2) indexes to the above—(a) 1640 to 1708, (b) 1708 to Jan. 9, 1858.

C. The Peculiar Court of Masham. These include: (1) the original wills, etc., from 1572 to 1858, for (a) Masham North Registry, (b) Masham West Registry; (2) two registers—(a)

¹ The entries in these journals are of a very miscellaneous character, but they include many references to testamentary business.

1576 to 1654, (b) 1634 to 1699; (3) a court book; (4) indexes to—(a) the original wills, (b) the administrations from 1614 to 1858, (c) the registers.

A consolidated index to the probate records of this court, including the documents recently removed to York, and those already in the registry there, together with what relates to this peculiar in the Dean and Chapter of York's Index (1650 to 1756), and the General Peculiars Index at York (1438 to 1728), prior to 1709, was commenced by the late Mr. A. Gibbons, F.S.A., and printed in vols. iv to vi of the *Northern Genealogist* down to the letter "R" (Rownthwaite, William).

D. The Manorial Court of Hunsingore. These consist of: (1) bundles of original wills, etc.; (2) an index.

The period covered by the documents of this court is not specified.

E. The Royal Peculiar Court of Middleham. The documents include: (1) bundles of original wills, etc., from 1722 to 1854; (2) an index.

Now that these documents are more accessible to local workers, it is hoped that members of the Society will make good use of the opportunity thus offered.

E.W.C.

VI.

STONE CIRCLES AT BLUBBERHOUSES

If no one else is going to describe these remarkable circles, I should like, at least, to make a record of them before they are again grown over and lost. There are a great many stone foundations of circular dwellings of various sizes and degrees of completeness; some are quite perfect. I have seen them twice, but as I have no special knowledge of the subject, I cannot undertake to describe either the circles or other pre-historic remains associated with them. They are on the farm occupied by Mr Catton, but not very easily accessible, unless by motor or bicycle, being about thirteen miles from Harrogate, nine from Otley, and seven from Bolton Bridge. The place has been visited by the Rev. R. A. Gatty, who has lately written as follows:—"There can be nothing more done at Blubberhouses this year: it is too late. I left a man digging, but so far nothing 'stone age' has turned up in the circles, only 'iron age' evidence. It is a profoundly interesting spot, but not easy to get at."

J. T. F.

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ERIC BLOODAXE IN YORK.

By S. BARING GOULD.

IN 934, Athelstan had undertaken a campaign in the north, and humbled Constantine, King of the Scots. As he was returning south he was, doubtless, in some perplexity as to whom he should appoint to bear rule in his name in York, when he was relieved of his difficulty in a manner quite unexpected.

Eric Bloodaxe, son of King Harald Fairhair, who had succeeded his father as King of Norway in 930, had made himself odious to his subjects through his exactions and his cruelties. He had butchered five of his brothers, and hence obtained the nickname of Bloodaxe. In 934, he was in such difficulties that he laid an embargo on all vessels in Norwegian harbours to prevent the news of how he was situated getting abroad; and when in that same year Hakon, Athelstan's foster-son, landed, and the people flocked to him, Eric found himself so deserted, that with a few faithful adherents he escaped across the sea and came to Athelstan, entreating his hospitality. Athelstan at once came to terms with him, and appointed him his viceroy at York.

The words of the Egill's Saga are sufficiently important to be given *verbatim*: "Eric had no other choice left him but to fly the land. He went away with his wife, Gunnhild, and their children. Arinbjörn, the Baron, was foster-brother of King Eric, and had fostered one of his children. He was the dearest of all the lenders to the king. Arinbjörn left the land along with the king, and they fared, first of all, to Orkney. After that Eric had married his daughter Ragnhild to Earl Arnfinn,¹ he sailed south with his host along the coast of Scotland and ravaged there. Then he went south to England, and ravaged there as well. And when King Athelstan learned this he collected a force and went against him. And when they met, a settlement was effected between them, and this was the agreement, that King Athelstan gave Eric authority over

¹ According to Snorri "Heimskringla," that Ragnhild married Earl Arnfinn, of it was after the death of Eric, in 950. Orkney.

Northumberland, and he was to act as warden of the marches¹ to King Athelstan against the Scots and Irish. King Athelstan had subjected Scotland to tribute after the death of King Olaf; however, the folk then were ever untrue to him.”²

In escaping from revolted Norway, Eric brought with him his wife Gunnhild, a peculiarly malevolent woman, and one who was his evil genius through life. His children were also with him. Boyesen thus gives the character of Eric: “With him the old turbulent Viking spirit ascended the throne. Power meant with him the means of gratifying every savage impulse. Brave he was, delighting in battle, cruel and pitiless, and yet not without a certain sense of fairness, and occasional impulses of generosity. In person he was handsome, of stately presence, but haughty and taciturn. Unhappily, he married a woman who weakened all that was good in him, and strengthened all that was bad. Queen Gunnhild possessed a baneful influence over him during his entire life. She was cruel, avaricious, and treacherous, and was popularly credited with all the ill deeds which her husband committed.”³

Eric established himself in something like regal state in York, presumably in what is now called Coney Street, where was the palace of the king.

Eric, Gunnhild, and their children had all been baptised, and were, nominally, Christians; but the Christianity of Eric consisted only in destroying idols and levelling temples with the dust. With all, it was skin deep only.

Now it so happened that there lived in Iceland a man named Shallagrim, who had been driven out of Norway by the violence of King Harald Fairhair, in 878, who had killed one of Shallagrim’s brothers, through an entirely unfounded suspicion of disloyalty.

Shallagrim had two sons, Thorolf and Egill, and both had been badly treated by King Eric, in retaliation for which Egill had killed a son of Eric, and a steward of Queen Gunnhild; and, before leaving Norway after a visit there to a great friend named Arinbjörn, he had added insult to injury by mounting a cliff on the coast, and erecting on it what was termed a scoffing-pole.⁴ On the top of this he had put the

¹ Landvarnamadr.

² Sagan af Agli Skallagrimssyni, *Reykjavik*, 1856, c. 62, pp. 140-1. The account of this Saga has been given in a previous article on the Battle of Brunanburh.

³ *The Story of Norway*, by H. J. Boyesen, Lond., 1886, p. 74.

⁴ The erection of a *nithstöng* brought disgrace on the man against whom it was set up. Should a duel be arranged, and one party did not arrive, the other

head of a dead horse, whilst he exclaimed: "This dishonour do I turn against all the spirits of the land, so that they may all go astray, and none may hit upon their homes, till they have driven King Eric and Gunnhild out of the land." Thereupon he cut these words in runes upon the pole, and then sailed back to Iceland.

Now it happened that in the year 934 no news of the revolt in Norway had reached Iceland, for the reason already given. During the winter of 935-6, Egill became restless, and resolved on sailing to England in the spring and paying a visit to King Athelstan. But, unhappily, he suffered shipwreck on the Yorkshire coast, near the mouth of the Humber, and then, and then only, did he learn that Eric Bloodaxe, who had outlawed him, and whom he had wronged and insulted, had been forced to fly from Norway, and was at that time actually installed in York as viceroy. The only satisfactory bit of news he heard was that his bosom friend, Arinbjörn, had thrown in his lot with King Eric, and was then with him in York. One is, naturally, inclined to wonder why Egill did not immediately escape south through Lincolnshire, but the reason probably was that the scene of his shipwreck was near Scarborough, and that the words of the Saga writer: "They came ashore at the mouth of the Humber," was probably a guess, as he was not very certain of the geography of Northumbria, or else the tradition as to where Egill had been wrecked was not fixed.

Egill saw that but one course was open to him, to get his friend to intercede for him with Eric, and make peace with the king as best he might.

Egill obtained a horse and rode to York, and on reaching the city, inquired where were the quarters of Arinbjörn. Then he went there, dismounted, summoned the doorkeeper, and bade him go within and inquire of Arinbjörn, whether he would prefer to talk with Egill, Shallagrim's son, without the house or within. The man did as he was bidden. Arinbjörn at once came forth at the head of all his house-churls, and on seeing Egill asked what had brought him there. Egill told his story,

set up a *nithstöng* to disgrace him. It is thus described in the *Vatnsdoela Saga*: "Jökull cut a man's head on the top of a pole, and carved runes thereon, according to the approved formula; then he killed a mare, opened its breast, and set it on the pole looking in the direction of Borg," the home of his enemy. There occur numerous instances in the Icelandic Sagas. But

the erection of this scoffing-post was not merely a mark of contempt, but also brought a magical curse on him against whom it was directed. In the *Vermundar Saga* is a story of how Vernund, to inflict a deadly insult on his enemy, Steingrim, hires a man to hit his foe at a horse fight with a sheep's head on his throat, the head on the top of a pole.

and requested his friend's advice as to the course he ought to pursue.

"Have you met anyone in York who could recognise you?"

"None whatever."

Then Arinbjörn ordered all his men to arm themselves, and when this was done, he went with them and Egill to the king's court, and hammered at the door. The porter opened and the Norse baron bade him go to King Eric and say who was outside desiring an interview.

The king at the time was at table. When he heard that Arinbjörn desired to speak with him, he bade the janitor admit the baron, and Arinbjörn entered, attended by a dozen of his own armed retainers, and Egill with ten of his as well.

"Now," said Arinbjörn, "you will have to throw yourself at the king's feet, embrace his legs, and lay your head on his lap, and I will speak on your behalf."¹

Then Arinbjörn stepped before the high seat and said to Eric: "I have come to solicit favour for a man who has come from a great distance to meet you, and to be reconciled with you. It will be a notable thing for you to have it said that your enemies have travelled from the ends of the earth, unable to endure being out of your favour. Now exhibit yourself generous towards this man, and let him make peace with you, seeing that he has undergone a lengthy and perilous journey with the sole object of obtaining pardon at your hands. There was no necessity for him to undertake this journey, for your arms are not sufficiently long to reach him in Iceland; he has come of his own free will seeking pardon."

The king looked round, and noticed Egill standing, a head taller than those about him, and he recognised him at once. Then he flamed red in the face, and exclaimed, wrathfully: "Egill, how have you dared to face me? No reconciliation between us is possible."

Thereupon Egill strode up to Eric, knelt, embraced his knees, and sang:

"Far have I fared,
Riding the sea-horse,
Suffering sorely.
Now have I reached

¹ This was a formal way of submission to the judgment of the man offended. In the *Thattr of Thorsteinn White*, a Thorsteinn son of Thorfinn, a remarkably handsome man, had killed a son of Thorsteinn White. "Thorsteinn, Thor-

finn's son, laid his head on the knee of Thorsteinn White, who said: 'I will not have this head hacked off, the ears look best where they grow,' and he accepted the slayer as a son in place of his own slain son (*Copenh*, 1848, p. 45).

Shores of Northumbria ;
Meet I its sovereign,
Son of great Harald,
Brandishing blue blade,
Bright as the lightning,
He wrathfull as thunder."

Said Eric: "Let me not hear a word in exculpation of your deeds towards me, for exculpation is impossible. They have been so many and so serious, that I shall not suffer you to leave my presence alive. You might well have reckoned on this or ever you set foot in my realm."

Then Gunnhild, the queen, who sat by the king, spoke: "Let him be put to death instantly. Have you forgotten all the offences committed by this fellow against you. He has killed your kinsmen, even your own son, and he has mocked us, and launched a bitter curse against you to drive you out of your kingdom."

Arinbjörn now spoke up: "If Egill has uttered word of ill of the king, he will atone for it by singing a lay in his praise, that will be remembered so long as the world lasts."

Gunnhild answered: "We have no wish to hear his song of praise. Sire! have Egill taken out of the hall at once, and hewn asunder. I hate even the sight of him, and will not listen to his voice."

Then said Arinbjörn: "Do not suffer yourself, O king, to be egged on to perpetrate a work of infamy. If Egill be killed to-night it will be murder,¹ vile, and all men will so esteem it, and so speak of it, as he has not defied you, but has come to your feet seeking reconciliation."

Then said Eric: "Well, then, be it so, Arinbjörn. He shall live this night, but no longer. And I commit him to your safe custody. Remember, however, that I charge you, on your honour, to bring him before me in the morning."

Arinbjörn thanked Eric Bloodaxe, and said: "It is quite true, Sire, that Egill has trespassed heavily against you. But consider what wrongs he and his have endured from your family. Harald, your father, put to death his uncle, Thorolf, a man of the highest probity and loyalty, simply because he was maligned by personal enemies, and you, king, violated justice towards Egill, in favour of Berg Onund; moreover, you have repeatedly endeavoured to have Egill assassinated; you robbed him of his property in Norway, have outlawed him, and set a price

¹ To execute a criminal between sundown and sunrise was regarded as illegal and infamous.

on his head. Weigh your wrongs against his wrongs, and see on which side the scale declines."

Then Arinbjörn led Egill to his own quarters, and brought him to a loft in which he was to spend the night, and said: "The king is highly incensed against you, but I think he cooled down a bit when I spoke my mind freely. The difficulty lies mainly with Gunnhild, who is implacable in her hatred, and remorseless in her cruelties. She will do everything in her power to effect your death. Now adopt my advice, spend the night in composing a lay in honour of the king. Flatter him to his heart's content, and have your composition ready by the morning."

Egill replied: "I will follow your suggestion as far as I may; but, on my conscience, I protest that I can say little good of Eric."

During the night Arinbjörn became uneasy, and leaving the hall went in quest of his friend, and asked how he had progressed.

Egill replied that he had not composed a single strophe. A tiresome swallow had seated itself in his window hole, and by its incessant twittering had distracted his mind, and prevented him from collecting his thoughts. Arinbjörn went forth, and as he left the building fancied he saw a figure glide away and disappear in the darkness. Then it came into his head that Queen Gunnhild was credited with magical powers, and he suspected that she had sent the swallow to disturb Egill. Accordingly, he seated himself under Egill's window, resolved to drive away the swallow should it return.

By next morning the lay was finished, and committed to memory.

Arinbjörn now armed all his men, and went with them and Egill's men, who were also in full harness, to the king's house. He left one-half of his retainers outside and entered at the head of the other half. Eric saluted him, and Arinbjörn said: "Here is Egill. He has made no attempt to escape during the night. Now, Sire! we desire to know what is to be his fate. I trust that my intercession on his behalf will not be in vain, for I lay great stress on the saving of Egill. Remember the fidelity wherewith I have ever served you. How that I have followed you in exile, when constrained to quit Norway, forfeiting thereby all my landed estates, and being separated from my kindred."

Gunnhild burst forth with: "Hold your tongue, Arinbjörn, and make no brag of your services. We know what they

have been, and how very richly they have been repaid. You owe greater obligations to King Eric than you do to Egill, and it is unseemly that you should take up so hotly the cause of such a man of violence."

Then said Arinbjörn: "If you, Sire and Gunnhild, have made up your minds not to receive any atonement from Egill for wrongs by him committed, then, at least, give him a week's law, that he may seek safety, remembering that he came here voluntarily, and for a pacific purpose."

Gunnhild broke in with: "It is clear as daylight that you hold Egill in higher esteem than you do Eric."

Arinbjörn proceeded, without noticing her interruption: "Allow Egill a week, and he will go to King Athelstan. It will in no way conduce to your credit, Sire! to kill in cold blood a bonder's son, who came from beyond the seas with words of good will in his mouth seeking your forgiveness. And this, I let you and Gunnhild plainly understand, that I make the cause of Egill my own. It will cost you a heavy price, Sire! to take his head; for I and my men, as well as those of Egill, will fight for his life till the last of us falls."

"At that price," answered the king, after a pause for consideration, "I would not wittingly buy Egill's blood, although he has richly deserved death."

Suddenly, when the king had finished speaking, Egill began the recitation of his poem, in a clear sonorous voice; and instantly silence ensued in the hall.

In the song are twenty-one stanzas, and but three can be given here as a sample of the style of poetry in vogue in the tenth century among the northern people. Such poetry consisted in alliteration, and, above all, in never calling anything by its name, but employing periphrases in its place. As for poetical ideas, as we understand them, there are none.

"Westward I sail'd o'er the sea,
Vithar¹ himself gave to me
The ichor of his breast.²
And with joy I roamed
When riven the ice-floes,³
Forth thrust I the oak tree⁴
From my mind's chamber,⁵
Full of my praises,
And learned it by heart.

¹ Odin.

² The gift of poetry.

³ In the spring.

⁴ A ship, *i.e.* the song launched like a ship.

⁵ The fancy.

Listen to me, Sire !
 Never forgetting
 What I am chanting,
 Bold, without fear ;
 For the world wotteth
 How thou hast slaughtered
 Men, gladding Odin,
 On battlefield.

Rent was the buckler,
 Red-dyed the sword-blade,
 As it dripped blood ;
 Laughed the Valkyrie—
 Lo ! the small streams ran
 Like to a river,
 Far o'er the fields rang
 Loud the steeds' clangour."¹

Eric sat immovable while Egill recited his poem, watching him narrowly. When the song was concluded, he said : " The lay is very good indeed, and I have considered what I will do, for Arinbjörn's sake. Thou, Egill, shalt depart hence unharmed, because I will do nothing dastardly such as it might be esteemed if I killed a man who had voluntarily placed himself in my power. But from the moment that thou leavest the hall, thou shalt never come before my eyes again, or before those of my sons. And remember, this is no reconciliation between me and my kinsfolk and thee."

Thus Egill bought his head by a song, and that song is, therefore, called the Höfudlausn, or the head ransom. Then Arinbjörn accompanied Egill south, with a hundred and twenty men,² and they parted with much affection, and Egill went to King Athelstan.

Eric Bloodaxe remained as viceroy in York little more than a year after his appointment. But, on the other hand, Snorri Sturlason, in the *Heimskringla*, says that Eric left shortly after the death of Athelstan, which occurred in 941. During the time he was viceroy in York, as Snorri tells us, " as he had little land, he went on a cruise every summer, and plundered in Shetland, the Hebrides, Ireland, and Wales, by which he gathered wealth." On the death of Athelstan, according to the same authority, when Edmund came to the throne, Eric finding that

¹ There is less need for giving the whole of this poem, as it is given, with translation, in the *Corpus Poeticum*

Boreale of Vigussen and Powell, Oxford, 1883.

² The Icelandic 100 always means the full 120.

he was in no favour with Edmund, and suspecting that the English king intended to dispossess him, "set off on a viking cruise to the westward; and from the Orkneys took with him the Earls Arnkell and Erlend, sons of Earl Torf Einarr. Then he sailed to the Hebrides, where there were many vikings and kings, collecting men, and these joined their forces to his. With all this host he steered to Ireland first, whence he drew all the men he could, and sailed thereafter south to England, and maurauded there as elsewhere. The people fled before him wherever he appeared."

Edmund died in 946, and was succeeded by his brother Edred, who almost at once proceeded to Northumbria, where he received the homage of Archbishop Wulfotan, of York, and the principal men of the country, in 947. But soon after this, the Chronicle informs us that the Northumbrians recalled Eric and elected him king. He answered the call, and went to York, along with Gunnhild and his sons.

Edred immediately marched into Northumbria and burnt the monastery of Ripon, 948, "and as the king went homewards, then the army of York overtook him; the rear of the king's forces was at Chesterford, and there they made great slaughter. Then was the king so wrath that he would have marched his forces in again, and wholly destroyed the land. When the Northumbrian Witan understood that, they forsook Eric, and made composition for the deed with King Edred."

The Chronicle goes on to say: "949. This year Aulaf (Olaf) Cuaran came to Northumberland," and in 952, "This year the Northumbrians expelled King Aulaf, and received Eric, Harald's son (Bloodaxe)." "954. This year the Northumbrians expelled Eric, and Edred obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians." There is a mistake in the date. Matthew of Westminster would seem to have had some independent source of information, for he enters into particulars not found in the Chronicle, and places not the expulsion only, but the death of Eric in 950. "King Eilric, with his son Henry and his brother Reginald, were treacherously slain in a desolate place called Stanmore, through the treachery of Count Osulf, and by the hand of the Commander, Mace; after that, Edred reigned over these provinces." In Henry the son and Reginald the brother we recognise Harek and Rögnvald, stated in the *Heimskringla* to have fallen with Eric. Those who fell, according to Snorri, were Guthorm and his two sons Ivar and Harek,

Sigurd and Rögnvald, and the two sons of the Earl of Orkney. "A dreadful battle, in which many Englishmen fell; but for one who fell came three in his place out of the country behind, and when evening came on the loss of men turned to the side of the Northmen. . . . When Gunnhild and her sons knew for certain that King Eric had fallen, after having plundered the land of the king of England, they thought there was no peace to be expected from them; and they made themselves ready to depart from Northumbria, with all the ships King Eric had left, and all the men who would follow them. They took also all the loose property and goods which they had gathered, partly as taxes in England, partly as booty on their expeditions. With their host they first steered northward to Orkney."

The Rey cross at Stanmoor, between Richmond, Westmorland, and Cumberland, marks the site of the battle. Unhappily, it is now but a fragment, but we have a seventeenth century description of it before it was mutilated.

The name of Osulf is known to us as High Sheriff of Bamborough, in a diploma of 949. The Saga of Hakon the Good affirms that after the death of their father, the sons of Eric directed their attacks upon Norway, and these attacks, we know, occurred in 950, 952, and 954, making it probable that Matthew of Westminster's date, 950, for the death of Eric is correct.

The Egill's Saga also informs us that the death of Eric was at but a little interval from that of Athelstan.¹

Gunnhild had a lay composed in honour of Eric, and it is interesting, though preserved in only a fragmentary condition. It shows us how little impression Christianity had made on some who rather prided themselves on having renounced paganism. It consisted of a dialogue between Odin and Bragi, the god of poetry, and Sigmund, the father of Sigurd the dragon slayer.

Odin : What have I dreamed ?
 The day awoke I
 Valhall to put in order,
 Ripe for receiving
 Warriors famous.
 Wake I the champions,
 Bid them uprise,
 Benches to cover,
 Tables to scour.
 Wine of the Valkyries
 Bear to a monarch.

¹ c. 70, p. 167.

Hither from wide world
 Warriors are coming,
 Gladdening my heart.
 What thunder rumbles,
 Shaking earth's basis,
 As millstones grind ?

Bragi : Bench-breaking burdens,
 Baldur is coming
 To Odin's hall.

Odin : Now thou speakst falsely,
 Bragi, right noble,
 Grown old and witless ;
 Eric the Thunderer
 He comes a guesting
 Here in this hall.

Sigmund, Sinfjötli,¹
 Rise up, right speedy,
 Meet ye the wrathful,
 Bid him right welcome,
 If it be Eric
 Who now is coming.

Sigmund : Why heave you Bloodaxe
 Higher than all else ?

Odin : Why ? mighty kingdoms
 Harried and havocked
 Hath he with blood-brand.

Sigmund : Why forbid victory
 To him, the shrewdest ?

Odin : Well, not to know all,
 Grey wolf² devours
 All of the world sheep.

Sigmund : Hail to thee, Eric !
 Welcome to Valhall !
 Go to the high seat ;
 Yet will I ply thee
 With many queries,
 Whether there follow
 Many more warriors
 From field of battle.

¹ Sinfjötli, son of Sigmund, is one of those mentioned in the *Völsunga Saga*.

² Fenrir the wolf, who at Ragnarök, the End of All Things, will devour gods and men.

Eric : I am a high king,
 Known is my title,
 Height am I, Eric,
 I am the sixth.

* * * * * *

The Maccus who killed Eric with his own hand, according to Matthew of Westminster, was Magnus Olaf's son. He was, perhaps, summoned by Oswulf of Bamborough to join in the fight against Eric and the rest of the marauding horde.

It is remarkable that the Chronicle makes no mention of Eric being placed by Athelstan in authority in York in 935 or 936.

But all this portion of the Chronicle has meagre entries, for 934 is no other entry than the accession of Elphin to the bishopric of Worcester, and there are no entries at all for 935 and 936.

If we may combine the notices in the Sagas and those in the English Chronicle, we would judge that Eric Bloodaxe was three times in York, first as viceroy, and then later as king, elected by the people on two occasions.

FANGFOSS CHURCH.

BY REV. W. D. WOOD-REES, VICAR.¹

FANGFOSS, a little village unknown to the many, known only to the few, is in the Wilton Beacon division of the Wapentake of Harthill, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Pocklington, and derives its name from the old Norse word, "Vang," which denotes a cultivated piece of land in contradistinction to land not drained nor enclosed; "Foss," from "fossa," a trench, dyke, or ditch. Although there are many things worthy of our attention in the parish, our chief object is to describe the church, which is dedicated to St. Martin of Tours.

The church, as we now see it, consists of a nave and chancel only, with a south porch, of shallow projection, to the former. But the fabric was originally furnished with an apsidal east end, similar in general form to that of Feliskirk, near Thirsk; and there was until recently a western tower. It was entirely of twelfth-century character, though mutilated and uncared for until its rebuilding was taken in hand by the late Rev Robert Taylor in 1848. At this time the apse had entirely disappeared, the upper stages of the Norman tower repaired with brick-work, and common sash frames inserted in the place of the original windows. Such was the condition of the building in 1831, as described in Allen's *History of York*. There remained, however, at this period two narrow semicircular headed windows in the south wall of the chancel, which was divided by buttresses into four bays or compartments. A string course, which is possibly original, under the chancel windows consists of a row of lozenges between two narrow bands of zigzag. The corbel table carrying the cornice is described as having been of considerable merit, many of the corbels being carved with grotesque masks, etc. "One of a warrior," says Mr. Allen, "on horseback, has a spear in his hand, and on his head the conical nasal helmet, which was in use in the time of William I, and is often represented in the Bayeux tapestries."

The restoration was entrusted to Mr. Chantrel, a well-known London architect of that time, who, in his initial report, observes: "Fangfoss is perhaps one of the most interesting

¹ I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. H. B. McCall, F.S.A., for his kind help and advice.

buildings to the antiquary that can be found in the county, and it has so much beautifully carved material in a perfect state that I should be glad to undertake its restoration. Fangfoss has once been a gem of Norman architecture." Alas! Mr. Chantrel was not allowed to do as he wished, and what amounts practically to rebuilding took the place of judicious repairs.

The lost apse must have been a very charming feature. It was not an unusual eastern termination for a twelfth-century church, but few examples have been suffered to remain. The demolition was in some cases due to an extension of the chancel eastward, but more frequently to a desire for a large altar window, which could only be set in a square east end. The Norman churches, with their narrow and round-headed windows, must have been very dark; this did not much matter before the invention of printing. They had no books, and could not have read them if they had. (In the present church we have to light our lamps for the afternoon service in the dull days of November and December.) The fifteenth century was especially distinguished by the insertion of large windows in the place of the small early ones. In his report of the old church, which the Rev. Robert Taylor made immediately before the reconstruction, he says: "On the taking down of the church, it now appears there was originally an apse; being a semicircular recess at the end of the chancel, containing three windows. The recess was entered by an open arch, the full width of the apse, and had pilasters and vaulting ribs, which met in a boss. This must have had, viewed from the nave, a beautiful effect, the recess or apse, which contained the altar table, being seen through two highly ornamental arches. The quantity of carved stone, good and mutilated, is quite astonishing. Mr. Chantrel (the architect) is going to apply to the architectural or antiquarian society. I intend to put an account in the *Builder*. The church had also a Norman tower of good dimensions. This had disappeared; but in digging for foundations towards the west, we came upon the foundations of the tower. The ashlar work of the tower, as far as the plinth, being in beautiful preservation. We have all been amazed at our discoveries. Chantrel discovered a 'vesica piscis' (a fish's bladder), which he states to be the ancient symbol of Christianity. We also found the master mason's private mark, which is the same as those discovered at the east end. Chantrel, in his rapture, declared these last to be of great value."

The south porch, the most interesting piece of detail remaining in the whole church, projects from the wall, and has a flagged lean-to roof. It contains a highly enriched doorway, which is, however, not the original one, but has been built up from twelfth-century stones discovered amongst the debris of the ruined apse. Allen's description in 1831 is as follows:—"On the south side is a porch, and within it a circular arched entrance, formerly very rich in sculptured ornaments, but now only retaining a solitary bird's head, which serves as a key-stone." Flanking the entrance on either side are now three nook-shafts, which rise from moulded bases standing on a chamfered plinth, which is returned on the sides of the porch. They carry carved and cushion capitals with neckings, and the abacus above (which is enriched with rosettes, etc.) is carried along the wall of the porch on either side, as a string-course. The arch is of three orders, the middle one consists of a series of beak-heads grasping a roll, while the inner and outer orders are also highly enriched with devices into which the chevron pattern enters largely, but which is not easy to describe. There is a hood-mould zigzagged on its inner edge.

The artistic feeling of the work is that of the middle of the twelfth century.

On the inside of the church, just above the west door, is a recess in the form of a vesica, which now contains a very rudely-carved stone,¹ respecting which an eminent authority writes: "There is of course no doubt, I think, of its pre-Norman date, but as to the right interpretation, that is a very conjectural matter. The attitude of the hands is that of adoration or prayer; but this might betoken either the Magi or the three Hebrew children in the fire."

Some of the old inhabitants used to tell me that they strongly resented the destruction of the old church, and advocated restoration, but the Rev. Robert Taylor was an enthusiastic rebuilder; a friend of mine once described the rebuilding of the churches of Barmby Moor cum Fangfoss, as "an unwarrantable and outrageous piece of vandalism." A large number of carved stones, including many with beaks and grotesque masks (which certainly ought to have been used in the rebuilding), are to be seen in the grounds of Fangfoss Hall, also what is probably a holy water stoup; these are carefully and jealously preserved from desecration by Thomas Eadon, Esq., the owner of the Hall.

¹ Alluded to in *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, xxi, 254.

THE MANOR-HOUSE OF THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM AT HOWDEN.

By JOHN BILSON, F.S.A.

THE manor-house of the bishops of Durham was situated to the south-east of the church. Its site is now occupied by the modern vicarage, and by the house to the east of it.¹ The principal buildings were arranged around the four sides of a court, which was approached from the town by a gate on the north side. Some considerable remains of the buildings have survived, and in fact there is more than has generally been recognized.

The manor-house has been the subject of two papers, one by the late Rev. Chancellor Raine,² and the other by the late Rev. W. Hutchinson,³ who was vicar of Howden from 1862 to 1902, and for many years a member of the Council of our Society. These papers relate what is known of the history of the house, and are in most respects so complete that there would have been no reason for my attempting to supplement what has been written by such justly esteemed authorities but for one consideration, which I discussed when the Royal Archæological Institute visited Howden in 1903, viz. that both writers were mistaken in their explanation of the existing remains in relation to the general plan of the house. As their conclusions have been adopted by others, it is desirable that the reasons for questioning their accuracy should be stated, and that an attempt should be made to explain what has survived in the light of what is known of the plan of the house before the greater part of it was destroyed.

In his paper, Canon Raine printed two surveys of the house, one of 1561⁴ which gives a very full description of the buildings,

¹ This house, which is the property of Sir John Sherburn, is occupied by Mr. P. Kettlewell, who has kindly given me every facility for its examination. I have also to thank the vicar, the Rev. G. T. W. Purchas, for similar facilities and much kind help. For permission to reproduce the photographs here illustrated, I have to thank Mr. H. E. Illingworth (for fig. 2), Mr. J. V. Saunders (for figs. 3 and 4), and Messrs. Parrish and Berry, of Hull (for fig. 5).

² *On the Episcopal Palace at Howden*, by the Rev. Canon Raine, in the *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, viii (1866), 295-302.

³ *The Ancient Manor-house of the Bishops of Durham at Howden, Yorkshire*, by the Rev. W. Hutchinson, in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, ix (1886), 384-393.

⁴ Ecclesiastical Commission, File No. 70,019, Durham Bishoprick Estates, Howden Palace.

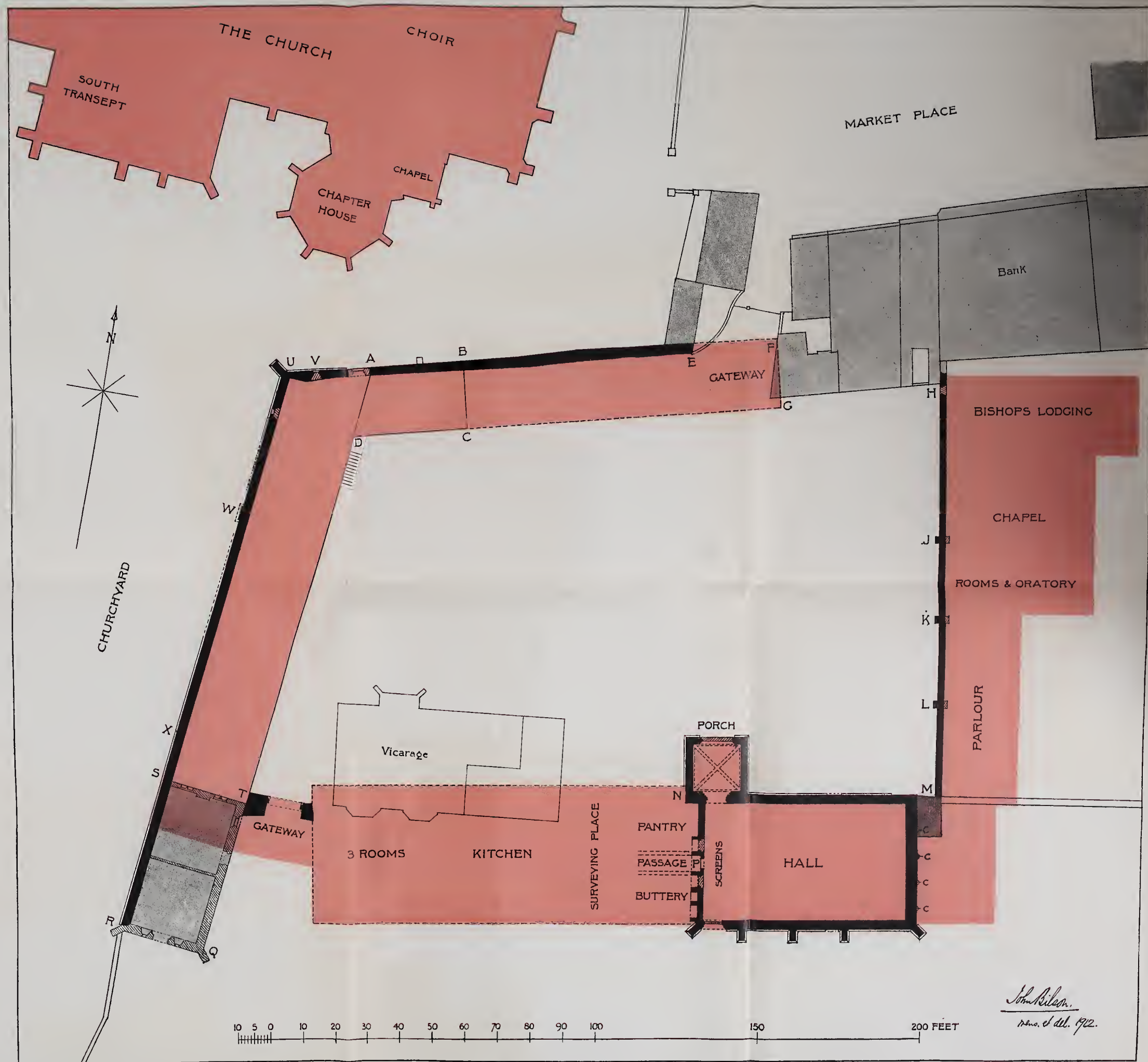


FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE REMAINS OF THE BISHOP'S MANOR-HOUSE, HOWDEN.

and the other, a dilapidation survey of 1577 which furnishes some additional particulars. The earlier survey is invaluable for its explanation of the arrangement of the buildings. Canon Raine's paper is illustrated by a plan compiled from these surveys by Mr. Charles T. Newstead, architect, of York, which gives a good idea of the disposition of the buildings, though it takes no account of the precise configuration of the site, and it has apparently been drawn without any reference to the evidence which still exists on the spot. It shows the court as rectangular, which it was not, and this involves some inaccuracies, as will be seen by comparing it with the plan here reproduced.

The most obvious of the existing remains (and indeed all that our two writers believed to be mediæval, except the fruit-house) are bishop Skirlaw's building (now used as a dairy) attached to the western part of the north side of Mr. Kettlewell's house, and cardinal Langley's gateway immediately west of the vicarage house. Of these existing remains, Canon Raine wrote thus :

"The greater part of the gateway towards the north may still be seen. It is made of brick, and bears the arms of Cardinal Langley. One bay, also, of the vaulting under the bishop's lodging is in existence, now used as a dairy, and bearing the arms of the munificent Bishop Skirlaw, who erected it. The fruit-house is the only other portion of the palace that has been preserved. It stands on a little bridge crossing the moat, but it has been much tampered with. On the west side of the gate-house there is a building with a somewhat ancient air ; but it cannot be ascribed to a period earlier than the reign of Charles II. Of course some old materials have been used up in it ; and they may also be traced in the modern parsonage house which is at a short distance from it."¹

The Rev. W. Hutchinson followed Canon Raine, with some amplifications, in making the existing gateway to be the north gateway, but, recognizing that the present dairy was obviously a porch, he made it to be the porch at the west end of the bishop's lodging, which was the northernmost building on the east side of the court. If these attributions were correct, the northern side of the court must have been on the line of the present vicarage house and of the house to the east of it, and the western side must have extended into the present churchyard

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

considerably to the west of the old wall which bounds the vicarage garden on the west. Testing this view by the relative positions of the buildings as described in the survey of 1561, the actual distance between the west side of the porch and the east side of the gateway opening is about 117 feet, whereas the distance from the north gateway to the porch at the west end of the bishop's lodging (which Mr. Hutchinson suggested) cannot, according to the survey, have been as much as half this length. Even if the porch were a bay of the vault beneath the bishop's lodging, as Canon Raine suggested, the same objection would apply in less degree. Moreover the existing porch was obviously entered from the north, and was disengaged on three of its sides, east, north, and west. This would be impossible for any part of a vault under the bishop's lodging, and the porch at the west end of the bishop's lodging must certainly have been engaged on the east, and almost certainly entered from the west. Nor could this porch have been further to the north than the gateway, as it actually is. It is evident therefore that these attributions must be rejected.

The true explanation is that the present dairy is the porch of the great hall built by bishop Skirlaw, and the existing house to which it is attached represents the structure of the hall itself. The existing gateway is the western gate recorded as having been built by cardinal Langley, and it led from the south-western corner of the court to the close and orchard. The court lay to the north of these buildings, and the lines of the buildings around its west, north, and east sides are fixed by the existing walls on the west and north sides of the vicarage garden, and by that on the east side of the garden in front of Mr. Kettlewell's house.

I will now proceed to show, with the aid of the accompanying plan¹ (fig. 1), how this explanation fits the existing facts and the description of the buildings in the survey of 1561. This plan is simply intended to illustrate the relation of the existing remains to the general plan of the house, and makes no attempt to show in detail any of the buildings which have been destroyed. For a conjectural plan of these, I must refer the reader to Mr. Newstead's plan. On my plan, existing walls

¹ The plan (fig. 1) has been drawn from my own measurements. The destroyed western building has been added from the ordnance survey map of Howden of 1847 (sheet 2), scale 5 feet to one mile.

The building which this map shows as then standing on the site of the present vicarage house had nothing to do with the mediæval plan.

which are either of mediæval construction or represent mediæval walls¹ are shown black; mediæval buildings, either existing or known to have existed, are distinguished by a red tint, and modern buildings by dotted shading.² It will be convenient to deal with each side of the court in the order of the descriptions in the survey of 1561, and to quote so much of these descriptions as is necessary to an understanding of the plan.

NORTH SIDE.

"The gate entring into the manor house is towerds the towne on the northe side of ye courting; & the howseng buyldid on the said syde of the quadrant dothe conteyne, accomptinge the gatehouse, and all from the entring in, to ye westwarde, cxxv (fote) in lenketh, and in wydenes xviiij fote, all this storrye througheoute. There are severall rowmes benethe, fyve on this northe syde; and, over the same, alofte, vj rowmes, wherin iiij chymneys. The utter side of this quadrant to the townewarde is bulded uppon a broke-wall to the upper roufe; and the ynner side w^t tymber & bryke walls betweene The utter syde of all this storrye is imbattled w^t freestone Frome the entringe in of the said gate towards th'est is no buylding of the B. house, but is inclosed w^t a bryck wall, w^{ch} cont. from the gate to th'estwards in lenkth xlviiij foote."³

All this northern range has disappeared, except its northern wall which extends as far eastward as E (see plan, fig. 1). The ordnance map of 1847 shows that the building on the west side of the court extended through to the north wall, and the northern range described in the survey would therefore begin on the west at A. This map also shows that the western part of the northern range, A B C D, was then standing, and this was apparently destroyed when the western range was demolished.⁴ The dotted lines E F G C on my plan show the remainder of the northern range, set out so as to give the whole range the mean internal length of 125 feet which the survey gives as its length including the gateway,⁵ and this leaves a

¹ The walls in many places have been much altered or rebuilt, and in some places they are so much covered with creepers that it is almost impossible to see their construction. Nevertheless there are indications to show that all the walls shown black on the plan represent mediæval walls.

² Except the vicarage house, which is indicated in outline, without shading. On the plan, Mr. Kettlewell's outbuild-

ings and the modern wall between his garden and the vicarage garden are omitted.

³ Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁴ See *infra*.

⁵ Mr. Newstead's plan figures the length of the northern range as 125 feet excluding the gateway, but the survey clearly states that this length included the gateway.

length of 48 feet at G H for the brick wall which closed the court at the eastern end of its north side. This wall no longer exists, but its line is indicated by the southern boundary G H of the two shops and houses which front the Market Place. "The gate entring into the manor house" finds itself therefore quite naturally at E F G opposite the opening at the west end of the south side of the Market Place, immediately within the gate through which the vicarage and Mr. Kettlewell's house are now approached.

EAST SIDE.

The principal buildings on the east side of the court, as described in the survey of 1561, were, to the north, the bishop's lodging, consisting apparently of four small rooms beneath a great chamber 54 feet by 18 feet; a chapel, 42 feet by 16 feet, placed east and west over a vault, and approached by a long stone stair "aslant the wall from the north est corner of that quarter of the howse," with a porch at its north end; an oratory 21 feet by 16 feet; and, to the south, a long building placed north and south containing the parlour, 48 feet by 20 feet, with a great chamber over,¹ and with other rooms to the north making out an additional length of 30 feet between the parlour and the chapel; as well as some smaller rooms which are duly described. Below some of these were "vawtts for sellerage of beer and wyne."²

The description in the survey of 1561 indicates that these buildings were then in bad condition. Their ruins still existed at the end of the 18th century, with "the remains of the ribs and groinings of an extensive vault."³ Everything has now disappeared except the western wall which formed the east side of the court. This wall, H J K L M, now forms the eastern boundary of the garden on the north side of Mr. Kettlewell's house, and the site of the buildings themselves is now the garden behind the manager's house of the London Joint Stock Bank. The length of the wall towards the court, from H to M, is almost exactly the 126 feet which the survey of 1561 gives as the width of the court from north to south.⁴

¹ Called the "dynyng chamber" in the survey of 1577 (Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 301).

² Raine, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-9.

³ *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, by W. Hutchinson (1794), iii, 469. The whole description reads thus: "What remains of the manor-house, is a centre or front, and wing to the west; to the east are the

ruins of several large buildings, with the remains of the ribs and groinings of an extensive vault: over an arch on the west wing, is the arms of Skirlaw; and over a gate, leading out of the yard to the granaries, the arms of Cardinal Langley. The barns or granaries, form a very long range of buildings to the west."

⁴ Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

According to this survey, "the buylding on th'est syde of the quadrant enclosyng the courting is all buylded of stone worke to the laying on the roufes." The existing wall is largely of stone, though considerable parts of it have been rebuilt, and nearly the whole of its eastern face has been refaced with brick. Close to its north end, H, the chamfered semicircular arch of a narrow opening appears immediately above the ground. At J, K and L are buttresses, 2 feet 1 inch in width, and 1 foot 2 inches in projection. If the south end of the parlour was something like in line with the north side of the hall, as seems probable, these buttresses, if they represent an original spacing, may indicate the length of 78 feet which was occupied by the parlour and the rooms immediately to the north of it.

SOUTH SIDE.

Two passages in William de Chambre fix the dates of the buildings which remain on this side of the court. Of bishop Skirlaw (1388-1406), he writes: "Totam etiam aulam manerii de Houldon aedificavit, et magnos praeterea sumptus in aedificiis de eodem manerio expendit."¹ Of cardinal Langley (bishop of Durham 1406-1437), he says: "Iste autem, dum vixerat, apud manerium de Houldon construxit totas portas occidentales opere coementario, per quas transivit ad hortum vel pomarium; et cubicula quaedam perpulchra eisdem portis adjuncta aedificavit, super quibus arma illius collocantur."²

Dealing first with the hall and its porch, the survey of 1561, in describing the buildings on "the south syde of the B. mannor house from the parler to the west," says: "The hall poynting east and west w^t a highe stepe roufe and ij lovers all covered w^t leade; the one a curyouse lover³ sore decayed is lyke to fall, and do hurte to the roufe; and the other, a playne steep lover. The walls of the hall is all buylded of stone worke, and in yt vij fayer clearstory wyndowes of freestone worke curiously made; yt cont. in lenketh, from end to hend, lxij fote, and in wyddenes xxiiij fote: at the lower end⁴ therof iij fayer skrenes The glasse of all the wyndowes decayed,

¹ *Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres* (Surtees Soc. ix), p. 144.

² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

³ The survey of 1577 presents "that James, late bishopp of Durham" (James Pilkington, 1561-1576) "did cause to be taken downe frome the topp of the hall one very great and curious lover,

covered with lead and barred with iron barrs" (Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 300). As this survey does not mention any other dilapidations in the hall or porch, the inference is that they were then in fair repair.

⁴ *i.e.* the west end.

but well doble-crosse-barred with iron. To the nether part of every wyndowe in the sayd hall ther is a shutting wyndowe of waynscott very good and fayer. At the entrying into the hall on the northe syde is a porch w^t a chamber over y^t covered w^t a flat roufe of leade of xiiij fote square.”¹

Although the existing house to the east of the vicarage has been greatly altered² and re-roofed, its main structure is that of Skirlaw’s great hall. It measures internally about 62 feet by 36 feet. Its length thus agrees with that stated in the survey, but the width of 24 feet given in the survey is clearly an error. The building is faced with stone on its two disengaged sides, north and south, except a short length at the extreme east end of the north front, which has been rebuilt in brick. The moulded plinth of the porch is continued along the north front,³ proving that the two, porch and hall, were of the same build. The south front is divided by buttresses into four bays, with an angle buttress at each end. The westernmost bay on the north side is covered by the porch, and there are thus seven bay-spaces, four on the south and three on the north, for the seven fair clearstory windows described in the survey, of which however no traces are visible.⁴ In the westernmost bay on the south side, there is a doorway, now blocked, which opened into the screens; it has a pointed arch, and is moulded externally like the inner doorway of the porch on the opposite side.

The east end of the hall has been covered by a building, apparently to the full extent of its width on the ground floor, with a floor above except to its northern part. The wall of the ground floor is of stone rubble, and, as it is thicker than the wall above, it is possible that this end of the hall incorporated an older wall. In this wall, there are four moulded stone corbels, marked c on the plan. On the upper floor, towards the north end of the east wall of the hall, are traces of a blocked stone window, square-headed and of two lights. The upper part of the wall southward is of brick, and contains a small brick fireplace of later date. The survey of 1561 says that “ther is joyned to the southe est ende of the parler one house of stone worket cont. xviiij fote one waye & xiiij fote

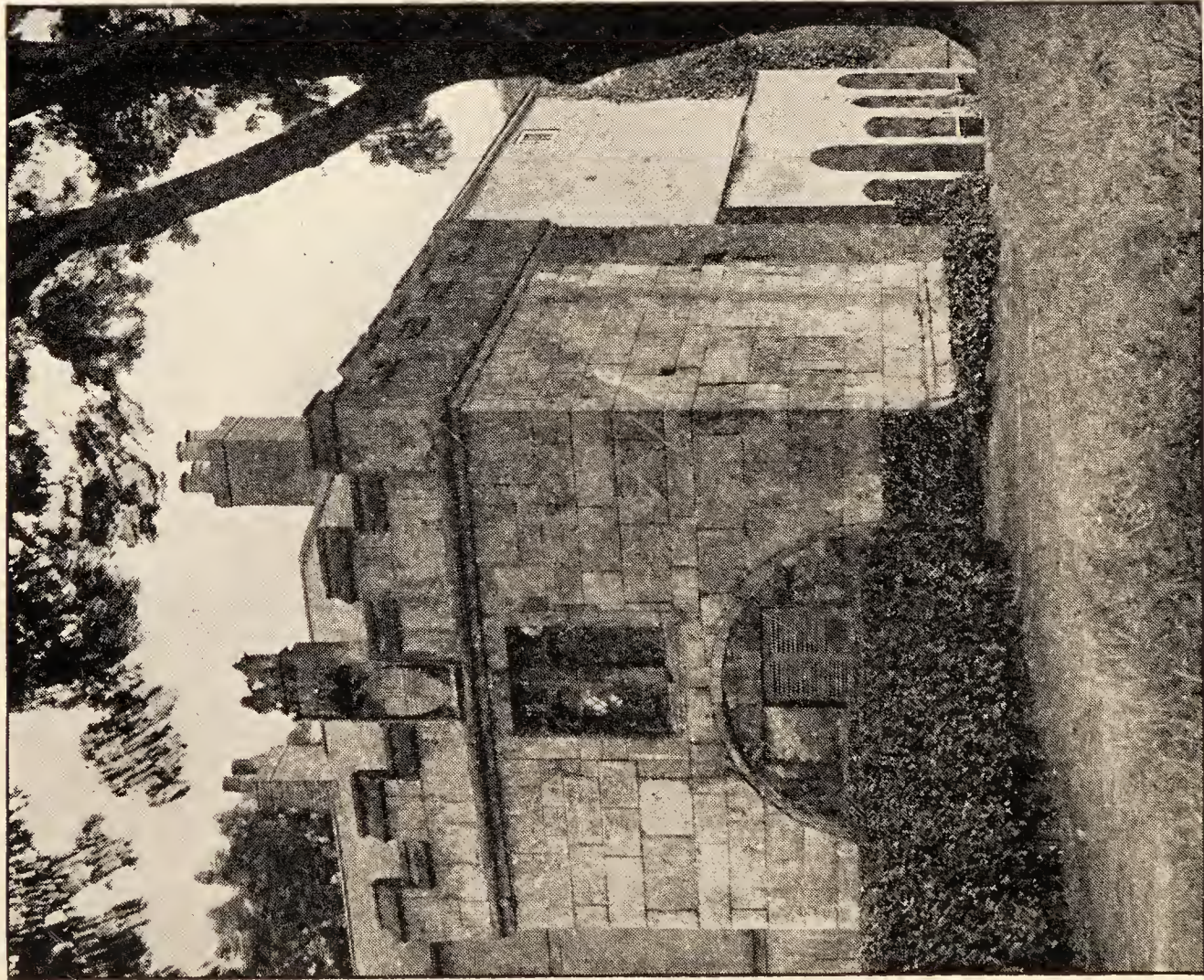
¹ Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

² On my plan, I have omitted the modern openings and all the modern internal divisions of the house.

³ In the internal angle between the porch and the north front of the hall,

the cornice below the parapet of the porch is worked with a return.

⁴ The walls are, of course, plastered internally, and externally much of the south wall is covered with ivy.



H. E. Illingworth, phot.

FIG. 2. PORCH TO THE HALL, FROM N.W.



J. V. Saunders, phot.

FIG. 3. KEY OF VAULT OF PORCH.

the other waye, w^t a chamber over y^t of like lenketh and bredthe,"¹ and the survey of 1577 calls this a "house buylded of frestone att the southeest corner of the dynyng chamber,² xviiij fote wide, thirtene fote longe, and xxj fote high," with a chamber over it.³ It would seem, however, that this building cannot have come up to the east end of the hall, as Mr. Newstead's plan shows it. At the west end of the hall, there are traces in the upper part of the wall of a wide window, now blocked, which would open above the roof of the chambers over the buttery and pantry.

The porch (fig 2), now used as a dairy, is attached to the westernmost part of the north side of the hall, and was thus opposite the entrance gateway on the north side of the court. It is faced with stone on its three disengaged sides, though there are indications that the structure of both porch and hall is of brick, simply faced with stone. The porch measures internally 14 feet 9 inches from east to west by 14 feet 3 inches from north to south. The outer doorway on the north, now blocked, is semicircular arched. Above it is a window of two lights, with tracery under a square head, which lighted the chamber over the porch. Above a horizontal cornice is an embattled parapet, which is continued on the east and west sides. In the middle of the parapet on the north front is a canopied niche with an angel holding a shield which bears bishop Skirlaw's arms,⁴ and on the top of the canopy are two beasts. The inner doorway, from the porch to the hall, is pointed and well moulded on the side next the porch, the mouldings of the arch being continued down the jambs. The ground story is covered with a quadripartite vault, with chamfered diagonal and wall ribs. On the key of the vault are two little angels holding a shield which bears Skirlaw's arms⁴ (fig. 3). In the south-west angle of the chamber over the porch are two narrow doorways, one on each side of the angle; part of one of them, blocked, can be seen on the south face externally. In the wall between this upper chamber and the hall is a blocked window, with four-centred arch, which would open into the hall above the screens. On the outside, at the south end of the west wall of the porch, at N, are the traces of the north wall of the range which extended westward from the hall.

¹ Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

² The dining chamber was the great chamber over the parlour.

³ Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁴ Cf. William de Chambre's remark

on Skirlaw's buildings—"De quibus omnibus aedificiis arma sua, viz., 6 virgas vicissim flexatas in forma cribri imposuit" (*Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres*, p. 145).

Continuing westward from the hall, the survey of 1561 says: "Ther is at the west end of the hall a buttrye and a pantrye w^t a chambre over them, both under one flatt roufe covered w^t leade; . . . the walls of all which, to the west, of bryke worke ymbattled w^t freestone: y^e wydnes of the buttry and pantry is xiiij fote di. a pece, and betweene them a waye leding into the kyche of v fote wyde."¹ The remains of this arrangement can be clearly recognized on the outside of the west wall of the present house (fig. 4). The opening in front of the present side doorway of the house (at P on the plan, fig. 1), with its modern semicircular arch, represents the 5 foot passage from the screens towards the kitchen. On either side are the original doorways from the buttery and pantry² to the screens, each with a low four-centred arch, with rebates and crooks on the west face, and with sufficient visible in one case to show that the doorways were moulded on their east face, next the screens. To the south are two other recesses, of which the northern has a pointed segmental arch moulded with a roll, and the southern a modern semicircular arch.

Between the buttery and pantry and the kitchen was "a fayer surveying place and ij little houses, at either end one: and, over them, ij chambers. . . . Ther is at the west syde of theas rowmes a fayer large kyche w^t ij large ranges in yt. . . . And to the westwarde beneath, on the ground, there are iij severall rowmes besydes a gatewaye to the orchard and barne at the southe west corner." Above these rooms were three large chambers. The walls of "all this rowe" were of brickwork, "very fayer, and imbattelled at the toppe with freestone."¹

The gateway still exists, but all the buildings between it and the hall have disappeared, and their site is occupied by the modern vicarage house.³ In the gateway and the rooms which stood to the east of it, it is easy to recognize William de Chambre's description of Langley's work. The survey of 1561 says: "All thes rowmes betweene the west⁴ syde of the gate to the buttry and pantry do conteyne vj^{xx} fote⁵ in lenketh, and xxxix fote wyde throughe oute." In the survey of 1577, the

¹ Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

² There is nothing to indicate whether the buttery or pantry was to the north of the passage.

³ The vicarage was built in 1862-4.

⁴ So in the MS. Unless the surveyor wrote "west" instead of "east" in

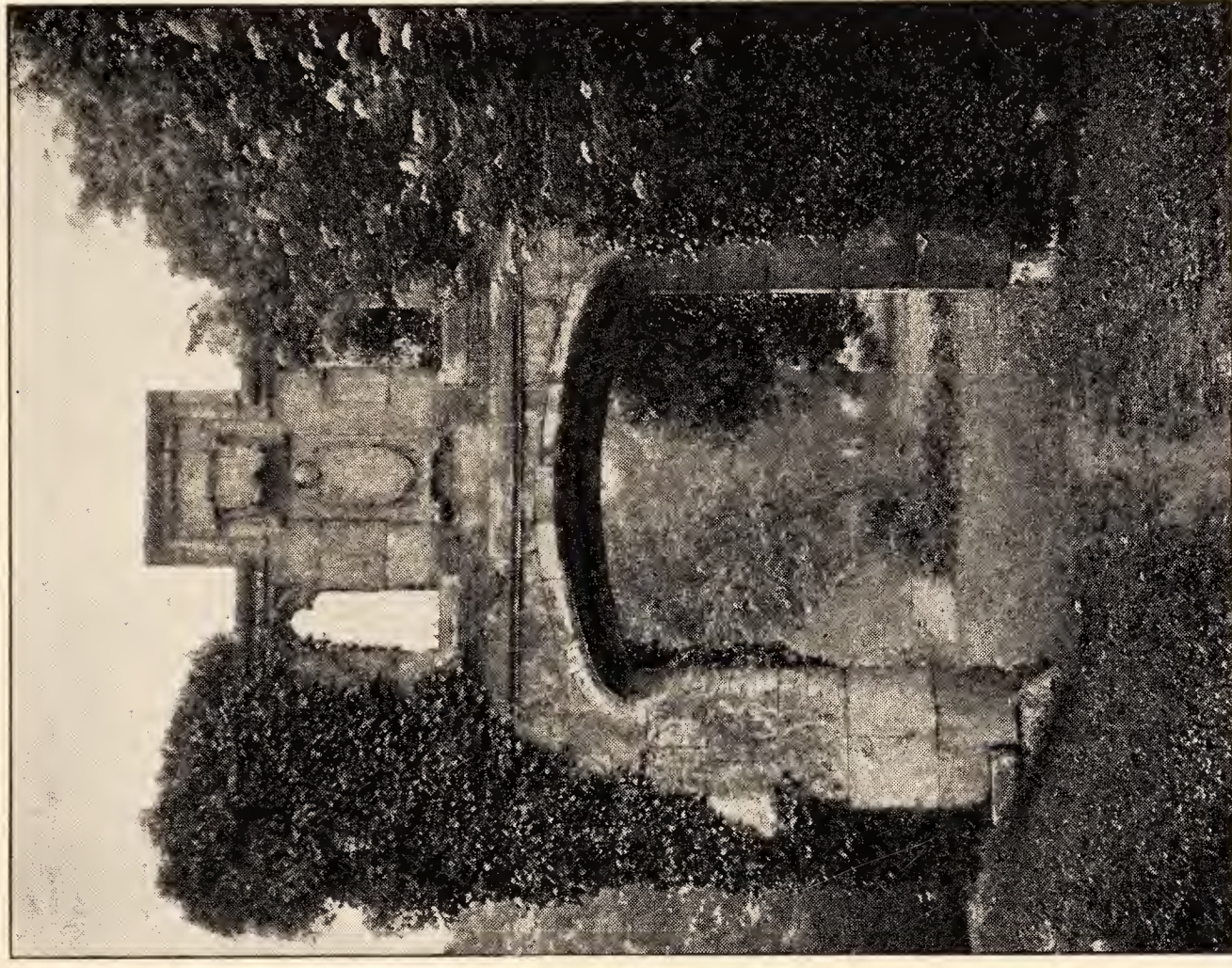
error, a comparison with the survey of 1577 would suggest that the length of 120 feet did not include the buttery and pantry.

⁵ In the survey as printed this appears as "vj^{xx} fote" (p. 299), but I have ascertained that the MS. reads "vj^{xx} fote."



J. V. Saunders, phot.

FIG. 4. WEST END OF HALL.



Parrish & Berry, phot.

FIG. 5. LANGLEY'S GATEWAY, N. SIDE.

description runs: "frome the said Pantre westwarde towarde Treton a large Kitchyn and diverse other Rowmes and Chambers conteynyng in lenth vij^{xx} fote."¹ The actual length from the west face of the arched recesses on the west side of the west wall of the hall to the east side of the gateway opening is almost exactly 120 feet. The dotted lines on my plan indicate the probable lines of these buildings, though nothing now remains of them above ground between the hall and the gateway.

The gateway (fig. 5), which has a clear opening of 9 feet 8 inches, has splayed jambs towards the north, rebated towards the south, where the crooks for the hinges of the doors still remain. The opening is covered by a low four-centred arch, the mouldings of which die into the splayed jambs. Above a horizontal string-course are two small windows, each of a single light, trifoliated within a square head, which lighted the upper story of the gateway. Between these windows, under a canopy, is an angel holding a shield bearing the arms of cardinal Langley (*paly of six, on the second piece a mullet in chief*²). All the southern side of the gateway has been destroyed. The structure is of brick, but all the architectural features are of stone.

WEST SIDE.

The description in the survey of 1561 of the buildings on the west side, "from the southe west gate northwards" reads as follows:

"Ther is on the west syde of the courting within the B. mannor at Howden, benethe, on the ground, vij severall rowmes; whereof the northe-most rowme hath a chymney and the rest have been made for stables, and the hakks and mangers are gone, but a place or twoe. The same rowmes cont. all in lenketh vij^{xx} fote and xx fote in wydnes. All this syde is buylded from the ground to the roufe of stone-worke, and is imbattld on both sydes; and gutters and spowts of eyther syde the roufe to voyde the water."³

The survey of 1577 speaks of "certen Stables and Garnars, and other Howses; in lenght vij^{xx} fote," on the west side of the court.⁴

The ordnance map of 1847 shows, as then standing, all this western range, S U A D T on the plan (fig. 1), as well as a

¹ Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

² "Busshap Lonlie. *Paly of six, argent and vert, on the second piece a mullet in chief.*" Elizabethan Roll of Northern Heraldry, printed in the Appendix

to Tonge's Visitation (Surtees Soc. xli), p. xxxv.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 301. Cf. the description in Hutchinson's *Durham*, note 3, p. 260 *supra*.

part of the northern range, A B C D,¹ and also the existing building, Q R S T, at the south end of the western range, to the south-west of Langley's gateway; and the map does not indicate any division between the existing building and the rest of the western range. The western range and the western part of the northern range are also shown in an engraving² by E. Francis after a drawing by W. Westall, A.R.A.,³ here reproduced (fig. 6). The map and the engraving both indicate that the western range extended through to the north wall, and both show an external stair in the north-west corner of the court. The engraving also shows the condition at that time of the north wall to the east of what then remained of the northern range.

Of these there now remain the building Q R S T at the south end of the western range, and the lower parts of the west and north walls (R S U A B E), though these latter have been considerably altered by repair or reconstruction. With these exceptions, the western and northern buildings shown on the engraving (fig. 6) were destroyed in 1850, according to a history of Howden which was published in that year.⁴ On the ordnance map of 1847, the whole western range, including the existing building, is marked "Manor Court House," and, after the demolition of the rest of the western range, the existing building was used as the Manor Court House and for the storage of the market stalls.⁵

The existing north wall of the western range is faced on its northern (outer) side with large ashlar, which extends eastward to A, just beyond the present doorway into the vicarage garden. This doorway is of old masonry, but it has been inserted here, probably when the present vicarage was built; it has a low four-centred arch, the mouldings of which die into the splayed jambs.⁶ West of this doorway, at V, is the lower part of a

¹ The lines of these have been added on my plan from the ordnance map.

² From *Great Britain Illustrated*, London, 1830.

³ William Westall, born 1781; A.R.A. 1812; died 1850 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

⁴ *History of the Church, Parish, and Manor of Howden* (Howden, published by W. F. Pratt), 1850. This book speaks of the buildings then being demolished as "the Prebendal Residences" (which of course they never were), forming the eastern boundary of the churchyard, and it records a protest to the bishop of Ripon and his lessee, the Rev. J. D. Jefferson, against their demolition (pp. 16, 54 and 85). From what information I have been able to gather locally, there does not appear

to be any doubt that these so-called "Prebendal Residences" were the buildings shown in the engraving here reproduced as fig. 6.

⁵ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Henry Green, deputy-steward of the manor of Howden.

⁶ There are four doorways of this kind still existing: that mentioned above, the doorway on the east side of the building Q T, the doorway to the porch of the vicarage house, and the doorway on the north side of the fruit-house. All appear to date from Langley's time, but only that of the fruit-house is *in situ*. The window by the side of the vicarage doorway is also an old one reused.



FIG. 6. VIEW SHOWING BUILDINGS ON WEST AND NORTH SIDES OF COURT.

window, with splayed jambs. The angle buttress at the north-west corner U is built of the same large ashlar as the north wall, but the greater part of the west wall is of stone rubble. In the west wall, a little to the south of the angle, is the lower part of another window, with splayed jambs. Further south, at W, is a projection, 4 feet 2 inches in width and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in projection, surmounted by a quarter-round corbel course, which probably carried a chimney. The outer face of the west wall has a chamfered plinth, which is stepped down at X to suit the fall of the ground, and is continued along the existing building up to (but not including) the angle buttress at R. This plinth is apparently continued northward, and around the angle buttress at U along the north side, though much of it is now buried. The masonry of the lower part of the west wall, RS, of the existing building is of the same character as that of the wall SX northward, and the wall from R to X is of one build.

The existing building Q R S T, to the south-west of Langley's gateway, shows in places the same chamfered plinth which occurs on the outside of its west wall. The doorway on its east side is like that in the north wall of the western range described above, and is probably of Langley's time. Both Canon Raine and Mr. Hutchinson,¹ however, considered the building to be comparatively modern, with old materials reused in it. This view is confirmed by the fact that no place for it can be found in either of the sixteenth-century surveys. If the length of 140 feet, which both surveys give as the length of the western range, be taken as its external length, and measured along its eastern face, the south wall of the range would have occupied the site of the north wall of the existing building. If, on the other hand, the 140 feet be taken as an internal length, the south end of the western range would overlap the northern part of the existing building, and may have extended to the south face of Langley's gateway. In neither case, however, could the western range have included the present building. The non-existence of this building when the survey of 1561 was made seems to be indicated by its mention of "a wall of bryck, runyng from the gate of this syde" (Langley's gateway) "to ye barne-wards, of lj fote long, besides a brode gatewaye therin, agenst which hathe been a brewhouse and bakehouse; of which is now left no mensyon."² The building, or at any

¹ *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, ix, 392.

² Raine, *op. cit.*, 299.

rate one of the same plan, existed when the ordnance map of 1847 was made; its west side is raised upon what I take to be a mediæval wall, and its north wall was probably built after the western range was destroyed,¹ when the building was apparently altered to serve the uses mentioned above.

The survey of 1561 gives the dimensions of the court as 126 feet from north to south, and 186 feet from east to west.² As the plan (fig. 1) shows, the court was irregular in shape, but its width from north to south along its eastern side is almost exactly the 126 feet of the survey. Its length from east to west, measured along a line opposite J (fig. 1), is about 186 feet.

To the south of the buildings which formed the south side of the court was a pasture or close within several hedges and ditches; "within the myddest of which ground, enclosed w^t a great ditche," was an orchard, "w^t a fruite house sett on the north side of the same, over a drawebrydge at the entry into the same orcherd."³ The fruit-house still exists, some 80 yards to the south of the south range, although, as Canon Raine said, it has been much tampered with, and the drawbridge has been replaced by a permanent arch. Its north wall, 12 feet 6 inches long, of large ashlar, is complete up to the top of its moulded cornice, and contains a doorway, 5 feet wide, with a low four-centred arch, the mouldings of which die into the splayed jambs. It is of (or near) Langley's time.

"At the orcherd end, betwene the manor and the fruite house," was a large barn, with a high roof,⁴ which the survey of 1577 says had been "uncovered by the commandment of the said late busshopp"⁵ (Pilkington). No trace of this remains.

The survey of 1577 shows that even by that time the buildings had been allowed to get into bad repair, and, with the abandonment of the house as a residence of the bishops,⁶ its ruin was only a question of time. Skirlaw's hall, with its porch, has survived because it has been converted into a dwelling-house; the other walls have survived because they served as boundaries; and Langley's gateway by some good fortune has been preserved.

¹ On account of its uncertain character, the building is shaded as modern on the plan (fig. 1).

² Raine, *op. cit.*, 297.

³ Survey of 1561, *ibid.*, 300.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 301.

⁶ Cf. *Yorks. Archæol. Journal*, ix, 392.

The surveys brought to light by Canon Raine have made it possible to understand the relation of these fragmentary remains. The house was one of some considerable importance and size. As in other great houses of its time, the hall was the chief and central feature of its plan. From its upper end extended the rooms occupied by the bishop and his suite—the parlour, the great chamber, the chapel, the bishop's lodging, and the rest. From the lower end of the hall extended the kitchen department, while the two other sides of the court were enclosed by buildings of less importance, comprising rooms, stables, and inferior offices. Much of the more important building seems to have been the work of the two great bishops, Skirlaw and Langley, who also left their mark on the great church of Howden.

THE MEDIÆVAL HIGHWAYS, STREETS, OPEN DITCHES, AND SANITARY CONDITIONS OF THE CITY OF YORK.

By T. P. COOPER.

DURING the Middle Ages the few public highroads of England, which dated as far back as the Roman occupation, and the streets of cities and towns, were in a primitive state of repair. The almost impassable condition of the roads cannot easily be imagined by the twentieth-century citizen, who is so accustomed to irreproachable and systematically macadamised thoroughfares.

In the rural districts innumerable streams flowed through the roads; and during rainy seasons, floods and immense pools of water impeded the passage of travellers, who not infrequently were drowned. These highways were persistently neglected, brambles and other shrubs encroached upon the tracks, and even forest trees were allowed to grow up and hinder the safe passage of wayfarers. The ruts and quags were deep, baggage wagons and carts were often overturned, and the drivers killed; and many a palfrey stumbled and threw its rider into the muddy cesspools. Great indifference prevailed, and the uneven state of the highways went from bad to worse.

Many roads were unsuitable for vehicular traffic, and were mere bridle-paths or jagger-tracks. By these ways the common carrier, with sumpter horses, conveyed cloth and merchandise; and fish from the seaports was often brought to inland towns packed in panniers.

Wealthy people sometimes used a cumbersome covered car, and ladies were occasionally carried in two-horse litters; but the majority of wayfarers, even women, journeyed on horseback. Guides were also requisitioned by those who could afford to pay for such a luxury; and the safe return of a pilgrim or traveller was an event often commented upon with thankfulness.

Payments to guides are frequently mentioned amongst the privy purse expenses of Elizabeth, the Queen of Henry VII; the following items appear:—

13th Sept., 1502. "Itm. the same day to a guyde that guyded the Quenes grace from Cotes place to Fayreford, viij*d*."

"Itm. the same day to Richard Justice, page of the robys, for money by him payed to a guyde that went from Monmouth, foure myles bakeward towards Flexley Abbey, to guyde a wayne laden with stuf of the warderobe of the robys that was broken to Monmouth forsaid, viij*d*."

"Itm. the same day to John Staunton, for money by him payed to a man that guyded the Quene from Flexley Abbey to Troye besides Monimouth, iij*s*. iiij*d*."

26th Feb., 1503. "Itm. for horse hyre and to guydes by nyght and day, i*s*. iiij*d*."¹

The transmission of royal treasure was a hazardous undertaking, and wagons drawn by six horses, guarded sometimes by scores of crossbowmen, passed from place to place with difficulty. In the 12th of Edward III, £200 was sent from York to Newcastle; the journey was performed on the 6th, 7th, and the 8th of December. The money was carried in panniers on a horse's back, and there were, besides the driver, two men at arms, and four archers to guard it.²

The thoroughfares and byways of towns and cities were loathsome and deep with offensive matter, and were a constant danger to health and life. There were certain places appointed as common dunghills, or "muckhills," where citizens, who cared to, could deposit their refuse; but invariably in front of dwelling-houses were dunghills appurtenant to them, which were cleared away at long intervals, and then only by official orders. Corporations delegated the duty of keeping the streets clean to the citizens at large, but as they failed to perform this necessary duty, the streets remained dirty and unkept.

One of the ordinances of Worcester, dated Sept. 14, 1467, bearing upon this subject, reads: "Also that euery man kepe his soyle clene ayenst his tenement, and his pauyment hole, in peyne of x*d*., half to be payde to the Bayllies, and the other half to the comyn tresor."³

The modern street of Stonegate, York, is on the line of one of the chief roads, or thoroughfares, which traversed the Roman camp of Eburacum. A few feet below the surface of the roadway the old Roman paved and concreted road has been

¹ *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, Nicloas, 1830.

² *Notes respecting Early Travelling and the Transmission of Treasure*, by the

Rev. J. Hunter, F.S.A. *Memoirs of York*, 1846.

³ *English Guilds*, Toulmin Smith, p. 384.

discovered. When exposed, it was noticed that a channel of grooved stone ran down the centre of it, as if for a skid-wheel, such as may be seen on the great Roman road which goes over Blackstone Edge, the boundary of Yorkshire and Lancashire.¹ The paved causeway in Stonegate ran eastward, under the site of the Minster, and only recently a section of it was unearthed near the Treasurer's House.

Although the original Roman causeway of Stonegate was gradually and imperceptibly covered with city refuse to the depth of about six feet, the street still retains its early name, a stone-way, or stone-gate.

Streets, generally, were drained down the centre, and these open channels partially carried off the rain water and household refuse into several open ditches or sewers, by which towns and cities were intersected. The wide gutters in the middle of the streets were regarded by householders as the handiest and proper places for discharging their rubbish.

Beneath the surface of York, especially under the older portion of the city, is a vast accumulation of bones, horns, leather clippings, and workshop waste. When excavations are made for drainage and other purposes, broken domestic utensils, and articles of former every-day use are found. These relics increase in age, until the Roman level is reached, which varies from ten to twenty feet below the present surface of the streets.²

In some of the more important thoroughfares the ruts and gulleys were only filled and levelled when the king, or a duke of royal blood, visited the city; after which the highways soon lapsed into their former uneven and filthy condition. The rude paving and earthen paths were hollowed by the constant dripping of rain water from the oaken gurgoyles overhanging the streets from between the gables of the houses.

The state of York streets were in no way different from those of other cities, and documentary evidence of local conditions will help us to understand the prevailing state of things.

From the following record, we learn that Patrickpool³ was impassable and neglected. In the year 1249, Robert le Moygne,

¹ Raine's *York, Historic Town Series*, p. 5.

² Mr G. Benson, in *York, from its Origin to the End of the Eleventh Century*, gives the depths of surface deposits in many places, p. 79.

³ The street or lane of Patrickpool, in mediæval times, extended across Girdlergate (a thoroughfare now called Church Street), and behind Thursday

Market. The latter portion subsequently was renamed Swinegate, probably from the fact that swine were more frequently allowed to forage there than in other places; pigs and dogs were the only real scavengers the city possessed. In 1635, this street was described as Swinegate *alias* Patrickpool, and in 1200, Little Stonegate was known as Swinegate.

chaplain, wished to enlarge his dwelling-house, and on the 7th October an inquisition¹ was held to decide "whether it would be to the damage of the city of York or not, if the king should grant" him "a certain lane called Patricpol, to enlarge his place, in York; and whether, in case of fire (which God forbid) breaking out, water for extinguishing it could as expeditiously be brought from elsewhere as by that lane." Twelve jurymen decided "that the taking in of that lane, called Patricpol, so far as the place of Robert le Moygne extends near it, is not to the damage of the city of York, because if fire chanced there, water could be as expeditiously brought by another lane, since this is so deep and unused that no one can pass through it."

On July 3rd, 1303, an inquisition was taken, concerning a piece of land in Hungate, before Sir Roger de Heyham and Sir John de Insula, justices assigned for that purpose by the king's writ, and twenty-four men of the city. It is curious to find that the inquiry was held in St. Saviour's Church, near the site of the land in question. The finding of the jury was: "It is not to the damage of the king, or the hurt of the city of York, if the king give leave to Thomas de Stodlay to enclose a piece of land in York, called Dunnyngdikes, containing 300 ft. in length and 20 ft. in breadth, in *vico de Merske* (Hungate), in the same city, adjoining his house, for the enlargement of his said house; but it is to the hurt of William de Claris-vallibus and Simon le Scherman, who have ingress and egress through that piece of land, as they like. The piece of land was formerly highroad, and now is waste, and stopped up with beasts' dung, yet whoever wishes can pass by there, but not without trouble. Worth 3s. 4d. a year."²

The above-mentioned William and Simon were present at the taking of the inquisition, and agreed that the king might let the said piece of land to Thomas de Stodlay; notwithstanding their passage over the piece of land was materially injured. Subsequently, the same William and Simon appeared in person before Archbishop William de Grenefield, the Chancellor, and assented the same thing before him.³

In the sixth year of his reign, King Edward III planned his second expedition against Scotland; and on his way thither he called together his Parliament to sit at York. It was

¹ *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, Yorks. Arch. Society, Record Series, vol. i, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 43.

³ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1301-1307, p. 153.

convoked for Friday, Dec. 2nd, 1332; but several great men, peers and prelates, not having arrived, on account of the foul state of the roads, the opening was adjourned to the following Tuesday.

Prior to the meeting of Parliament, the State officials, having regard to the health of their royal master and of those who should attend the assembly, caused, on Oct. 28th, a mandate to be issued and forwarded to the Mayor and Bailiffs of York, which tersely mentioned the "salubrious" atmosphere of the city.

"The king, detesting the abominable smells abounding in the said city, more than in any other city of the realm, from dung and manure, and other filth and dirt, wherewith the streets and lanes are filled and obstructed, and wishing to provide for the protection of the health of the inhabitants, and of those coming to the present Parliament, orders them to cause all the streets and lanes in the city to be cleansed from such filth before St. Andrew next (Nov. 30), and to be kept clean, so that by their negligence the king and his magnates"¹

Unfortunately, the parchment roll is damaged, and the document is incomplete. It probably ended with reciting some grave penalty, or the king's displeasure, if no heed was taken of the royal behest.

The sites of disused churches were not respected, as even they are not at the present day, but formed convenient places for dumping rubbish. On Feb. 14, 1338, the king, Edward III, granted in mortmain, after an inquisition, "to William, Archbishop of York, a void place called Patrik Pole, in the city of York, containing in length towards Thoresday Market 114 ft., and towards Stayngate 80 ft., and in breadth towards Petergate 88 ft., and towards Swyngail 40 ft., lately assigned for divine services, and whereon a church of St. Benedict was in ancient time built, but now lying waste and covered with refuse, for the building of rentable houses² to find some perpetual chantries for the good estate of the present king in life, for his soul after death, and for the souls of the Archbishop, William de Grenfield, sometime Archbishop of York, and the faithful departed."³

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 6 Edward III.

² These houses were called Bennet's Rents, or Bennet's Place, a name that still lingers in the neighbourhood.

³ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1338-1340, p. 13.

On the 21st September, 1371, the Mayor and Commonalty of York confirmed an ordinance passed during the mayoralty of John Acastre (1363), to the effect: "That if any dung hill is made the offender is fined each time he leaves it there. And seeing that in the time of rain many of the citizens of the said city throw out dung each in his neighbourhood to the great defiling and nuisance of the said city, it is ordained and decreed that if any citizen of the city throws dirt and refuse in his neighbourhood, he pays to the commonalty xld. for his trespass."¹

Another ordinance dealt with nuisances caused by butchers: "Item, the same day it is ordained and established that no butcher of the said city or their servants throw refuse or offal that comes from their beasts between the bridge of Ouse and the little staith near the Friars Minor, but that the butchers of the said city make a pier upon the said small staith below the said Friars, and no place besides upon pain of half a mark to pay to the said commonalty, and that no citizen of the city wash skins without hair of oxen or other animals in the said water, between the said Friars and the pier above-said; nor in any other place on either one side of the Ouse or the other, where the water is drawn for brewing or baking, no refuse of pigs or offal or any other noisome stuff shall be thrown into the said water, upon pain of paying to the said commonalty the sum above-mentioned."²

Before John de Santon, mayor, 9th Feb., 1377, it was agreed and ordained for the honour and profit of the city that the old statutes against placing dunghills in the streets should be enforced: "Item, if any dunghill be found in the high street and [highway] the master of the house by which this dung hill is made shall be fined," and from day to day as long as it remains shall pay 1d. each day.

The ordinance dealing with offending butchers was re-enacted: "Item, if any butcher of the said city, their servants or others whosoever he be, throws or throw offal or refuse or other filthy things that come from beasts upon the bridge of Ouse and beyond into the water there, or in the lanes of the said city, or elsewhere save in the place assigned to them by the mayor of the said city, let him forfeit the vessel from which he throws the offal; and besides, the master whom he serves be fined

¹ *York Memorandum Book*, Surtees, vol. 120, p. lxvi.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxvii.

vjd. to the commonalty each time ensuing that he shall be found in default. And if any servant of the butchers carry offal and entrails of beasts from the slaughter-house to the water of Ouse uncovered and without a cloth above it, he shall be find sixpence and forfeit the vessel as is above-said."

A statute referring to pigs wandering abroad was also ordained by Mayor Santon.

"Item, if any pig is found going within the said city by night or day, his owner shall pay ivd., or the sergeant and other officer who finds and takes it, as well within the high street [as within the lanes of the said city] shall detain the said pig, and if it pleases he shall kill the said pig at his will, and shall keep the four feet until he be paid the beforesaid four pence. And if pigs or other beasts are found going upon the ramparts of the said city, as well within as without, the owners shall pay for each pig or other beast four pence to the sergeant or other officer."¹

To each of the six wards of the city was assigned a sergeant, whose duty was "to get rid of trunks of trees, offal, and refuse, and all other nuisances as before is said."

It is obvious, from recent research, that in mediæval days there were a series of ditches contiguous to and bordering the city walls and ramparts on the inner side, as well as those on the outer side. These ditches were known as the King's Dikes, and formed an additional defence, though, subsequently, they appear to have been appropriated for drainage purposes, and in more recent years they have been filled up and built upon.

It was the custom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whenever a dispute arose between the inhabitants relating to drainage easements, or to the rights of property-owners, with regard to their leaden and other gutters, on or near party walls, that carried the rain water off, to employ as assessors or arbitrators the searchers of the three guilds, representing the Masons, the Wrights, and that of the Tilers.

Many of their verdicts are extremely interesting, and are recorded in the City Registers in the possession of the Corporation. The following award very graphically describes old-time sanitary conditions, and also how sewage matter accumulated, and became a nuisance to the church dignitaries who resided within the Minster Close.

¹ *York Memorandum Book*, Surtees, vol. 120, p. lxix.

“Feb., 1419. For als mykill als Maister Thomas Haxey, Tresorer of the Cathedrale Kirk of Seint Peter of York, and other Chanons of the same kirk, compleyned un to the Meir and un to the gude men of the cite of York that the kynge’s dyke betwix Bouthum-barr and Munkbarr was so stopped, that the water myght noght hafe issue, for the whilk defaute a close of the erchebisshope was drowned yerly, and also, diverse tymes, thaire gardyns in the self manere, and also thaire halles and thaire houses of office of som of tham; and than, be the assent of the Meir and the chanons and the gude men thay went bathe the partys to gyder to se the defautes, and when thay had seen the defautes, it was accorded and assented be bathe the partys that the sercheours of the masons and of the wryghtes of this cite of York suld ga and see what were ryght for ayther party; and, apou thys, the sercheours was warned that thay suld ga serche and see and do ryght to ayther party, and that thay went and serched, and demed, and awarded that the Tresorer and the person of Seint John kyrk of Pyke gar remove thayre pryves that standys upon the kynge’s dyke, and all other also that hafes any pryves standyng thare apou, betwene the barrys beforesayd; and that thay and all other gar clense of thaire costages all the foresayd pryves and rutes, wedys and erthe, that hafes ben casten thar out of thaire gardyns or thayre houses be any of thaire servants, the whilk lettys the water to hafe the ryght issue; and that all dores that opyns apou the dyke be closed, and all the bryggys taken away that na man hafe na entre un to the kynge’s walles bot at bathe the endys; and that nane entir, neyther at the endys na ellys whare, to defoule the walles na the motes,¹ bot thay that has taken tham to ferme, the whilke sall kille the herbage that grewys apou the mote.”²

Further reference to the “Kynge’s dyke” behind the houses in Petergate is contained in an award dated Aug. 20th, 1476:—

“John Burgh, William Stanehouse, William Cole, and Richard Blakelok, seircheours of ye wrightes and tilers within ye citie of Yorke, ye same day above written, come to fore Thomas Wrangwish, Maire & ye chamberleyns, in ye counsell chaumbre uppon Owse brigg, and award & judgement gaffe of a variaunce

¹ Mote, a hill or mound on which fortifications were built. The latinised form of the word is *mota*. Mote meant, originally, a sod or clod of earth used in throwing up embankments. To-day the

citizens speak of the city rampart, as the moat or moats.

² *Reg. Civ. Ebor.* AY, 181a, printed in *English Miscellanies* (Surtees Soc, lxxxv), p 14.

of a ground be twix John Gilyot, Alderman, of ye on partie, and Ambrose Preston, of London, chandeler, of ye other partie. First yai deme a gutter yat ligge in lenth frome ye streit of Petirgate, be fore doun thugh a tenement of ye said John Gilyot, Alderman, to ye Kynge's dyke be hynd of ye on partie, and a tenement of ye said Ambrose Preston of ye other partie, ye which said gutter and ye leid yer of, we ye said seirchours fyndes be our discrecions pertenyth evenly to ye forsaid John Gilyott & the said Ambrose, never ye lesse we consider ye greit cost and expences yat ye forsaid John Gilyot maid and done, we y'fore giffes and awardes yat ye said John Gilyott shall have ye said gutter all hole to hym selff, so yat he giffe to ye forsaid Ambrose, or to his depute, for cause of eassement in watter fallyng owt of ye forsaid gutter uppon ye ground of ye said Ambrose, iijs. iiij^d. now furthwith, and never after yis to giff more to ye said Ambrose for ye said gutter, and els ye said John Gilyott to bere charge of ye watter commyng of ye said gutter."¹

A century later, and still similar complaints are made. On Feb. 5th, 1570-1, the election of the Master and Wardens of the Corpus Christi Guild, York, should have taken place at the Hospital of St. Thomas, just without Micklegate Bar, but the members of the Guild found it more convenient to meet "in the Consell Chambre apon Ousebrig—for that the way and wether was troblesome and myery."²

If one of the chief thoroughfares of the city, Micklegate,³ was in such a state of disrepair, no doubt the minor streets were in a worse condition. In fact, one byway was so much neglected that it was for many years known as Dirt Lane. Frequent reference to this lane is found in fifteenth and sixteenth century records, and it is thought that Trinity Lane is its more modern name.

¹ House Book, *Civ. Ebor.*, i, 21. *Ibid.*, p. 20

² *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, Surtees Soc., vol. lvii, p. 308.

³ Flagged footpaths were unknown in the Middle Ages, and it is scarcely credible that the wealthy residents of Micklegate should be contented, until the year 1750, to live in this street without the convenience of such a footpath before their dwellings. In that year they obtained permission from the city authorities to erect, at their own expense, posts at a convenient distance from their houses, and make a flag-pace, two feet broad, for the use of foot-passengers, to extend in length from the Bar to the

house where Abstrupus Danby, Esq., then dwelt, the same as was then without Bootham Bar. The posts to be erected were required to protect pedestrians from the incursions of horses and carriages, which were not always guided on the middle part of the highway. Hence the necessity for the advice which Gay, the author of *Trivia*, gave to persons walking in the streets of London a century ago:

Though expedition bids, yet never stray
Where no rang'd posts defend the
rugged way.

Davies, *Antiquarian Walks through York*, p. 139.

Mention has been made of the open ditches or sewers by which the city was drained, and evidence of the site of one is recorded in a document describing the boundary of St. Saviour's parish, in the year 1328:—

“Furst that from Olde Yorke,¹ and so goynge furth the street unto one lane called Spenlayne, which layne ledeth from the street of St. Savyour-gate, unto a common sewer bakwarde comynge from Goodramegate, and one other sewer comynge in it lyeing on the north side of seynt Sauyeyour-gayt aforsayde, and boundyng unto Saynt Andrewgate.”²

King's Square, occasionally described as King's Court, and anciently as “Conyngesgarth,” is a site near which the early kings of England probably had a place of abode or residence. The ditch or sewer that drained the precincts of this royal dwelling ran between the houses of Colliergate and the Shambles. It can still be traced, sections of it are figured on modern ordnance plans, and in the locality it is often, at the present day, spoken of as the King's Ditch. Hargrove, in his *History of York*, published in 1818, says, that in many ancient records a residence hereabouts was styled *aula regis*. The author further adds that a “ditch on one side of this church (Christ Church or Holy Trinity) is yet visible, and still retains the name of the King's Ditch.”

No previous writer has explained how the city disposed of its sewage matters; and the locating of a few of the mediæval open drains is somewhat interesting. It is curious to find that these old sewers, invariably, formed the boundaries of the ecclesiastical parishes of York. By a careful examination of the ordnance maps of the city, the position of some of these disused uncovered drains may be ascertained. For instance, along the north boundary of the parish of St. Michael, Spurriergate, a sewer ran down from Thursday Market, behind the houses fronting Feasegate and Market Street; crossing the end of Spurriergate, or Little Conyng Street, it entered a channel, walled on each side, and the sewage was discharged under a stone archway into the River Ouse. The upper portion of the

¹ Olde Yorke was the image of a mythical person, Ebraucus, whom Geoffrey of Monmouth imagined to have been the founder of York, which stood at the corner of St. Saviourgate and Colliergate. The figure was removed in 1501, and a tablet, now in the Museum at York, bearing the following inscription, was set up in its place:—“Here stood

the image of Yorke and remeved (removed) in the yere of our Lord God, A.M.vi.i. unto ye Common Hall in the time of the mairalty of John Stockdale.” In 1738 a restored figure of Ebraucus was ordered to be fixed in a niche on the inner front of Bootham Bar.

² Hargrove's *History of York*, vol. ii, p. 331.

channel, subsequently filled with refuse, now forms the entrance to Waterloo Place; and the lower section is merely a footpath in the bed of the sewer to the brink of the river.

A similar sewer, also a parish boundary, flowed from the vicinity of Newgate, behind the east side of Parliament Street, then across or under the roadway of The Pavement into a confined channel on the south side of The Pavement, by which water or sewage was emptied into the King's Pool or Royal Fishpond of Foss.¹ A portion of this old-time sewer ran in a line with the new street, recently formed, on its east side. It also became, when discarded, an alley or lane, and before the late improvements were effected, was known as Dove's Passage, because it led to a foundry used by Messrs. Dove and Sons.

The maintenance of public highroads really rested with the landed proprietors, who were obliged to see that their tenants executed the proper repairs. This was the law in theory, according to the triple obligation of the *trinoda necessitas*, but systematic neglect prevailed, and State officials were either reluctant or unable to effectually deal with delinquents.

The road leading from Nottingham to York is mentioned in *Domesday Book*. It had to be preserved, "and if any one should dig up the ground, or make a ditch within two perches of the king's road, he must pay a fine of eight pounds."²

The superiors of religious houses, and the Church, large estate owners, were equally negligent in upholding the roads adjacent to their property. But they devised alternate schemes, by which they persuaded the general public to contribute to their repair. They taught that it was a pious and meritorious work before God to help in keeping highways and bridges safe for the passage of pilgrims and travellers.

In the cathedrals and parish churches was used every Sunday a Bidding Prayer, which was not so much a form of prayer, as a bidding of the bedes or prayers of the congregation by the officiating priest, who called aloud to the people present to pray, at the same time directing them who and what to pray for. Referring to road-mending and travellers, the priest said:—

"Ye sal mak your prayers for al pilgrymes and palmers, and for al that any gode gates³ has gane or sal, and for thaim

¹ For a full account of the Fishpond of Foss see *York: the Story of its Walls, Bars and Castles*, pp. 62-79.

² Bawden, *Domesday for Yorkshire*, p. 332.

³ Good ways, pilgrimages to shrines

that brigges and stretes makes and amendes that God grant us part of thare gode dedes and thaim of oures.”¹

Giving or bequeathing the means for amending roads, a kind of conscience-money, was a universal practice of making restitution when those who had been wronged could not be found.

Archbishop Greenfield, on May 12th, 1314, made a gift to Thomas Frere, William Curtays, and Roger de Upton, of Doncaster, of 20 marks for the repairs of the causeway between Doncaster bridge and a bridge outside the town, called Wylghebrigg.²

Hermits, or anchorites, frequently obtained permission of the authorities to dwell in cells near frequented parts of great roads, or at the corners of bridges. They lived on the charity of passers-by, and testamentary bequests; and were supposed to attend to the upkeep of the roadways and bridges near which they dwelt.

On August 20th, 1327, Edward III granted letters patent of “Protection and safe-conduct for brother Adam de Ovenby, hermit of the Chapel of St. Helen, Shupton,³ during the construction of a road which he has begun to make in a place in the forest of Galtres called ‘les Polles,’ where very great perils have arisen by the depth of the roads, and whilst he is travelling through the kingdom to obtain carriage and alms therefor.”⁴

The wills of the Middle Ages contain numerous bequests for the repair of the roads. The following examples are characteristic of the times; many more might be quoted, but these give sufficient contemporary proof of the prevailing bad condition of the streets of York, and the highroads in other parts of the county.

John de Gysburne, a wealthy citizen and merchant, Mayor of York in 1371, 1372, and 1380, made his will in 1385, and devised:—

“To mending of the bridge of Thornton, near Helperby, forty shillings. Also to sustaining of the bridge of Skipbridge, forty shillings. Also to the mending of Stamford bridge, forty shillings. Also I bequeath to mending of the bad way on Hessay moor a hundred shillings Also I give and

¹ *The Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, p. 65.

² *Fasti Eboracenses*, Lives of the Archbishops of York, ed. by the Rev. James Raine, M.A., 1863, p. 393.

³ Shipton, in the Forest of Galtres, six miles from York.

⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1327–1330, p. 146.

bequeath to the way called 'Causy' of Norton by Malton, 40s."¹

Robert de Howm, Mayor of York in 1368, by will dated Sept. 15, 1396, bequeathed "for mending of the common way in Gillygate, in the suburbs of York, 100s. And for the repair of the ways in Monkgate and of the pavement beyond Monkbridge, as it shall need, 10 marks. And for mending the ways between York and Tollerton, 40s. And for mending the way on this side and beyond Kexby Ferry, 40s. And for mending of the bad ways and pitfalls upon Hessay Moor, 40s. And for repairing of the bridge of Thornton, near Helperby, 100s. Also I bequeath for rebuilding of the new bridge to be made between Elvington and Sutton, £4."²

The testator was probably a native of Holme-on-Spalding Moor, and was familiar with the road leading thereto, hence his interest in amending the roadway near Kexby Ferry. This item evidently suggests that a bridge over the River Derwent at Kexby did not exist at this period.

Richard Pigot, Serjeant-at-Law, a great and wealthy lawyer of London and York in the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV, whose will was proved at York Aug. 3rd, 1484, amongst other bequests, adds:—

"Item, to be disposed for that I have been occupied in the worlde, and taken men's money, and not done so effectually for it as I ought to have done, for there soules, and all Cristen soules, in making of high wayes, and othre gude dedes of charitee, by the discrecion of my saide executores, c marc. (£66 13s. 4d)."³

Robert Plumpton, town clerk of York, of St. Michael's parish, Spurriergate, York, died March 23rd, 1507:—"I will y^t my executor make as mych coste of mendyng of y^e watteryngstede as men goys to y^e Dringhouses as commys to iiij mark."⁴

This "watteryng stede" was on the west side of The Mount roadway, just on the crest of the hill, opposite Elm Bank House, and was in existence and used as a watering place for cattle until about forty years ago.

John Carre, Lord Mayor of York in 1448 and 1456, and M.P. in 1448, was a great benefactor to St. Sampson's Church, in which he was buried:—"I bewitt xli. to making of ways w^tin the fraunches of York."⁵

¹ *Some Early Civic Wills*, by R. B. Cook, Associated Architectural Papers, vol. xxviii, p. 830.

² *Ibid.*, p. 850.

³ *Test. Ebor.*, vol. iii, p. 286.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 260.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Thomas Pereson, Sub-Dean of York and Rector of Bolton Percy, died Oct. 28, 1491, and was buried in the nave of York Minster :—"Ad emend. viarum regiarum circa civ. Ebor., xls."¹

Dame Joan Chamberleyn, of York, a great benefactress to St. Mary's Abbey, in which she was buried, died in 1502 :—"I wit to my executores my place in Hundgate, which place I wyll the sell; and the money for the said to be disposid for the wele of my soule; that is to say . . . and to wayes and briges, broken or hurte to the neuance or niuertie of Crysten people, amendinge and reparinge."²

John Petty, glasier, Lord Mayor of York 1508, who died Nov. 12th during his year of office, left :—"To the skowryng of y^e dike of Sanct Anne Chapell vs., so y^t ony other will make y^e brigges."³

Alison Clark, widow of York, will proved Aug. 7, 1509 :—"I wit vjs. viij*d*. to help to pave the cawse be side Saint Antony's in the Horsfare."⁴

Sir John Gilliott, Knt., Lord Mayor of York 1490 and 1503, and sometime Master of the Merchants' Company, died Feb. 22, 1510 :—"To emending & makyng of hie waies aboutt Yorke, where most neid is, xx marc."⁵

John Marshall, merchant, of York, will dated Dec. 15, 1524 :—"Item, I bequeath to amending of hie wais aboute Yorke, where as is nede, xls."⁶

John Norman, Lord Mayor of York 1524, M.P. in 1522-3, and Master of the Merchants' Company in 1515 and 1516 :—"To the Chamberlayne iiij*li*., to be emploied for the common well of the citie; that is to saye, xls. towards the reparacion of the common staithe, and xls. towards the amending of the Kynge's hye waye aboute Sanct Nicholas Church, agaynste th'est ende, withoute Walmegate Barre."⁷

Cardinal Pole, in 1557, in his visitation articles, inquired at York "whether any do withhold any money or goods bequeathed to the mending of the highways or other charitable deed?"⁸

Indulgences were also granted by Popes and Bishops for the maintenance of particular high-roads or bridges which were specifically mentioned in their grants. Recorded on the archives

¹ *Test. Ebor.*, vol. iv, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁸ *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, p. 337.

at the Vatican, Rome, under date Feb., 1401, alms are sought "for conservation and for the new construction and sustenation of the ways commonly called 'Giligate' and 'Horsefair,' in the suburbs of the city of York."¹

Many ancient religious guilds, or lay brotherhoods, animated by pious motives of charity, often repaired bridges and roads; which good works the members considered of great importance for their salvation. The Guild of St. Christopher and St. George of York, stimulated by this religious spirit, included road and bridge mending amongst its deeds of beneficence.

At the suppression of the Guild in the year 1548, the Commissioners appointed for the purpose reported how its revenues were appropriated:—"The proffites of the brotherheed of the said guyld" are not only applied "to the mayntenance of their common hall, callyd the Guyld Hall of the said citie of Yorke, but also for repayryng and mayntenance of certen stone bridges and highwayes in and aboute the cytye."²

The Guild of the Holy Cross, Birmingham, "kept in Good Reparaciouns, two greate stone bridges, diuers ffoule and daungerous high wayes."³

In many parts of York, buried cobbled paved ways have at times been found, and these were, no doubt, the work of mediæval pavers. In the fourteenth century a tax or toll towards paving streets was imposed upon merchandise brought to the city. This toll, called pavage, could not be levied or enforced unless a grant had been obtained from the king. The city authorities on various occasions requisitioned the Crown for the privilege, which was invariably obtained, but only for limited periods, and such grants to the city are recorded on the Patent Rolls.

On May 28, 1308, Edward II granted for four years to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, murage, pontage, and pavage upon all wares brought for sale unto the city.⁴

On Oct. 20, 1319, a similar grant was obtained for a term of ten years.⁵

On Oct. 26, 1329, the king renewed the privilege for a further term of five years.⁶

The Abbot of St. Mary's, York, was quit of all murages and repairs of pavements throughout the realm.⁷

¹ *Papal Letters*, vol. v, p. 398.

² *Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, vol. i, p. 82.

³ *English Guilds*, Toulmin Smith, p. 249.

⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1307-1313, p. 73.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1317-1321, p. 395.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1327-1330, p. 457.

⁷ *Charter Rolls*, 1226-1237, p. 461.

The Master of the Hospital of St. Leonard was also exempt from pavage and similar tolls.¹

Notwithstanding the above grants of pavage are dated early in the fourteenth century, the distinctive occupation of a pavior does not appear on the *Register of York Freemen* until 1387, in which year Richard de Bakewell is the first citizen enrolled as a "paver."

From contemporary evidence of the bad state of the streets, already quoted, what paving was done could not have been thorough or general throughout the city.

The street or old market-place, called The Pavement, was doubtless one of the first or most important street that was paved with cobbles and kept in an efficient condition.

In a post-Reformation document, the case of Gillygate is stated, and particulars of the roadway read thus:—

"Gillygate formerly was all Abbot Lands, and the Abbot being Lord thereof, the Owner of the Houses and Grounds adjoining on both Sides the Street, did maintain and pave the King's Highway there lyeing through the saide Street, and a mile further, *viz.* unto the Forest, and thro' Part of the Forest of Galtres, he being also Lord thereof; the Lord Abbot, upon the Request of the Mayor and Guildable of the Citty of Yorke, did give unto them a Summer Stray upon the Forest of Galtres aforesaide, and a Winter Stray over his Grounds and Demains, lyeing and being without Bowdom and Monk-Barrs; and likewise three Faires for Cattle being yearly holden without Gillygate End (in a Place there called the Horse Faire), the saide Lord Abbot gave the Toles of two of the saide Faires to the Citizens aforesaid, and the Tole of the third Fair is reserved to the Lord Bishop; other Toles likewise of Corne, etc., the Lord Abbot gave unto them; in Lieu whereof, and for the Consideration aforesaide, the Saide Mayor and Guildable was to maintain and pave, as often as need required, the King's Highways in Bowdam, Gilligate, unto the Forest, Part upon the Forest and Monckgate; and the saide Highwayes, not to be any wayes chargeable unto the saide Lord Abbot or his Tenants, the Considerations aforesaid far surmounting the Charges thereof."

"In Gillygate some few Persons pave before their houses for their own Conveniences, by reason that the Workmen or Pavers imployed by the Lord Mayor, make the Causy which is the King's Highway narrower than it has been formerly;

¹ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1338-1340, p. 538.

so certainly such Persons as pave ought not to be punished for their Well-doing, but the others for lessening and diminishing the King's Highway in Breadth ought to be presented."

"If the Lord Mayor have any power to constraine some Persons to pave, why does he not compel all Persons to pave (all along by the King's Causy), which pave not at all, three parts of the Street of Gillygate and Bowdam lyeing unpaved, saveing the King's highway, paved at the Lord Mayor's Charges for the Considerations aforesaide."¹

In the eighteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, her Majesty's Council issued "Articles to be executed by the Justices of the Peace in the city of York, and of the county of the same city and the liberties thereof." The Queen's Commission was read before the Lord Mayor, Edmund Richardson, and his brother Aldermen and the common Councilmen assembled in the Common Hall, on the 6th August. One clause dealt with the maintenance of roads and ran thus:—

"Also to take order for repairing or making of highways and bridges according to the laws of this realm. And if any sum be appointed for these purposes, to see the same procured and the same bestowed as that was appointed."²

A further order from the Privy Council was received two years later:—

"And that if you know of any other inconvenience amending of highways, bridges, and causeways, appertaining to your offices, duties, and callings as Justices of the Peace, you shall do well to give order for the amending and repair thereof, and that you yourselves cannot do, to certify the said Lord President and Council thereof, and so shall you show yourselves profitable members of the Commonwealth and careful of the public weal of your county."³

By these extracts we learn that the City Council were evidently adopting means for the maintenance of the streets and highroads. Later, when chariots and mail coaches travelled on the roads, more modern methods were devised for the upkeep of the great highways of the realm. In the eighteenth century numerous Turnpike Trusts were formed, and endless new roads were constructed, and older highways were put into a good state of repair.

¹ *History of York*, 1785, vol. ii, p. 204.

² *City Records*, fo. 77

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 98b.

AN EXCAVATION AT ADEL.

By DONALD ATKINSON, M.A.

ADEL Camp lies about half a mile north of the church, just beyond Adel Mill, on the left side of the modern road leading to Eccup. On the south and west the ground rises sharply from Adel Beck, which here makes a turn to the south-east. Across the modern road there is a slight fall to the east, while north of the Camp the slope up from the south is continued more gradually. The site, which thus occupies an advanced ridge of the higher ground to the north, closely resembles many chosen by the Romans for occupation in various parts of the country; parallels may easily be found in Wales and the north of England. Their forts were placed wherever possible on rising, though not necessarily on high, ground, in the angle of a stream, which would provide at once a water supply and a defence. These conditions are well fulfilled at Adel, where, in addition to the stream, the low ground to the west of it, still liable to flood, and formerly without doubt a morass, would afford a further protection. The ground on the north is not raised sufficiently above the Camp to command it from near by. The whole of these conditions are almost exactly paralleled in the undoubtedly Roman site at Great Casterton, in Rutland.

Surface indications on the site itself seemed to point in the same direction. A bank of earth and stone still exists on the south and east, and the angle between these sides has the shape usual in Roman camps. A Roman road from York and Tadcaster to Ilkley and Ribchester passes the site at a little distance to the north, and four inscriptions (C.I.L. VII. 203–206), besides other Roman remains, have been found in the neighbourhood, if not certainly in the area itself.¹ It appeared, therefore, that excavation would be rewarded by discoveries of historical and archæological importance. Permission to dig was kindly granted by the owners, and the actual work began on July 30th.

¹ See note at the end of this article, paragraphs 1 and 3.

The accompanying plan shows the position of the trenches cut.¹ Trenches A and C revealed the existence of a ditch on the east side; A and G the composition of the rampart; D and F the ditch on the west; and H the ditch on the south. Circumstances prevented the carrying of trench B further north than the wall; and the north rampart and ditch (if they exist) must lie in the field beyond. The digging was much hindered throughout by the bad weather which prevailed—only three days were quite without rain, and on several days less than half a day's work was possible, while the sections of the ditch in some cases could not be measured quite accurately, as the trenches became waterlogged before the original level was reached. For this reason there is a possible error of some inches in sections A, C, and F. The ditch in these cases should probably be slightly deeper.

Detailed description of the work may be divided into three sections: (1) the Ditch; (2) the Rampart; (3) the Internal Area.

1. THE DITCH.—In all, five sections were cut, two on the east (A and C), one on the south (H), and two on the west (D and F). Section D is, unfortunately, less accurate than the others, owing partly to what seemed to be an outcrop of stone, and partly to the rapid collection of water. It is probable that the depth of the ditch in this section was originally greater, and its western or external slope steeper, though less so than in section F.

The dimensions of the ditch in the different sections were:—

East side:

A—Width of mouth, 15 ft. Depth from original surface, 4ft. 5 in.

C— „ „ 13 ft. 6 in. „ „ 4 ft.

South side:

H—Width of mouth, 17 ft. „ „ 5 ft. 3 in.

West side:

D—Width of mouth, 22 ft. 6 in. „ „ 3 ft. 10 in.

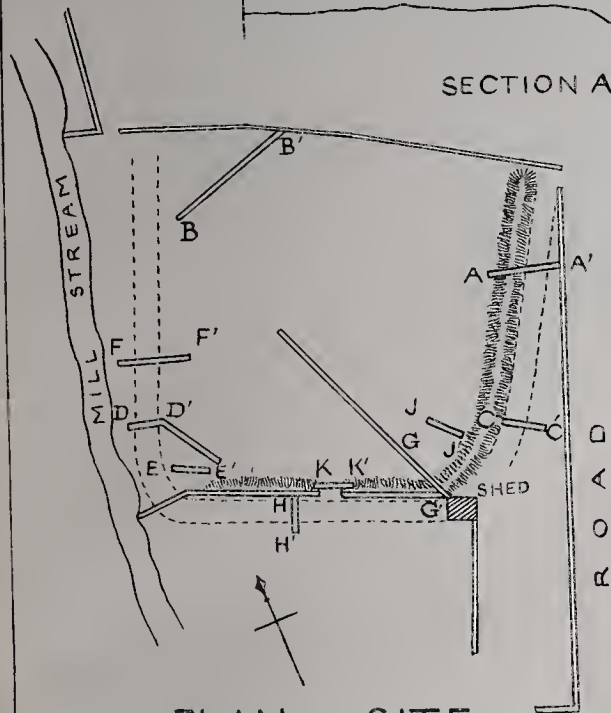
F— „ „ 21 ft. 9 in. „ „ 6 ft. 6 in.

The considerable diminution in size of the ditch on the east side may be explained by the fact that on this side there is a stratum of rock immediately under the disturbed soil,

¹ The scale of the plan is 60 ft.= 1 centimetre, or about 180 ft.=1 in. 1 centimetre, and of the sections 6 ft. and 18 ft.=1 in. respectively.

W. LONG. $1^{\circ}35''$
N. LAT. $53^{\circ}52''$

W.

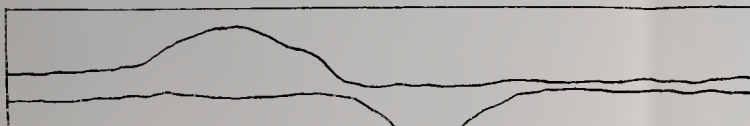


PLAN of SITE

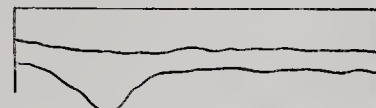


SCALE

FEET



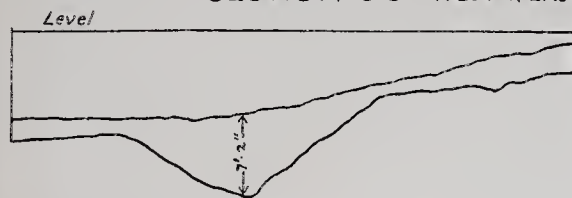
SECTION A A' WEST AND EAST



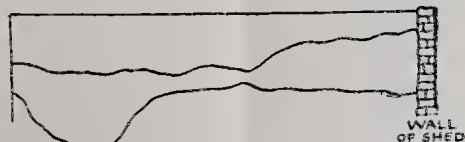
SECTION C C' WEST & EAST



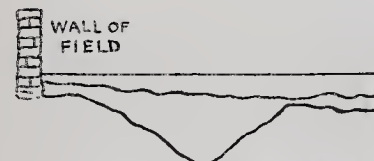
SECTION D D' W & E



SECTION F F' WEST AND EAST



SECTION G G' NW. & SE.



SECTION H H' N. & S.



SCALE FOR SECTIONS

FEET

NOTE: THE UPPER LINE DENOTES THE PRESENT SURFACE, THE LOWER THAT OF UNDISTURBED SOIL

[CAMP AT ADEL NEAR LEEDS

CAMP AT ADEL, NEAR LEEDS - PLAN AND SECTIONS.

and the cutting of a ditch through this must have been a more difficult task than on the other sides, where the subsoil is composed of yellowish stone-brash. The fact that the ditch is smallest on the weakest side and largest on the side best defended by nature is difficult to reconcile with a military origin of the "camp."

2. THE RAMPART.—Two cuts were made through the rampart (trenches A and G and sections A and G), and trench K was carried far enough to show its nature. Trench A showed that it is now 6 ft. 3 in. above the original surface level, and 16 ft. in width, and its construction here makes it impossible that it was ever much higher. It is composed of material formed by the upcast from the ditch, which on the east side consisted almost entirely of rough lumps of the soft rotten stone from the top of the rock stratum. These were heaped up at random—the section showing no definite structure—while the layer of made earth above was of almost uniform thickness, 11 to 14 inches, and was greatest on the lower part of the east side. It was clear from this section and section C that at most the berm cannot have been more than 1 ft. 6 in. in width—much less than is usual in Roman constructions. At the south-east angle (trench G) the material consisted almost entirely of earth, which had spread considerably, so that the original dimensions could not be ascertained with accuracy, the colour and nature of the soil at the bottom of the mound being identical with the surface on which it was placed; and the modern barn built against the outside prevented any estimate of its original dimensions on that side. Its present height above the original surface level is 5 ft., and its width 13 ft., the latter representing only a part of its structure. On the south side the existing rampart is lower and narrower, varying in width from 6 to 10 ft., and in height from 3 ft. 3 in. to 4 ft. 6 in. Trench K shows that it is taken from the ditch, and the section is similar to the section at G. On the west the remains of the rampart were probably to be found in a general increase of the disturbed soil for a considerable distance east of the ditch and over it. The increase was some 9 inches over the average depth of made soil seen in the other internal trenches. It seems likely that at some time the western rampart had been levelled, and the earth spread over the ditch.¹ In section F a black line, which appeared to represent the surface before the demolition of this mound,

¹ See (2), page 292.

was observed at an average depth of 2 ft. 8 in. below the present surface. This old surface—if such it was—curved slightly downwards, and its greatest depth over the middle of the ditch was 3 ft. 5 in. from the surface, and this depth decreased to 1 ft. 6 in. at the edge of the ditch. A line of stones, which was cut through in trenches E, D, and F 10 ft. east of the east edge of the ditch, may have represented some sort of core to the rampart, but though present in each trench the indications were very slight, and the existence of a rampart on this side while very probable was not proved, and its exact position could not be discovered. It may be observed that no line of stones was found in trench B, and that the increase of depth in the disturbed soil in the western end of this trench was very slight—not more than three or four inches. This trench B was carried right up to the north wall of the field, but no indication of the rampart was found on this side. The subsoil rose gradually to the north, and its depth below the present surface became rather smaller as the wall was approached. It is certain, therefore, that if rampart and ditch existed on this side they lay wholly in the next field.

3. THE INTERNAL AREA.—Here the trenches, with one exception, revealed nothing. The subsoil was reached at a depth of 12 to 18 inches, and the upper layer of disturbed earth was free from all evidences of occupation, such as building material, burnt wood, pottery, or any of the other remains generally met with on occupied areas. A very small quantity of modern pottery was all that came to light, except two pieces of coarse pottery—one in trench A and one in trench J—which were possibly, though not certainly, of Roman date. The presence of these can be easily explained by the fact that there is an undoubted Roman site near by—probably a little to the north-east. Trench G, in the south-east corner, showed the existence of an irregularly-shaped hollow of artificial origin some eight feet behind the rampart (see section G), which had apparently served to supply material for the corner of the rampart, where more earth would be needed than elsewhere. It was at first thought that it might represent another system of ditches, but further search failed to find further traces of it. Just inside the modern gate on the south side, in trench K, immediately under the turf, was found a layer of large cobblestones, 12 to 15 inches thick, containing one piece of modern brick. This paving did not extend across the area (trench G

failed to show any trace of it). It seems certain that it was put down in recent times to solidify the ground where it would be trampled most, the more so as it extended only over a width exactly equal to that of the gate. This trench (K on plan) was carried far enough to cut into the bank on both sides of the gate. It was impossible to determine with certainty whether the rampart had originally been continuous, but it was thought to have been so.

It must be admitted that the results were almost entirely negative. It was ascertained that the enclosure consisted of a bank of earth on the south and east, and probably on the west, enclosed on all these sides by a V-shaped ditch of varying dimensions. There was, however, no indication of the date at which the enclosure was constructed or of the purpose it was intended to serve. The general indications which suggested a Roman origin received little, if any, support from the detailed investigation—the two pieces of pottery of possibly Roman origin have been mentioned above. The appearance in trench G of the irregular hollow (see above and section G) is hard to reconcile with the suggestion that the site had been a fort. However this may be, the complete absence of small objects makes it clear that the site was occupied by the Romans—if at all—for an exceedingly brief period. The size of the still existing east rampart is too great to allow the enclosure to be explained as a temporary camp. If, then, it is Roman, its construction must immediately have been followed by a change of policy or strategy which led to its abandonment.

In view, therefore, of the small results of the excavation, it was not thought desirable by those responsible for it to continue the work further; enough negative evidence seemed already to have been obtained. It has since been suggested that the site may be one of a class not unknown in the northern parts of Britain, which are generally supposed to be of post-Roman date, but which, like Adel, yield no evidence of occupation. If this is the case, it may be hoped that historical research in Yorkshire may yet succeed in explaining the presence of the enclosure; the present excavation has served at least to throw the gravest doubt on its Roman character, though clearly in such a case a definite statement is impossible.

PREVIOUS DISCOVERIES AT ADEL.

BY P. W. DODD.

At the request of the writer of the above report (at present absent in Italy), I append a brief summary of previous contributions to the knowledge of Roman Adel.

I. THORESBY'S REFERENCES. In the *Ducatus Loidensis*, in his published diaries, and in various papers contributed to the Royal Society (*Phil. Trans.*, 282, 320), Thoresby is responsible for the earliest references to the site.

In the *Diaries* (Aug. 13, 1702), he records the accidental discovery of the considerable remains of a Roman town on Adel Moor. At the same time he refers to the Camp. "I viewed a Roman camp, which is yet very entire. There is another somewhat less on the said moor, and a third upon Bramhope moor." The measurement of the sides he variously gives as "about 5 chains on each of the 4 sides" (*Diary*, Nov. 5), and as "4 chains broad and 5 long" (*Ducatus*). "The agger is yet 22 feet high" (*Diary*). This last measurement is remarkable in view of the results of excavation. The two inscriptions, numbered 205 and 206 in C.I.L., vii, are definitely stated to have come from the town and not from the Camp.

2. There is an interesting casual reference to the Camp in the *Monthly Magazine* for September, 1809. "At Addle, a village about five miles north of Leeds, is a Roman camp, until lately very entire, being surrounded with a single ditch. The present occupier, wishing to turn the ground to some profitable use, has begun to level it up with the neighbouring fields, and has already turned up a considerable number of mill-stones, about half a yard in diameter, which, from their size, must have been used for grinding corn by hand." Here is definite evidence of interference with the site, the extent of which it is impossible to conjecture.

3. WHITAKER. In his *Loidis and Elmete* (1816, p. 175), this writer records further discoveries on the town site, notably the other two inscriptions (C.I.L., 203, 204). His only reference to the Camp is in the following terms: "A camp, from its form and dimensions apparently Roman, had always been conspicuous on the slope of the hill north of Adel."

4. In 1865 some excavation was done on the hill to the east of the Camp, which was evidently the site of Thoresby's town. I am not aware of any published report, but it is said by

eye-witnesses that foundations of buildings were unearthed, apparently lining on a street, and that a quantity of Samian and other pottery was found.

I do not know of any other first-hand authorities. It is of interest to note that the absence of literary evidence for finds in the Camp area (with the exception of the mill-stones noted above) is corroborated by tradition, which associates discoveries with the site on the east of the road, where considerable remains may still exist under the soil.

Notes.

[The Council has decided to reserve a small space in each Number for notices of Finds and other discoveries; and it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all matters of archæological interest which from time to time may be brought to light in this large county.]

VII.

ON A FIGURE OF ST. MARGARET.

In my account of representations of St. Margaret in the current volume of the *Journal*, p. 49, I forgot to mention a much earlier example than any that are there referred to, namely, one on the Norman font at Cowlam, in the East Riding, in which St. Margaret is shown with her heels disappearing down the throat of the dragon, and her head and shoulders bursting through the creature's back. St. Margaret has a 'pigtail,' as have female figures on other fonts of the second half of the twelfth century. (See Bond's *Fonts and Font Covers*, 1908, p. 173.)

J. T. F.

VIII.

STONE CIRCLES AT BLUBBERHOUSES.

Referring to the note at page 240, in which attention is called to this subject, Mr. Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S., writes that the site in question has not indeed escaped the vigilance of Yorkshire antiquaries; but that a modern enthusiast (well meaning perhaps but mistaken) has recently "put back" these vestiges into what he conceived to have been their original or typical form. He did not even stop short of using a hand-windlass to assist him in his "restoration." For this reason, Mr. Sheppard says any scientific examination of the remains

has now been rendered impossible. Other members of our Society who have visited the spot express the opinion that whether prehistoric in their origin or not, the circles show evidence of having received attention at the hands of the iron smelters in very late mediæval times. The question, however, was one which was well worth ventilating; and it is just possible that further investigation may yet cast light upon the subject.

IX.

RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES.

“The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses,” by Albert S. Cook, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University (Trans. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Dec., 1912).

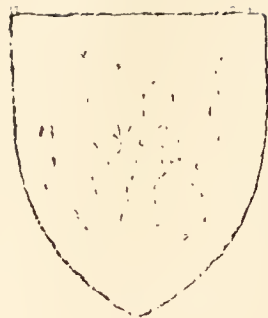
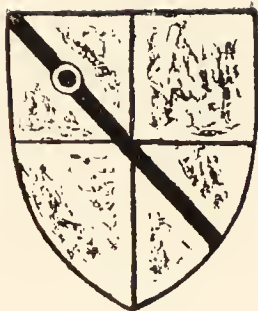
This long-expected essay has the great advantage of excellent illustrations by Mr. Tassell, of Carlisle, and the late Mr. J. P. Gibson, F.S.A., of Hexham. It contains also a collection of previous notices, and a minute description of the two famous monuments in Dumfriesshire and Cumberland, much more complete than in any other work. In the second part of the essay, Prof. Cook starts from certain difficulties, phonological and grammatical, in the runic inscriptions, and infers a late date for their language. He then compares the figure-sculpture with twelfth century examples on the Continent, and follows Rivoira in disallowing an earlier period to this class of work in England. The scrolls he dismisses as not characteristic of any given age, but the interlacings he thinks unknown in England before the development of Celtic art in the eleventh century. The chequers and sundial of Bewcastle Cross he believes impossible before Norman times, and goes on to suggest that both these “obelisks”—for he doubts that they were crosses—were erected about 1150 under David I by monks, indicating Rievaulx as likely to have exerted influence upon Ruthwell, which he connects by the similarity of the names, Ryvale being an old spelling of Ruthwell.

If this conclusion be accepted, it would be interesting to have further explanation of the reason why no decorative carving in a similar style has been found at Rievaulx, or in any twelfth century abbey or priory which was not on the site of a pre-Conquest foundation; and why such stones have been found, as at St. Bees and Carlisle, built into Norman masonry with

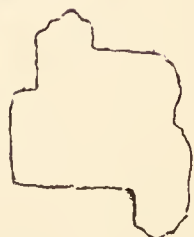
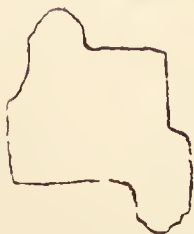
their carving defaced. Indeed, there is less discussion than the subject requires of the archæology of the series of "Anglian" crosses and allied objects. For example, Mr. Thurlow, of Leeds, has shown, by the application of modern archæological methods, that the Ormside cup was patched, after the wear and tear of a considerable period, in the late ninth or early tenth century (*Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, Liverpool, 1911*). Comparing the base of the cup with the Northallerton cross, and its birds with the Croft stone, an eighth century date becomes at least probable for these monuments, and consequently for the series allied to them. But Prof. Cook does not admit comparison with that series into his discussion, nor any evidence tending to show the possibility of seventh and eighth century dates for such forms of art. He allows that the Sta. Sabina doors were carved c. 450, and does not deny that St. Cuthbert's coffin was made in 698, but fails to see any analogy in these to the figures on crosses. He omits mention of the Achmim finds of the fourth and fifth centuries, which include crosses as gravestones, figures, scrolls, and plaits, in a style which antedates the Anglian period. Nor does he seem aware of the development of interlaced and zoomorphic design by the Anglo-Saxons in their pre-Christian fibulæ (see *Archæologia*, vol. lxxiii, art. 8). These sources of early inspiration ought to be taken into account, for they show that all the elements of "Anglian" art were available long before the twelfth century.

In criticising the inscriptions, Prof. Cook notes (pp. 250-252) that *æfter* is not found in Anglo-Saxon literature as meaning "in memory of," and argues that the word must have been learnt from the Norse *eptir*, which is used in this sense on eleventh and twelfth century stones. But a lapidary form need not occur in literature, and, indeed, it would be difficult to find *eptir* used for "in memory of" in early Icelandic or Norse literature. The doubt he throws on the existence of runes in England before the tenth century (pp. 242-244) seems strange in the presence of the Franks casket, but Prof. Cook admits that he has not made a study of the history of runes. That he has drawn attention to the subject gives a hope that these relics may be more widely known and more thoroughly investigated; but much remains to be done before the series of Anglian monuments has been adequately classified, and the place of these two most celebrated but most difficult examples determined.

W G C.



Hic iacet Robertus Constable Armiger
 quondam cancellarius Dunelmensis qui obiit
 secundo die mensis Octobris Anno domini m^o c^o
 c^o lxxv^o hujusmodi monumentum deservit



ROBERT CONSTABLE, ESQ., CHANCELLOR OF DURHAM, 1454.

BOSSALL, NORTH RIDING.

X.

AN UNRECORDED BRASS AT BOSSALL, IN THE
NORTH RIDING.

BY MILL STEPHENSON, B.A., F.S.A.

For notice of this brass, I am indebted to Mr. A. N. Clapham, who, when visiting the church, noticed the brass and finding no mention of it in *The Journal*, kindly made and gave to me the rubbing from which the accompanying illustration has been made. The slab containing the brass lies on the floor of the chancel; but the brass itself has been sadly mutilated. The head of the figure, the centre of the body, one shield, and two scrolls are missing. The upper part of the body, the legs below the knees, the inscription and one shield still remain, and the pieces are of interest as adding one more example to the work of the local school of engravers. The figure represents Robert Constable, esq., chancellor of Durham, who died 2 October, 1454, and is in armour. Judging from the outline he appears to have worn a livery collar over the gorget. The shoulder and elbow-pieces are, respectively, similar in shape. The breastplate is strengthened by an overlapping plate and the gauntlets have long cuffs. The feet, which are encased in long pointed sollerets, with rowel spurs strapped over the insteps, rest on a mound covered with flowering plants. Below is a black letter inscription in four lines:

Hic iacet Rob'tus Conestable Armig'
quod' Cancellarius dunelm qui obiit
sec^{do} die mens' Octobr' Anno dñi M^o
cccc^o liii^o Cui' Aie p'piciet' dñs Ame

One shield, the upper dexter, still remains, it bears the arms of Constable of Everingham, quarterly (gu.) and (vair) a bend (or), charged with an annulet for difference.

The sinister shield and two scrolls below the inscription are lost. In the illustration the shields and scrolls are closed up in order to save space. On the slab the former are 8 inches above the apex of the outline of the helmet; the latter 18 inches below the inscription plate. The figure, when complete, measured 20 inches in height, the inscription plate 19 by 7½ inches, the shields 6¼ by 5 inches, and the scrolls 3½ inches. The will of Robert Constable, dated 25 September and proved 10 November, 1454, an interesting document in English, is printed in *Test. Ebor.*, ii, 174.

XI.

NOTES OF YORKSHIRE CLERICS.

The following miscellaneous notices of Yorkshire clergy have been kindly communicated by Colonel Parker, C.B., F.S.A., and will doubtless be found useful by those who are interested in compiling lists of the incumbents of their parish churches. All are from the *De Banco Roll*, No. 700.

St. Hilary, 14 Henry VI (13th January, 1436).

- m. 54. John Storme, parson of the parish church of Erghom (near Skipsea), defendant in an action for debt.
- m. 56. Master Robert Gilbert, Dean of the Cathedral Church of S. Peter, York, *v.* William Monkton, Vicar of the church of Topclyff, *re* debt 16 *li*.
- m. 57*d*. Master Roger Dokwra, clerk, plaintiff, his trees at Burton in Kendal cut by defendants.
- m. 88*d*. Richard de Sherburne and Robert de Wodrofe, chaplain, *v.* Thomas de Colthurst, of Mitton, yeoman, debt 20 marks.
- m. 178. Prior of Nostell *v.* Thomas Woderofe, vicar of the church of Thikehill, debt 20 *li*.
- m. 179. Adam de Overend *v.* William Wade, parson of the church of Ellyngton, debt 47*s*.
- m. 179*d*. John Wenesley, of Lemyng com. Ebor., chaplain, defendant in an action for debt.
- Ibid.* Thos. Marshall *v.* Thomas de Reynton, of Thresk, chaplain, breaking his close at Thresk.
- Ibid.* Executors of Richard Semer, late sub-treasurer of the Cathedral Church of York, *v.* Executors of William Bamburgh, late parson of the church of Goldesburgh.
- Ibid.* Richard Hyde, parson of the church of Wynestede, and John Robynson, vicar of the church of Swyn, executors of will of Rob. Hilton, Knt., plaintiffs.
- m. 193. William Anderby, John Marshall, clerk, John Wynter, and William Lamson, executors of the will of William Pelleson *alias* Pelson, Archdeacon of Clyveland, and Canon Residentiary of York, plaintiffs, *v.* Abbot of S. Mary's, York, debt 40 *li*.
- m. 195. Master Robert Wyot, parson of the church of Baynton, *v.* William Estyby, parson of the church of Blaketoryngton, debt 6 *li*. 13*s*. 11½*d*.

- m. 195*d*. Thomas Hoderod, chaplain of the chantry in the Chapel of B. Mary V. in the parish church of Acworth, plaintiff, *re* his chattels at Thorpanderby.
- m. 196*d*. Master William Fylham, John Stevenys, John Welston, chaplains, and Thomas Waryn, executors of the will of the Reverend Master William Pilton, clerk, late Prebendary of the Prebend of Dryffeld, plaintiffs in an action for debt.
- m. 197*d*. Abbot of Byland *v*. Robert Habram, vicar of the parish church of Scardburgh, debt 40s.
- m. 206*d*. Richard Dryffeld, parson of the church of Lofthous, executor of the will of Thomas Scott, late parson of a moiety of the church of Hoton Bussell in Pykeringlyth, *v*. Thomas Fyscher of Kyllom, chaplain, debt 40s.
- m. 212. Thomas Hemelsay, of York, clerk, plaintiff.
- Ibid*. John Kyng, vicar of the church of Halyfax, plaintiff, debt 40s.
- m. 213*d*. John Murchall, clerk, Nicholas Keld, parson in the choir (*p'sona in choro*) of the Cathedral Church of York, Richard Sprunt, chaplain, and Thomas de Mynskyp, late Registrar of John Wodham, late Archdeacon of the Estrydyng in the metropolitan church of York and of the churches of York aforesaid and of the collegiate church of Beverley, York Diocese, late Canon Residentiary of the Prebendary of Stenelyngton and of the Altar of S. Andrew, late Prebend in the same, executors of the will of John Wodham, late Archdeacon (etc. etc., as before) alias John Wodham, clerk, plaintiffs.
- m. 234. Thomas Howelot or Hughlot, vicar of the parish church of Kildeswyke, plaintiff, debt 10 *li*.
- m. 237. John Clerk, parson of the church of Spofforth, plaintiff.
- m. 296. William White, vicar of the church of Ilkesley, defendant, debt 40s.
- m. 341*d*. John Orwen, vicar of the church of Thornton Steward, John Plungar of Watlous, chaplain, and Thomas Sutton of Hunton, yeoman, executors of the will of William Plungar, late parson of the church of Watlous, to answer the executors of Henry Fitz Hugh, Knt., late Lord of Ravensworth, for debts of 16s. and 9s.
- Ibid*. William Elleslake, parson of the church of Cheryburton, defendant in an action for debt.
- m. 343. John Mounkton, vicar of the church of Wartre, defendant in an action for debt.

m. 369*d*. John Hoton, vicar of the church of Holym (near Hull) defendant, debt 40s.

New Numbers. Octave of Purification B.V.M., 14 Hen. VI
(9th February, 1436).

m. 20*d*. Nicholas Clerk, parson of the church of Spofford, defendant, debt 18 *li*.

m. 21*d*. Thomas Wilton, parson of the parish church of Seszay, *v*. William Monkton, vicar of the church of Topclyff, debt 9 *li*. 13s. 4*d*.

m. 41*d*. Robert Bery and Richard Pollard, executors of the will of John Prikloue, late parson of the parish church of "magna leghis," London Diocese, deceased, alias John Prikeloue, late Canon and Prebend of Bugthorp, plaintiffs, *v*. John Alott of Bugthorp, clerk, and Thomas Alott of Skirpenbek, yeoman, debt.

m. 43. Thomas Tod, vicar of the church of Staynton in Cleveland, defendant.

XII.

THE PARTICULARITEES OF PLAITE.¹

Wyrksope. Fyrste a paire of syluer candlestickes. Item one sensour of syluer. Item one shyp of syluer. Item fyve chalyses. Item ij cuppes w^t couers, gilt. Item ij saltes w^t j couere. Item xij siluer spones. Item iiij aile cuppes.

Thaugustine Freers of Tikhill. Item ij little chalices.

Gray Freers at Doncastre. Item iiij chalices. Item ij crewettes.

Monckbretton. Item j crosse of wodd, plated w^t siluer. Item an oder wodd crosse, plated w^t siluer, having the iiij evangelistes enameled. Item fyve chalices. Item j little pixe gylt. Item ij crewettes. Item j gret squair salt w^t couer, parcell gilt. Item j oder squair salt w^tout couer, parcel gilt. Item xij spoones. Item j standing piece w^t couer, gylt. Item j pounced piece. Item ij little flat pieces. Item iiij masors. Item j goblet w^t couer, parcell gilt.

Thaugustine Freers of Pountfret. Item one little chalice.

The whyte Freers of Yorke. Item iiij chalices. Item j crosse, gilt. Item j flatt piece. Item iiij masors. Item j salt. Item xij spones. Item j pixe of y(vor)ie.

Graye Freers in Yorke. Item iiij chalices. Item ij crewettes. Item x spones. Item ij masors. Item j round salt, parcell gilt.

¹ Henry VIII State Papers, xiii (2), no. 1172. This inventory is attached to a valuation of the properties of the diffe-

rent priories which were surrendered 30 Henry VIII.

Item j wodd crosse, plated w^t syluer. Item j standing masour, w^t band and foote, siluer gilt. Item j little standing cuppe. Item j nutt w^tout couer, gilt.

Blak Freers in Yorke. Item a band of siluer. Item j crosse of siluer. Item iij chalices.

Augustine Freers in Yorke. Item ij chalices. Item vj sponez.

*Yorke Androo.*¹ Item j chalice.

Byland Mon. Item j sensour of siluer. Item j wodd crosse, plated w^t siluere. Item j payr of crewettes. Item iij christals in siluer. Item j pyxe, gilt. Item x chalices. Item j standing cupp w^t couer, gilt. Item j basone w^t ewer. Item j goblet w^t couer, gilt. Item ij saltes w^t couer, gilt. Item j ale cup w^t couer, gilt. Item j ale cup w^t couer, white. Item j goblet, gilt. Item ij nuttes w^t fete and couers, gilt. Item j pounced piece w^t couer, white. Item ij playne pieces w^t j couer. Item iiij masors. Item j little masour. Item xiiij spones.

Ellerton. Item j chalice.

Ryvals. Item [j] basone w^t ewer, white. Item j goblet w^t couer, gilt. Item j pounced piece w^t couer, white. Item j gret salt w^t j couer, parcel gilt. Item ij saltes w^t j couer, parcel gilt. Item ij doseyne spones. Item x chalices. Item j hand, gilt. Item j hedd, gilt. Item j wodd crosse, plated w^t siluer. Item j crouche of siluer. Item j mitour of paest, set w^t perles.

Kirkham. Item ij candlestickes, parcel gilt. Item ij sensours, parcel gilt. Item ij crewettes w^t j couer. Item j wood crosse, plated w^t siluer gilt. Item j text w^t a crucifix, Mary and John, gilt. Item j text w^t our Lady, gilt. Item j text w^t saenct Katherin, gilt. Item ij wodd boxes, plated w^t siluer. Item vj chalices. Item j little bason. Item j standing spice plate w^t couer, gilt. Item [j] standing cup w^t couer, parcel gilt. Item ij saltes w^t couers, parcel gilt. Item j nut w^tout couer, parcel gilt. Item vij flat pieces. Item xxx sponez. Item v masors.

XIII.

LETTER REGARDING THE SIEGE OF YORK.

The following letter is published by permission of Mr. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn, hereditary royal standard-bearer of Scotland, who is descended from both the writer and the recipient.

The writer was James Scrymgeour, second Viscount Dudhope, a title conferred on his father by King Charles in 1641. He

¹ The Gilbertine house of St. Andrew, in Fishergate,

was mortally wounded at the then imminent battle of Marston Moor on the 2nd, and died on the 24th of July, 1644.

It was addressed to Alexander Wedderburn, clerk of Dundee, who is said to have been knighted by King Charles in 1642 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). If that date is correct, he does not seem to have assumed the title in 1644. He was of Blackness, Forfarshire, and died in 1676. W. S.

For my much respectd frend
Mr Alex^r Wedderburne,
clerk of Dundee.

S^r I have rec^d yor^s & thanke you for y^e remembring of yor friends here. I hop befor this all yor troubles in Scotland salbe settled. The condition of o^r affaires here ar thus. Wee ar still lying about York, yett maior Leslie upon Satterday was a fourthnight marched to ioyne w^t y^e earle of Manchester w^t 2000 horses & 500 dragounes. they have not had any rencounter as yet w^t Prince Robert bot ar still attending his motions. Ther is great noyse of him here of his comming to raise y^e sieg at York, bot I hop in God he sall not be able to do it, for y^e earle of Manchester hath already togedder 7000 foot & betwixt 3 & 4 thousand horses of his owne besidis these y^t ar gone from this to him. Upone intelligence of Prince Roberts comming to Lancaster upone Satterday last S^r Jhone Meldrum was divertit away w^t my lord Casiles regiment & ane english regiment to assist o^r friends in lancashir lest they sould suffer by prince Robert. That same day S^r Thomas Fairfax was sent to y^e earle of Manchester to consult w^t him q^t sould be y^e fittest way to suppress Prince Roberts armie & give it sould be thocht fitt he sould stay in those places w^t my lord Manchester. Since o^r comming here wee have cleared y^e passage to Hull & taken in Cawood castell upon ows & aires mouth, which is one of y^e strongest places in england. Wee hear y^t the King is marching toward londone & if he can goe in in a fair way to y^e parl: he will doe it, for he wilbe content to subscryve any articles they will present to him prouyding Scotland be left out in the treatie. The earle of Manchester came yeesternight to o^r leaguer. This is all I can writt for y^e present. Lett me heare from you at all occassiones in doing q^rof I sall continue
from y^e leaguer
at York y^e 28
of May, 1644.

Yor most affectionat friend,
dudope.

THE CASTLES OF THE NORTH RIDING.

BY WILLIAM M. I'ANSON.

THE North Riding of the county of York is bounded on the north by the river Tees, which separates it from the county of Durham; on the west by the county of Westmorland; on the south-west by the West Riding; on the south-east by the river Derwent and the East Riding; on the east by the North Sea. Its greatest length from east to west is about 78 miles; its greatest breadth from north to south is about 45 miles; it contains 1,362,560 acres, and, considered as a separate county, is exceeded in area only by the West Riding (1,766,664 acres), and by the counties of Lincoln (1,693,550 acres) and Devon (1,667,154 acres).

There is, perhaps, no county in England in which the gradual evolution of mediæval military architecture can be better studied than in this extensive and beautiful tract of country. We need not expect to find examples of every type of castle in any one county; this would be asking too much. It is true that we possess no Juliet keep¹; that we have only one good example, that of Pickering, of what is usually, if erroneously, known as a Shell keep; that we have but one example, that of the very ruinous castle of Kilton, of a Keepless castle²; that we possess

¹ The earliest type of stone keep was the rectangular, of which the famous tower of Langeais (Touraine) is the earliest example. The writer understands that the leading French antiquaries are agreed that this tower dates from the last decade of the tenth century, and this was his own impression after a very careful examination of it. This type of keep, at a later date, was, to a certain extent, superseded by the Juliet or circular keep, of which Conisborough, Pembroke, and Orford may be cited as typical examples. The advantages of the circular over the rectangular form are obvious. The angles of a rectangular keep were always a source of weakness, as it will be readily understood that it would be much easier to dislodge masonry at any one of the four angles of a rectangular tower than at any point on the circumference of a circular keep. This vulnerability

was clearly shown at Rochester in 1215 when King John captured the tower by dislodging masonry at and undermining the south-east angle (Roger of Wendover, ann. 1215). When, in 1225, this tower was repaired by Henry III, he replaced the rectangular turret at the south-east angle by a round turret. Moreover, it is obvious that the circular form of the Juliet naturally gave the defenders a much more complete range of fire than could be obtained from a rectangular tower.

² In the castles of the keepless type, the keep or citadel was abandoned altogether, or only retained, in a modified form, as the largest of the mural towers, the fortress depending for its defence upon a lofty and massive wall of enceinte thoroughly enfiladed by boldly projecting mural towers. The majority of the Welsh castles are of this type.

no genuine example (although Middleham may, perhaps, approximate more or less closely to that type) of a Concentric castle.¹ But here our limitations cease. In all the other types of castle the North Riding is unusually rich. Scattered all over the district, or county as one prefers to term it, are the earthworks which are all that now mark the sites of the majority of our Norman castles; in the great fortress of Richmond we possess one of the finest examples of an eleventh century castle not only in England but in Europe; no other county, with the possible exception of Northumberland, can compare with the North Riding in its collection of early Plantagenet rectangular keep castles. Of the later castles, of what we may term the "quadrangular palace-fortress" type, the grim but stately castle of Bolton-in-Wensleydale is, in the opinion of the writer, the finest example in England. Of the other types of late castles and of fortified manor-houses, we possess a large number of examples.

And yet how little has been written on the subject of our North Riding castles. Practically all that we possess are short descriptions, somewhat inadequately illustrated, from the pen of the late Mr. G. T. Clark, of Bowes (*Mediæval Military Architecture*, i, 259-264), Helmsley (ii, 100-108), of the keep only of Middleham (ii, 293-300), of Pickering (ii, 368-375), of Scarborough (ii, 458-467), and of Richmond (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, ix, 33), an exceedingly able account of Gilling Castle (John Bilson, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xix, 105-192), Mr. Milward's article on Richmond (*Arch. Inst.*, v, 41), Mr. Loftus Brock's article on the same castle (*Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.*, xliii, 179), the late Dr. T. Horsfall's account of Snape Castle (*Notes on the Manor of Well and Snape*, pp. 87-101), an account of Kilton Castle (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxii, 55-125), and short papers on Richmond (J. F. Curwen, *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, vi, 326-332), and Scarborough (*East Riding Antiq. Soc.*, 13-17).

And what applies to our North Riding castles applies equally to those of the West and East Ridings. It is not that we do not possess men well qualified to deal with our castles; one of the most energetic members of our Society is, perhaps, the most trustworthy authority in England on mediæval architecture. But

¹ A genuine concentric castle may be described as two keepless castles one set within the other, the highest and most effective development of mediæval mili-

tary architecture. Beaumaris is the finest example of this type in Great Britain.

unfortunately our leading experts, with a few exceptions, not only in Yorkshire but throughout England, lavish—with admirable results it must be admitted—so much work on ecclesiastical edifices that they would seem to have but little time to devote to our castles.

There are, however, not wanting signs that the scientific treatment of this most important branch of archæological research is at length to receive more attention. Within the last two years two works, Mrs. E. Armitage's *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* and Mr. Hamilton Thompson's *Military Architecture in England in the Middle Ages*, have been issued to the general public, works which are certain to rank among the classics on the subject. Many of the most valuable works are, however, unfortunately only accessible to a smaller section of the community, and among these may be mentioned the late Mr. Cadwallader Bates' unfinished "Border Holds of Northumberland" (*Archæologia Æliana*, xv, 1-465), Mr. Harold Sands' "Bodiam Castle" (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xlv, 114-133) and his "Tower of London" (*Memorials of Old London*, 1908, vol. i, 27-65), Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's "English Fortresses and Castles of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" (*Arch. Journal*, lx, 72-90) and his admirable "Ludlow Castle" (*Archæologia*, lxi, 258-328), Dr. Horace Round's "The Castles of the Conquest" (*Archæologia*, lviii, 313-340), Mr. John Bilson's "Gilling Castle" (already referred to), Mr. G. H. Orpen's "Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland" (*Proc. Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, xxvii, 123-152) and his "Ireland under the Normans," etc.

The writer is venturing, in a series of articles, to deal with the castles of the North Riding. Exigencies of space are alone sufficient to preclude the possibility of this series being completed in a lesser time than about six or eight years. Much water will flow under London Bridge in the meantime, and it is possible that the work contemplated may be happily lessened by the appearance of monographs on some of the castles hitherto undealt with.

The idea in writing these articles is two-fold, viz.:—

(i) to trace the gradual evolution of mediæval military architecture in the North Riding; and

(ii) to supplement the information already accessible to the antiquary with regard to the North Riding castles by descriptions of those which have not, at the time of writing, been

adequately dealt with. It is, of course, unnecessary to remark that an elaborate history and description of any one castle does not come within the scope of such a work; the main events in the history of each fortress will be outlined and a short description of the structure, illustrated where necessary by photographs, plans and sections, will be given. Those castles which have already, at the time of writing, been the subject of a monograph by a competent authority will be only very briefly alluded to. The space and illustration thus economised will be devoted to those lesser-known ruins which have not hitherto received any attention at the hands of the antiquary. The castles already dealt with by the late Mr. Clark will, however, be fully described, if they have not, in the meantime, been the subject of special monographs. The writer implies no discourtesy to Mr. Clark; but his articles, although most valuable, are somewhat inadequately illustrated, and require to be further supplemented.

The first article, which is now placed before the readers of this *Journal*, deals with the condition of the North Riding castles at the time (1154) of the accession of Henry II, *i.e.* eighty-eight years after the battle of Hastings. Of the some thirty fortresses then in existence, two only, Richmond¹ and Scarborough,² possessed any defences in masonry, the remaining strongholds being constructed entirely of earth and timber. As the majority of these castles are now only represented by earthworks this article, to the general reader, will probably prove the least interesting of the series; the reference to each earthwork is brief, and but little illustration is required.

The second and third articles will deal with the early Plantagenet rectangular keep castles of the North Riding, viz.:—Bowes, Helmsley, the keep only of Middleham, Mulgrave,

¹ It is impossible to over-estimate, from an archæological point of view, the great value of Richmond Castle, with its eleventh century walls of enceinte, its mural towers, and its great hall. What we find in stone at this castle we may be tolerably certain existed in timber at its contemporary motte and bailey strongholds. It is this that makes Richmond so intensely interesting. We may—in our efforts to “reconstruct” the earth-and-timber Norman castles—read up the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we may study all the authorities of the Late Saxon and of the Norman periods; but here at Richmond, solid and durable, a thing we can touch

and see, is a copy in stone of exactly the type of accommodation we should find in timber at the majority of the Norman castles could we but transport ourselves back to the time of the four Norman kings.

² Scarborough, as constructed in the fourth decade of the twelfth century, is of much less value. The original keep and great hall were undoubtedly of timber, and the walled enclosure which existed there in 1154 was so much added to and altered by Henry II and his successors that but little now remains of Albemarle’s stronghold, although the walls of enceinte, in their original form, owe their origin to him,

Richmond, Scarborough, and Skelton.¹ Of the last-mentioned not a vestige remains, although the bases of a portion of the walls of the bailey enceinte—apparently late fourteenth century in date—are incorporated in the existing modern structure. The writer, who for some years has made a special study of the rectangular keep type of castle, and has visited and examined every example in England and Wales and a number of those in France, is of opinion that the North Riding group is of unusual interest and variety, containing as it does such totally different structures as the great “palace-keep” of Middleham, the comfortless non-residential tower of Richmond, and the purely garrison keep-castle of Bowes. It is most unusual to find seven rectangular keep castles in such a comparatively small area as that covered by the North Riding; and although an almost unexampled act of vandalism has deprived us of Skelton, and although that of Mulgrave has been so much pulled about and faked that the only original portion now remaining is a fragment of the forebuilding, each of the remaining five towers may be said to afford in itself features of unusual interest. They will be compared with other examples

¹ These seven keeps are by no means contemporary. The first to be commenced was that of Scarborough, which Henry II began in 1157. The exact date of the commencement of Richmond keep is difficult to ascertain. Alan III died in 1146, and, as Dr. Round tells us (vol. x of Pipe Roll Series, *Ancient Charters*) that he did not marry until 1137, his son and successor, Conan le Petit, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, would not come of age until about 1159. We might not be far wrong in stating that Richmond would be commenced c. 1160, and that, perhaps five or six years later, Conan began the great keep at Bowes. On the Duke's death, in 1171, both these incomplete towers escheated to Henry II, with the wardship of Conan's heiress, and the king completed them, Richmond in 1174, and Bowes in 1187. It is a fact well worth remembering that when Richard I came to the throne in 1189, *i.e.* 123 years after the battle of Hastings, there were only five castles in the North Riding which possessed any works in masonry of the least importance; three of these, Bowes, Richmond, and Scarborough, were rectangular keep castles, the other two, Castleton and Pickering, were shell keep castles, although the masonry at the latter place was confined to what is now the inner bailey. These five castles were all in the king's hands. It must not be imagined that the great barons were content with their old

timber strongholds. They must have gazed with envy at these great stone castles so symbolical of the royal power. But the iron hand of the second Henry was laid heavily upon his barons, and it was not until the reckless Richard ascended the throne that they were, at length, permitted to bring their strongholds up to date. In 1190 Robert Fitz-Randolph abandoned his old timber castle, and commenced the erection of the great “palace-keep” of Middleham. Probably about the same time Adam de Brus II converted his timber castle at Skelton into a great stone fortress, with a rectangular keep. About 1197 Robert de Turnham, who had married the heiress of the Fossards, abandoned the old timber castle of Foss, and erected a stone castle with a rectangular keep half a mile to the east. In or about 1200 Robert de Roos converted the strong timber castle at Helmsley into a stone fortress, and erected the two lower storeys of the keep at that place.

The North Riding rectangular keeps may be said to approximately date as follows:—

Scarborough,	built between 1157 and 1174.		
Richmond, „	1160 „	1174.	
Bowes, „	1165 „	1187.	
Skelton, „	1190 „	1200.	
Middleham, „	1190 „	1210.	
Mulgrave, „	1197 „	1210.	
Helmsley, „	1200 „	1215.	

in England and France,¹ and a brief reference will be made to the great advancement in the construction of siege engines, which was one of the factors which led to the general substitution—during the latter part of the second half of the twelfth and particularly during the first half of the thirteenth century—of masonry for timbering.

The fourth article will deal with some of the castles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries other than the rectangular keep castles and the quadrangular “palace-fortresses.” The list will include Cotherston, a motte castle which, very early in the thirteenth century, developed into a shell keep stronghold; Crayke, a Norman motte and bailey fortress which developed on the lines of a tower-house edifice; Kirkby Moorside (the Nevill Castle) and Ravensworth, stone castles founded in the fourteenth century; Kilton, Pickering, and Whorlton. The last-mentioned is somewhat of an anomaly, as although an early Norman motte and bailey stronghold, it eventually developed on the lines of a tower-house castle, and there would appear to be no masonry in existence there of a date earlier than the last two decades of the fourteenth century. The true solution of the problem probably is that, *c.* 1200, it developed into a shell keep fortress so far as the motte was concerned, and that such works were demolished when the motte was lowered and the existing buildings erected upon it at the end of the fourteenth century.

It is a matter of regret that we do not possess an example of a circular keep or Juliet, a type of tower contemporary with the rectangular keeps; one would gladly exchange one of our rectangular keeps for the magnificent Juliet at Conisborough (West Riding), or for the well-arranged tower at Orford.² It is somewhat extraordinary, considering the number of motte and bailey castles erected in the North Riding, that we possess only one good example, that of Pickering, of an ordinary Norman earth-and-timber castle developing into a shell keep stronghold, its natural and logical evolution.³ Of a genuine concentric

¹ Previous to completing these two articles, the writer proposes visiting some eight or ten contemporary French castles which he has not hitherto had an opportunity of examining.

² Conisborough, the finest tower of this type in England, was erected during the last quarter of the twelfth century; Orford was built between 1162 and 1172; Pembroke dates from the first quarter of the thirteenth century. This type of tower can be better studied in France,

where Coucy, Chateaudun, Villeneuve-le-Roi, and Tournebu may be cited as magnificent examples.

³ Pickering is, however, an excellent example; indeed, the writer, who has visited the majority of the English shell keep castles, considers it, after Berkeley, perhaps as good an example of the development of a Norman earth-and-timber castle into a stone fortress as one could find anywhere.

castle, it is perhaps unnecessary to say, we have no example, nor is there one to be found in the north of England.¹ We possess, however, astray in the wilds of Cleveland, a modified example, the castle of Kilton, of a keepless fortress, a type practically unknown in the north, and which can only properly be studied in Wales or on the Welsh borders.²

The last two articles will be devoted to the later castles, of which the North Riding contains unusually interesting and numerous examples. About the middle of the fourteenth century the military importance of castles had almost departed, and although a large number of licences to crenellate were issued for at least a century later, the structures erected were built as much for comfort and even luxury as for defence. Of these later castles the great "quadrangular palace-fortresses" are by far the most important. Mr. St. John Hope aptly describes these stately and magnificent structures as roughly resembling a rectangular keep split open in the centre to allow of a courtyard.³ Early in the fourteenth century a modified example of this class was erected at Danby,⁴ and in the latter half of the fourteenth century the regal fortress of Bolton-in-Wensleydale and the stately and imposing castle of Sheriff Hutton were erected.⁵ The Nevill palace at Middleham⁶ is also of the same type, and a great palace-fortress, few traces of which now remain, was built at Upsall.

Among the later castles we get, in the North Riding as elsewhere, a reversion to the rectangular keeps in the tower-houses of Ayton, Cowton, Gilling, Harlsey, etc.; and later still another type appears in such structures as Mortham and Nappa. At Tanfield we have a graceful gate-house forming a detached part of a manor-house of earlier date.

¹ Middleham, through a pure accident in development, viz., the erection of a late fourteenth century "palace-fortress" round a late twelfth century rectangular keep, may be said to be faintly approximate to this type.

² The castle of Najac (Aveyron) is a very fine example of this type. The beautiful castle of Manorbier, Pembrokeshire, is a well-known Welsh example. At both places a modified form of keep, cylindrical at Najac, and rectangular at Manorbier, is retained as one of the flanking towers.

³ See "Lumley Castle," *Country Life* for June 8, 1910, p. 896. At Castle Rushen, Isle of Man, we actually have a late rectangular keep split open to

contain a central court of small size. This interesting structure has been very carefully restored within recent years, the alterations having been just completed when the writer visited it in the summer of 1910.

⁴ The earliest example of this type to be erected in England was Acton Burnell, Shropshire, built by Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Chancellor of England, which would appear to have been erected between 1282 and 1287 (Pat., 12 Edw. I, m. 7).

⁵ Bolton was commenced in 1379 (Pat., 3 Rich. II, part 1, m. 43), and Sheriff Hutton in 1382 (Pat., 5 Rich. II, part 2, m. 21).

⁶ Commenced in 1389.

With the exception of Gilling,¹ which has been dealt with by Mr. Bilson, and Snape, described by the late Dr. T. Horsfall (*Notes on the Manor of Well and Snape*, pp. 87-101), these late North Riding castles have been practically ignored by the antiquary. Mr. Clark leaves them severely alone, and the writer must himself confess that these structures, imposing and stately as some of them are, do not appeal to him in the way that the more defensible castles do. He proposes, however, to describe them in some detail, illustrating the descriptions by photographs, plans, and sections.

THE NORMAN CASTLES OF THE NORTH RIDING.

In placing this, the first of the series of articles, before the readers of the *Journal*, the writer desires to tender his grateful thanks to Mrs. Armitage for her valuable advice upon several of the earthworks, and to his friend, Mr. William Brown, F.S.A., who, with unfailing kindness, has assisted him in every possible way.²

The study of the earthworks which are all that now mark the sites of the majority of our Norman castles is still in its infancy, and has long been the most neglected portion of mediæval military architecture. Earlier antiquaries, with naive impartiality, apparently regarded one earthwork, no matter of what form or extent, to be pretty much the same as any other, and different historians, according to individual fancy or caprice, have labelled the same earthwork as a British strength, a Roman camp, a Saxon burh, or Danish geweorc. With very few exceptions the earthworks which mark the sites of our Norman castles are still designated as anything but what they really are.

Into an examination of the various types of earthworks it would appear to be unnecessary to enter in an article dealing exclusively with mediæval military architecture. The particular type with which we are concerned is one we are constantly meeting with in our archæological expeditions, not only in England and France, but in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. Broadly speaking, this particular type consists of a hillock, mound, or

¹*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xix, 105-192.

² The writer desires to thank Colonel Parker, C.B., F.S.A., Professor Haverfield, F.S.A., Mr. William Farrer, D.Litt.; Rev.

C. V. Collier, F.S.A.; Mr. H. B. McCall, F.S.A.; Mr. W. T. Lancaster, F.S.A.; and Mr. Edward Wooler, F.S.A., for assistance in various ways.

motte,¹ occasionally natural, usually artificial, generally varying from 15 to 60 feet in height, and from 40 to 150 feet in diameter at the summit. On one side of this motte there usually lies a fortified enclosure, courtyard, or bailey. The motte which, when perfect, has a banquette, rampart, or breastwork of earth running round its upper edge, almost invariably forms part of the general line of outer defence. It is usually defended by its own ditch, separating it from the bailey, which ditch, at two points, joins the main ditch running round both the bailey and the exterior sides of the usually three-quarters detached motte. There is the same marked divergence in the area of the baileys as in the area of the summit of the mottes. They vary from, say, half an acre in extent, as at Middleham, to $8\frac{1}{4}$ acres, as at Skipsea; but generally speaking, we may say that the average earthwork has a bailey of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. These baileys vary in shape as well as in size; the great majority of them are semi-lunar or oval. There are, however, examples of triangular, oblong, and even of almost square baileys. Generally speaking, perhaps, we may liken the typical earthwork of this class to the figure 8 with the lower part enlarged and elongated to represent the bailey.² This general plan is not, of course, an absolutely rigid one; the shape of the earthwork was, to a large extent, governed by the contours of the site selected. Several promontory earthworks which can be proved to represent Norman castles, of which Mountferrant (East Riding), the well-known fortress of the Fossards, is an example, have more than one bailey, set end to end, a somewhat in-

¹ The writer is, of course, aware that one or two leading authorities object to the use of the word "motte," and prefer the word "mound." This, however, must be a matter of individual preference, and it seems to him more appropriate, considering the purely French origin of this type of castle, to use the French word for a thing which was essentially foreign to the English. Moreover, it is surely a distinct advantage to have a specific name for a specific thing.

² M. de Caumont, in his *Abécédaire ou rudiment d'Archéologie*, published in 1869, gives a description of a motte and bailey castle which might have almost been written at the present day. "Au X^e et XI^e siècle, les châteaux étaient en général composés de deux parties principales; d'une cour basse et d'une seconde enceinte renfermant une tour ou donjon. L'étendue de la cour basse, ou première enceinte, était proportionnée à l'importance de la place.

Souvent elle occupait environ $\frac{1}{2}$ hectare, quelquefois 1 hectare de terrain et même davantage. Si j'en juge par le grand nombre d'emplacements de châteaux que j'ai observés, beaucoup étaient entourés d'un rempart en terre sans maçonnerie qui devait être surmonté de palissades en bois, et dont l'approche était défendue par un fossé plus ou moins profond A l'une des extrémités de la cour, quelquefois au centre (this arrangement may be more common in France than in England; in this country the motte is usually placed upon the main enceinte) s'élevait une éminence arrondie, souvent artificielle, quelquefois naturelle, sur laquelle était assise la citadelle ou le donjon. Lorsque cette butte était artificielle, elle offrait habituellement l'image assez régulière d'un cône tronqué. C'est ce que l'on appelait une motte, etc." He gives (p. 393) a picture of a typical motte and bailey castle, with its palisades and timber keep.

convenient arrangement, but one which added greatly to the defensive properties of the stronghold. There are a number of earthworks which have never possessed a bailey, consisting of motte only, of which the North Riding possesses, in Castle Leavington, the finest example known to the writer.

The late Mr. G. T. Clark differentiated these earthworks from others, but propounded the theory that they mark the site of English castles of pre-Conquest date. To Dr. Round must be given the honour of first demolishing (*Quarterly Review*, 1894) the then universally held opinion that Mr. Clark's theory was correct, and of establishing the highly important fact that these earthworks mark the site of early Norman castles.¹ Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who would appear to have arrived independently at the same conclusion at a later date ("English fortresses and castles of the tenth and eleventh centuries," *Arch. Journal*, lx, 72-90), says:—

"Of the three classes of fortresses distinguished in the *A.S. Chronicle*, namely: (i) the Geworcs or fastnesses thrown up by the Danish invaders or 'Heathenmen' during the second half of the ninth century; (ii) Burhs, or burgs, builded or wrought by the English in the first half of the tenth as offensive and defensive works against the invaders; and (iii) a new form of fortress introduced by the Normans (*tempus* Edward Confessor) called castels, only the last comprised the moated mounds in question." Mrs. Armitage, in her very painstaking and valuable work, "Early Norman Castles of the British Isles," has proved that these motte and bailey castles are invariably found where the early Norman lord fixed the caput of his fief. Mr. Orpen, in his "Ireland under the Normans," proves that the motte and bailey castles of that country owe their origin to Norman invaders, and Mr. George Neilson, in his "Mottes of Norman Scotland" (*Scottish Review*, vol. xxxii, 1898), proves that the Scottish examples of these earthworks are confined to those parts of that country influenced by the Anglo-Norman settlement under David I, Malcolm IV, and William the Lion. During the last four or five years an examination by the present writer of over 250 such earthworks—in England (157), Ireland (27), Wales (32), France (35), and Scotland (12), and the expenditure of a considerable amount of time on a study of the original authorities of the Late

¹ There can be no possible doubt that Dr. Round's discovery is the most important event which has occurred in the scientific study of English mediæval military architecture.

Saxon and Early Norman periods, leads him to agree with the above-mentioned authorities. After personally examining all the earthworks of this type in the county of York, and after devoting a considerable amount of time to ascertaining, as far as it is possible to do so, the history of each individual example, the writer is in a position to prove that all those earthworks the history of which can be ascertained either from contemporary records or, as is more frequently the case, from historical inferences, were erected by the Norman conquerors, the great majority of them between 1071 and 1145.

The "mottes" or "mounds," the citadels of the great majority of these earth-and-timber fortresses, are alone sufficient to differentiate them from other fortified enclosures, and to put them in a class by themselves. The greater proportion of them are also considerably less in area than are their predecessors, and everything, more especially the self-evident fact that the motte was capable of being defended not only against outside enemies, but also against its own courtyard, points to this particular class of earthwork having been erected by a foreign invader to defend himself, his family, and immediate retainers. These small private castles or individual fortresses are exactly what we should expect would be thrown up by the Norman settlers when they established the feudal tenure of land in a conquered but still hostile country. Such fortresses could be both rapidly and economically erected. It is recorded, for instance, that the erection by the Conqueror, of the castle known as Baile Hill, at York, occupied only eight days, and the cost of the great timber keep at York, erected 3 Richard I, was only £28 13s. 9d.,¹ as compared with £1,927 8s. 7d. expended by Henry III on its stone successor, the existing Clifford's Tower.² A fortress or private castle was an absolute necessity to a Norman tenant-in-capite or great feudatory; without such a protection neither his life nor his newly-acquired property would have been worth a week's purchase. It was required not only to protect him from attack by the dispossessed natives, but from the aggression of adventurers similar to himself. These castles were essentially the fortresses of individuals and not fortresses erected, as were their predecessors, to shelter

¹ "In operatione castri, £28 13s. 9d." Pipe Roll, 3 Richard I.

² Mrs. Armitage's *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*, p. 246, which gives a very instructive history of the various towers which succeeded one

another on the motte at York. We may multiply these figures by 20 to get at their equivalent in modern money. Thus we see that a timber keep cost about £560, as compared with about £39,550 expended on a stone keep.

all the folk, "eallum thæm folc to gebeorge."¹ The defences constructed by the English and Danes were undoubtedly intended to shelter the whole country-side with their flocks and herds; they were essentially—their size and arrangements prove this clearly enough—communal as opposed to individual fortresses or "castels."² No contemporary Saxon chronicler ever mentions a castle erected by an Englishman, for the simple reason that the English never built castles as we understand the meaning of the word. Had they done so the conquest of England by the Normans would possibly never have taken place. Ordericus, a contemporary writer, explicitly states that "the fortresses, which the Gauls call Castella, had been very few in the provinces of England, and on this account the English, although warlike and daring, had nevertheless shown themselves too feeble to withstand their enemies."³ The individual fortress or castle was a Norman importation; "it was feudalism that built these castles which once covered our soil, and whose remains are now scattered upon it. They are the declaration of its triumph."⁴

Motte and bailey castles had been in existence in France for some considerable time previous to their introduction into England, but it hardly comes within the scope of this article to enter into the question of their origin. The writer has been long under the impression, and has yet to be convinced of his error, that their originator was Fulk Nerra, the famous Count of Anjou, and certainly the first authentic mention of a motte and bailey castle, undoubtedly the earliest form of individual fortress, occurs in the Chronicles of St. Florent, which state that, in 1010, Fulk and his son Geoffrey, "in occidentali parte montis castellum determinaverunt aggerem quoque in prospectu monasterii cum turre lignea erexerunt."⁵ But

¹ Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicon*, ii, 222.

² Eddisbury, in Cheshire—which owes its origin to Ethelfleda—may be cited as a typical Anglo-Saxon burh or fortified communal enclosure. It measures some 1,250 feet in length by about 500 feet in width, and is approximately oval in shape, defended by a ditch and a high outer bank. Shoebury, Essex, is a good example of a Danish geweorc, and although about half the enclosure has been washed away by the sea, it measures some 1,600 feet in length by about 700 feet in width.

³ *Ord. Vit.*, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 4.

⁴ Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilization en France*, iii, 311.

⁵ *Chron. St. Florentii*, in Lobineau's *Bretagne*, ii, 87. Amongst the castles said to have been erected by Fulk were Baugé, Chateaufort, Chéramont, Montboyau, Montrichard, and Montbazou. The earthworks marking the site of the last-mentioned castle, erected c. 991–994, still exist—from personal observation—but this is the only one of Fulk's castles the writer has had the opportunity of visiting. M. de Salies, writing in 1874 (*Histoire de Foulques Nerra*, p. 170), states that Fulk's castle of Montboyau was then in existence. The writer has been unable to ascertain whether this is still the case.

there would seem to exist evidence that Tribault le Tricheur, Count of Blois (932-962), erected such castles.¹

However this may be, there is no doubt as to the date of their introduction into England. It is a well-known historical fact that Norman influence began to make itself felt in this country at least a couple of decades previous to the Conquest, and the earliest castles or individual fortresses erected on this side of the Channel undoubtedly owe their origin to Norman favourites of the Confessor. The English nobles lived in two-storied timber houses such as that depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry, in which Harold and his comrades are feasting in the great hall on the first floor, whilst the basement apparently forms a large cellar or store room. That such houses may have been protected from the wolves by an encircling stockade or hedge is probable enough, but they were never intended for defence against man.

The first castle to be erected in England would appear to have been that of Hereford,² which was built in or about 1048 by Ralph, Count of Hereford, the Confessor's Norman nephew. This is the first "castel" or individual fortress mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and we read that in 1052 Godwin demanded that "the Frenchmen of *the* castle" should be given up by the Confessor, and later that "the Frenchmen of *the* castle" aided the English to repel a Welsh invasion. The mere fact that Ralph's fortress was known as "*the* castle" is sufficient to show that to the English it was an innovation, and apparently by no means a popular one. Richard Fitz-Scrob, one of the Confessor's Norman favourites, founded Richard's Castle,³ c. 1050; Osbern, surnamed "Pentecost," founded Ewias Castle in the following year.⁴

The castle, although entirely unknown to the English, was the great and outstanding symbol of feudalism, the natural

¹ See Mrs. Armitage's *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*, pp. 74-5.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1048 (Peterborough) and 1052 (Worcester). The motte of this castle has disappeared, but the bailey remains. The motte, however, is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls, 11 Hen. I, p. 100, and 15 Hen. II, p. 140. It is described in a Survey of 1652, and was then crowned by works in masonry (Grose, *Antiquities*, ii, 18; and Duncombe's *History of Hereford*, i, 229).

³ This castle is referred to in Domesday (i, 186b) under the name of Avreton, and the "valet ei castellum," T.R.E., is

given at 20 shillings. The motte still remains in good condition, with a half-moon-shaped bailey two-thirds of an acre in extent.

⁴ Ewias Castle is a well-preserved and interesting earthwork, and is the only castle mentioned in the Survey as having been rebuilt by the Normans (*D.B.*, i, 186a). Dr. Round (*Feudal England*, p. 324) is of opinion that it was "Pentecost castle," referred to in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 1052, and after visiting the earthwork in 1907 the present writer came to the same conclusion. A half-moon-shaped bailey lies to the south of the motte.

home and base of operations of a feudal lord, and one of the first acts of the Conqueror was to throw up a "castell" at Hastings.¹ The Bayeux Tapestry depicts the construction of this fortress. With that all-inclusiveness for which mediæval pictures are noted, its builders are shown digging the foss or ditch round the motte, ramming the soil of the motte with the flats of their spades, and constructing a palisade round the upper edge.² This erection of castles was the leading feature of the Conqueror's *modus operandi*, wherever he went we read "castellum construxit," "arcem condidit," etc. He invariably consolidated his hold on a conquered district by erecting castles to overawe it, and to form the base of further operations. And when he parcelled out the kingdom among his favoured comrades-in-arms they followed his example. These castles were absolutely necessary from their founders' point of view, alike to hold their new lands against the disinherited and hostile natives and to protect themselves from attack by other foreign lords who, had such a protection been absent, would not have scrupled, during a time of disorder, to seize such lands and add them to their own estates.

But the castles built during the latter part of the eleventh and during the first half of the twelfth century, *i.e.* from the time of the Conquest to about 1150, were not those whose enormous keeps and massive curtain walls still form such a picturesque feature of our landscapes. Were it possible for us to transport ourselves into Yorkshire in the year 1154 we should see, in the course of our perambulations, a number of stockaded mounds with their palisaded baileys; a few stockaded promontories with or without mottes; a few stockaded mottes devoid of baileys, but at three castles only, at Richmond, at Scarborough,³ and at Tickhill,⁴ should we find any defences in masonry.

¹ "Dux ibidem (at Pevensey) non diu moratus, haud longe situm, qui Hastings vocatur, cum suis adiit portum, ibique opportunum nactus locum, ligneum agiliter castellum statuens, provide munivit" (*Chron. Monast. de Bello*, p. 3, ed. 1846).

² The picture showing the erection by the Conqueror of the motte at Hastings represents it as being formed of layers of different materials. When the motte at Carisbrooke was opened in 1903, it was found to be composed of alternate layers of large and small chalk rubble (Stone's *Official Guide to the Castle of Carisbrooke*, p. 39). The motte still remains at Hastings, but bears no trace

of ever having been crowned by works in masonry. Henry II's stone keep has, in the opinion of the writer, been destroyed by a fall of the cliff. Mr. Harold Sands is of the same opinion.

³ The extent of the stone fortifications existing at Scarborough in 1154 is somewhat difficult to determine. But although the walls of enceinte owe their origin to William le Gros, *c.* 1136-1140, it is equally certain that both great hall and keep were constructed of timber at the time of the accession of Henry II.

⁴ This typical motte and bailey castle was founded by Roger de Busli, and is mentioned by Ordericus (xi, ch. iii) as the castle of Blythe. The motte,

Nowhere in the vast county should we find one of those grim but stately rectangular towers which have come to be regarded as the distinguishing feature of a Norman castle, but which, with a few exceptions, form merely one of the characteristics of an early Plantagenet castle; we should not find a single Juliet keep, and it is very doubtful whether we should find a single castle where the palisading running round the outer edge of the motte had been replaced by a stone wall, or as Mr. Clark terms it, a shell keep. And we must remember that the date of our imaginary visit is more than eighty years after the Conquest!

Brought up as we have been since boyhood on such works as Scott's *Ivanhoe* and the late mediæval romance of King Arthur, the word "Norman castle" conjures up a veritable Gustave Doré fortress, with towering turreted keep and enormous curtain walls and a crowd of "noble knights and fair ladies" in the glory of their heraldic arms, in the equal grandeur of their noble names. Just as on a summer's evening a far-off range of mountains, blue and hazy in the distance, calls to us with an irresistible appeal, so in these days of motor traction and wireless telegraphy, there is nothing that appeals to us with greater force than the glamour of the early Middle Ages. But were it possible for us to transport ourselves back into the year 1154, all these beautiful visions would tumble into the mud like a pack of cards.

The Gustave Doré castle would vanish into thin air and in its place we should find a frowsy, evil-smelling timber structure which a sanitary inspector of the present day would at once condemn as unfit for human habitation. A two-storey block of timber buildings in the bailey afforded the main accommodation, and of this block the great hall was the prominent feature. The hall proper was on the first floor level, approached from the courtyard by a flight of timber steps. A long, low apartment, devoid of a fireplace, and lit by unglazed loops in its timber walls, with a thatched roof which did not always keep out the

an unusually fine one, is some 75 feet in height, and about 80 feet in diameter at the summit, on which are the foundations of a polygonal shell keep erected by Henry II, as is proved by the Pipe Rolls of 1178-9, the cost being £123 12s. 5d., equivalent to some £2,500 of modern money. The entire bailey was probably walled in at the time with which we are dealing, viz. the year 1154. Existing architectural detail shows that

the lower portion of the gatehouse was erected during the last quarter of the eleventh century, and possibly the curtains were commenced in 1101, when Ordericus (*Hist. Ecc.*, iv, 33; xi, 3) tells us that Robert Belesme fortified the stronghold. The bulk of the bailey walls, however, were probably constructed by Henry I, and the Pipe Rolls, 31 Henry I, 33, 36, mention expenses connected with this work.

wet, and in which many a bird had its nest, this room was the centre of the daily life of the fortress. A heavy board fixed on trestles ran up the hall, with rough benches on either side for seats. At the dais end, raised a step or two above the rest of the room, was the high table where the lord and lady of the castle sat with the family and guests. After supper the hall became the dormitory of the household, the trestles being removed and beds of fern and dry rushes made along the sides of the room. Opening out of the dais end of the hall was the "solar" or private apartment of the lord and lady of the castle, a luxury which does not appear to have come into vogue until quite late in the eleventh century. Connected with this room was probably a smaller apartment, in which the daughters of the lord slept—the sons would sleep in the hall with the other members of the household. Neckham, in his *De Utensilibus*, written in the last quarter of the twelfth century, mentions only four rooms in a house, the hall, the chamber, the kitchen, and the larder or store-room. Sometimes, in the lesser important castles, the timber tower on the summit of the motte provided the accommodation just mentioned as existing in the bailey, the latter place merely containing the stabling, outhouses, etc. In the summer months the bulk of the cooking was done out of doors in the courtyard of the bailey or the motte; in the winter months it was done in a small room opening out of the lower end of the hall.

The domestic architecture of a period invariably gives us a clue to the habits and manners of that particular time. The barons of the Norman period, in spite of their high-sounding and now historic names, were not exactly the sort of people one would now-a-days ask to dine with us. Take the roughest and most brutal Durham pit-lad you can find, invest him with absolute and uncontrolled authority, and you would have a very fair sample of the Norman baron of the time with which we are dealing. There would be exceptions, of course, we are speaking of the average. It would be indiscreet to enter into details, but in those days it was not fashionable to wash, handkerchiefs were unknown, common decency, not to speak of privacy, was conspicuous by its absence. To cut matters short, the Norman baron was a verminous person in the ordinary meaning of the word. The less said the better of the morals of that period. The virtue of no girl or young married woman with any pretensions to good looks was worth a moment's

purchase; it was an acknowledged perquisite of the ruling classes to take what they chose in this line. The revolting cruelties practised upon prisoners, not only during the terrible intestinal warfare of the time of Stephen, but in every one of the many rebellions of the days of the four Norman kings, prove clearly enough how brutal, bestial, and horrible were those days. Nor were the women any better than the men. It is recorded that a high-born Norman lady would relieve the tedium of a long day, when her lord was out hunting, by having an unoffending servant—male or female—stripped and soundly thrashed in the courtyard. It relieved the tedium of the day! The Norman barons had their redeeming features; they were at least men. They had to be, for it was a case of the survival of the fittest, and the castles they erected reflect the brutality of their builders.

Having now put on one side the erroneous idea that the Norman castles were stately stone structures, let us endeavour to ascertain what fortresses were in existence in the North Riding at the time of the accession of the first of the Plantagenets. The writer is not prepared to contend that he is in a position to enumerate all the castles erected in that district between the time of the Conquest of the North and the year 1154. It is possible, indeed probable, that the sites of one or two may have been entirely obliterated owing to the cultivation of the soil. Local records dealing with the savage and troublous times of the four Norman kings are scanty and incomplete; we are, as it were, looking through a glass darkly, and the history of the existing earthworks marking the site of a Norman castle is often difficult to ascertain. It need, therefore, be a matter of little surprise to us if several castles have disappeared altogether, leaving no trace of their one-time existence either in earthworks or in records.

Nor is it at all easy to say definitely when such and such a castle was erected. Domesday gives us no assistance; it is as capricious in its mention of castles as it is of churches; neither were taxed, consequently they did not enter into the *raison d'être* of the Survey. We are almost entirely dependent upon historical inferences, and valuable though they be they are but inferences. The question, "What castles existed in the North Riding at the time of the Survey?" is a difficult, if not impossible one to answer. Richmond we know, from existing architectural detail, was completed, with its massive

curtain walls, its mural towers, its great hall, and its solar, possibly some ten years previous to the Survey. Foss Castle, near Whitby, was probably erected by Nigel Fossard previous to the Survey, and the same may be said of Skelton Castle, the great and apparently the only fortress of Richard de Surdevall. Pickering, in its original form, *i.e.* devoid of the outer or southern bailey, which was added much later, and Northallerton (Castle Hills), were probably erected by the Conqueror soon after the Conquest of the North, whilst Topcliffe was certainly constructed previous to the Survey by William de Percy. A castle would also appear to have been erected at Brompton-in-Pickering Lythe by Berenger de Toden. If a castle really did exist at Guisborough, and on this point it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, it may have owed its origin to the Count of Mortain, and would probably be destroyed by Rufus in 1088; it would certainly not be in existence after 1119.

The reign of Rufus may have been responsible for the erection by Robert de Brus of the fortress of Castleton. Crayke, a castle of the bishops of Durham, probably dates from this period, as do Middleham and Cotherston, the former erected by Ribald, brother of Alan le Roux of Richmond, the latter by Bodin, another brother. Thirsk, the great castle of Robert de Mowbray, probably dates from this reign, as may do Cropton and Buttercrambe, erected by Robert de Stuteville.

The long reign of Henry I would not appear to have been unduly prolific in the erection of castles. Helmsley, the great stronghold of Walter l'Espece; Killerby, the castle of Scolland; Whorlton, the fortress of Robert de Meynell; Pickhill, the castle of Roald, constable of Richmond; Malton, the fortress of Eustace Fitz-John, and possibly a castle erected at Feliskirk by a junior branch of the house of Fossard, may date from this reign. On the other hand, the castle of Guisborough, if it ever existed, would be dismantled either by Rufus after the Mortain rebellion of 1088, or by Robert de Brus previous to 1119.

The terrible intestinal disorders of the time of Stephen may have been responsible for the erection by Bernard de Balliol of a small castle on his manor of Easby; of the strong fortress of Castle Levington by Robert de Brus; of the castle of Kildale by a junior branch of the house of Percy; of the promontory fortress of Kilton by Pagan, the ancestor of the de Kiltons; of the castle of Sheriff Hutton by Bertram de Bulmer; of the

castle of Hode by the Mowbrays; of the small motte castle of Carlton-in-Coverdale by the Fitz-Randolphs of Middleham; of the stone castle of Scarborough by William le Gros, 3rd Earl of Albemarle, who already possessed a great fortress at Skipsea (East Riding), and of the two purely robber castles of Hutton Conyers and Yafforth, by Alan the Black, the holder of the Honour of Richmond.¹ It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to remark that the date of the erection of the majority of the above-mentioned castles is conjectural owing to almost complete lack of documentary evidence.

Tradition avers that several other castles, of which Hornby in Richmondshire is one, were founded during the Norman period; but as historical inferences do not strongly support these traditions, and as there are no earthworks at these places which can, with confidence, be assigned to this period, they are omitted from the list. The writer is, however, quite prepared to admit that a certain number of hastily constructed "adulterine" castles may have been erected in the North Riding during the anarchy of the time of Stephen—in addition to those mentioned above—all traces of which have disappeared.

We have now, including Catterick, enumerated thirty-two castles as erected in the North Riding between the time of the Conquest of the North and the accession of Henry II. To this list we may add Northallerton—the Bishops' Palace—which, although not erected until the reign of Richard I, may be more conveniently referred to here as it was, in its original form, a motte and bailey castle; and the siege castle of Pickering (Beacon Hill), the date of which is unknown. This brings the list up to thirty-four in number. If, in order to err on the safe side, we omit Guisborough and Hode—of which all traces would seem to have disappeared—and also Carlton, Catterick, Brompton, and Feliskirk—which are more or less doubtful, the number is reduced to twenty-eight. Of these twenty-eight castles no fewer than nineteen possessed mottes, viz.:—Castle Levington, Castleton, Cotherston, Crayke, Cropton, Easby, Foss, Killerby, Middleham, Northallerton (2), Pickering (2), Pickhill, Sheriff Hutton, Thirsk, Topcliffe, Whorlton, and Yafforth. Of these, Castle Levington, Castleton, Cotherston, Easby, Pickering (Beacon Hill), and Yafforth were motte castles devoid of a bailey. At Skelton there is a certain amount of

¹ If a castle existed at Catterick, it would probably owe its origin to Alan the Black.

somewhat unreliable evidence of the one-time existence of a motte. There is hardly sufficient evidence remaining at Buttercrambe, Kildale, and Malton to enable us to say definitely that they possessed mottes; but the probabilities are certainly all in favour of their having done so. Helmsley, Kilton, Richmond, and Scarborough never possessed mottes.

As we have already noticed, only two of these twenty-eight castles possessed any works in masonry in the year 1154. Of the remaining twenty-six castles, nine are known to have developed stonework at different periods subsequent to 1154, viz.:—Castleton (c. 1160), Cotherston (c. 1200), Crayke, Helmsley (c. 1200), Kilton (c. 1190), Northallerton (Bishops' Palace), Pickering (c. 1179–1186), Skelton (c. 1190), and Whorlton. It is probable that to this list should be added Buttercrambe (c. 1200), Malton, and possibly Kildale. The remaining fourteen, viz. Castle Levington, Cropton, Easby, Foss (abandoned c. 1197 and a stone castle erected half a mile distant), Hutton Conyers, Killerby (abandoned in 1291 and a stone castle erected a short distance away), Middleham (abandoned in 1190 and a stone castle built a quarter-mile away), Northallerton (Castle Hills), Pickering (Beacon Hill), Pickhill, Sheriff Hutton, Topcliffe, Thirsk, and Yafforth, would never appear to have evolved beyond the timber stage.

We notice that the majority of these castles are placed on or conveniently near a Roman or other ancient road. Foss, Cropton, and Malton are close to the Roman road leading from Malton to Dunsley Bay, whilst Pickering is only some two miles distant from it; Thirsk, Northallerton, and Yafforth command an ancient road leading from York to the north; Richmond and Killerby dominated part of the great Roman road from Aldborough to Piercebridge; Middleham was on an ancient road leading from Skipton *via* Coverdale; Pickhill was conveniently close to two ancient roads; Skelton commanded a Roman road leading from the Tees' mouth to Dunsley Bay; Crayke was close to another ancient road; Whorlton was only two miles from a Roman branch road leading to Yarm. The reason of this proximity to then existing roads is not far to seek. As a general rule the Conqueror was careful to scatter the estates granted to his tenants-in-capite, and the great barons took the same precaution with regard to their own feudatories. It was, therefore, essential that these castles should be placed conveniently near a road, which would enable their occupiers

easily to visit their estates in different parts of the country. Although there would appear to have been no organised system of national or even of county defence in the selection of the sites of these castles—their founders appear simply to have erected them on the places most convenient to themselves—they are all more or less linked up by then existing roads.

Another point we cannot fail to notice is how frequently they are placed on the banks of a river or beck. On the banks of the Swale were the three important castles of Richmond, Topcliffe, and Killerby; Easby, Castle Levington, and Kildale are on the Leven; Buttercrambe and Malton on the Derwent; Castleton on the Esk; Helmsley on the Rye; Middleham on the Ure; Cotherston on the Tees; Foss on the Sandsend Beck; Yafforth on the Wiske; Thirsk on the Cod Beck; Cropton on a promontory overlooking the river Seven; Pickering commands a gorge of the beck of that name; Skelton is close to the Skelton Beck; Kilton on a bold promontory above the beck of that name.

Another point we cannot fail to notice is how frequently the earthworks which mark the sites of our Norman castles are close to a church, often of approximately the same date as the fortress. This is the case at Skelton, Cropton, Helmsley, Kildale, Malton, Pickhill, Sheriff Hutton, Thirsk, and Whorlton, and at the more doubtful castles of Catterick and Feliskirk. Sometimes, as at Skelton and Whorlton, and, to a certain extent, at Pickhill, Kildale, and Sheriff Hutton, the church stands upon and, as it were, forms part of the outer line of defence. It is seldom we find a Norman castle on a very elevated site; Easby is an exception, being nearly 600 feet above sea level, whilst the doubtful castle of Carlton-in-Coverdale is no less than 900 feet above sea level.

When we come to attempt to “reconstruct” these fortresses we are met with many difficulties. It is, of course, unnecessary to say that no such thing as an earth-and-timber castle has existed for many centuries, and in our efforts to “reconstruct” them we are dependent entirely upon the scanty contemporary evidence we possess with regard to them, and the application of that evidence to the earthworks which now mark their sites.

Let us deal with the mottes first. The Bayeux Tapestry depicts the mottes existing towards the commencement of the last quarter of the eleventh century at the castles of Bayeux, Dinan, Dol, and Rennes. These pictures are, of course, very

crude, but they convey a good deal of valuable contemporary evidence. All show a timber palisade running round the outer edge of the summit of the motte, enclosing a wooden tower or keep. A ditch, with counterscarp bank, runs round the base of the motte, and from the counterscarp bank rises a wooden bridge or ladder, leading upwards across the ditch to a platform projecting from the stockade on the motte summit. These keeps, which are obviously of timber, are apparently square; but at Bayeux and Rennes are surmounted by a cupola roof. They are battlemented, and are very picturesque in appearance, with oak gargoyles projecting at the angles.

Lambert of Ardres, writing about 1190,¹ gives us a description of one of these keeps, that erected at Ardres, about 1100, by the master-carpenter,² Louis of Bourbourg, for Arnould, lord of Ardres. This tower, which was three storeys in height, evidently had a smaller tower attached to it. The means of entry from the court on the summit of the motte was probably by a ladder or flight of steps leading up to the first floor level.³ The ground floor of the main tower was used entirely for stores, "where were store rooms and granaries, and huge boxes, tuns, casks, and other household utensils"; that of the smaller tower probably contained pig-sties, hen-houses, etc. On the first floor of the main tower was the great hall, or common living room of the household. Out of the dais end of the hall opened the solar or "great chamber, in which the lord and his wife slept"; the dormitory of the waiting maids and children, and a small room or recess, opening out of the solar, "where at early dawn or in the evening, or during sickness or at time of blood letting, or for warming the maids and weaned children, they used to have a fire." At the lower end of the great hall was the buttery and pantry, and between them a short passage communicating with the kitchen, which was, apparently, on the first floor of the smaller tower. On the second floor of the great tower were three apartments, "garret rooms," evidently contained in the high-pitched roof; "in which on the one side the sons of the house (when they wished it), on the other side the daughters of the house (because they were obliged), used to

¹ Lambert of Ardres. Extracts in Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*.

² In these early days the master-carpenter was an important individual. We are told (Hutchin's *Dorset*, i, 488) that a certain Durand, the carpenter, held the manor of Mouldham, near Corfe, by the service of providing a carpenter

to maintain in repair the timber keep at Corfe Castle.

³ The writer understands that even at the stone palace of Richmond Castle the steps leading up from the low stone platform to the entrance door of the great hall were of timber.

sleep." The third room was used by the garrison and men-servants of the castle, where "they took their sleep at some time or other"—apparently as their duties permitted. On the eastern side of the main tower was apparently another projection, but whether this commenced at the ground level, or was supported by uprights, is not very clear. On the first floor level of this projection was the logium or parlour, probably principally used in the summer months, "where they used to sit in conversation for recreation"; above it was the chapel, evidently entered from the second floor level, a room which "was made like unto the Tabernacle of Solomon in its ceiling and decoration." Possibly it is the cupola roof of such a chapel which is shown in the Bayeux Tapestry at the keeps of Bayeux and Rennes. "There were stairs and passages from storey to storey, from the house into the kitchen, from room to room, and again from the house into the logium."

If we draw a plan of such a tower, giving only moderate dimensions to the apartments, and if we remember that its angles must have stood clear of the stockade and its accompanying fighting platform, we shall probably conclude that the motte on which it was placed could not have been less than 150 feet in diameter. Obviously these great timber keeps were no make-shift structures designed to exist only until the motte was sufficiently consolidated to bear a stone edifice. Their builders probably never contemplated the possibility of the future existence of a stone tower.

The great disadvantage of these timber towers was their liability to be destroyed by fire, and to partially obviate this danger there is no doubt that the cooking was done, at any rate during the summer months, in the little courtyard on the summit of the motte. Indeed, all our evidence goes to show that the habits and method of life of the Anglo-Normans were much more primitive than we have been led to imagine.¹

The keep would be provided with turrets and battlements, and at convenient points crates of stones would be placed to be used as missiles against an enemy. We may almost

¹ When the fine oval motte at Burton-in-Lonsdale was excavated, it was found that the courts of both the motte and the bailey were paved with rough stones, chosen haphazard and varying in shape and size, bedded in stiff clay. On this rude pavement were found traces of fires and a quantity of wood ashes, together with bones of animals used for food, many iron implements, such as knives

and arrow heads, an axe, a large key, and half a human jaw. Everything pointed to the cooking having been habitually done in the courtyards, and the excavation greatly strengthened the theory that domestic manners in the days of the Normans were primitive in the extreme (see the *Trans., Cumb. and West. Antiq. Soc.* (1905), 284).

take it for granted that there was generally a well on the motte, for this citadel was intended to be held after the bailey had been captured.¹

The stockade running round the outer edge of the motte and enclosing the courtyard in which the keep stood evidently had a fighting platform attached to it. As the majority of these mottes were three-quarters detached, forming part of the general line of enceinte, we may conclude that there would be, in that part of the stockade looking towards the open field, a screened postern door by means of which the occupants of the citadel could leave it without having to pass through the bailey.²

Jean de Colmieu,³ in his life of John, the sainted Bishop of Terouenne (*obiit* 1130), gives us a description of the method of entering these citadels from the bailey. "Bishop John," he says, "was wont frequently to stay at Merchem, when visiting his diocese. Near by the churchyard was an exceedingly high fortress, which might be termed a castle or municipium (*castrum vel municipium*), built many years previously by the then lord of the manor according to the fashion which then prevailed. It is the custom of the great lords and nobles in that district, who spend much of their time in civil war, in order that they may be safe from their enemies, or that by their superior power they may conquer their equals or oppress their inferiors, to throw up a hill of earth as high as they can, and to encircle it with a ditch of great breadth and depth. They fortify the upper edge of this mound with a very strong palisade of hewn logs, sometimes placing turrets on its circuit at necessary points. Within this fortification they erect a house or keep (*arx*) dominating the entire enclosure. The entrance to this residence (*villa*) is only by means of a bridge, which rising from the counterscarp of the motte ditch, and being

¹ Neckham's treatise, *De Utensilibus*, tells us that a well was usually provided on the summit of the motte. He says that the motte should be placed on a site well defended by nature; that there should be a strong stockade of hewn logs running round the outer edge at the summit; that the keep or tower in the centre of this fortified enclosure should be provided with turrets and battlements; that there should be a well in the courtyard on the summit of the motte so that the citadel might be held after the bailey had been taken, and that crates of stones should be placed at suitable places to be used as missiles against an enemy. Unfortunately, only

a very limited number of mottes have been scientifically examined, but wells have been found at Almondbury, Berkeley, Berkhamstead, Carisbrooke, Conisborough, Kenilworth, Northallerton, Norwich, Pontefract, Oxford, Tunbridge, Worcester, and York. The well discovered at Northallerton, when the earthenworks were destroyed by the railway, was, however, probably that of the bailey.

² It was possibly by such a postern that the Empress made her escape from the castle of Oxford.

³ Jean de Colmieu, in his *Vita beati Joannis Morinorum episcopi* (*Acta Sanctorum*, 26 January, vol. iii, 409-417).

supported by double or even by triple columns placed beneath it at suitable intervals, rises by a graduated slope above the ditch until it reaches the level of the summit of the motte (*agger*) and touches the threshold of the enclosure." This method of entry is very clearly shown in the Bayeux Tapestry. The steep ladder or bridge was formed of planks, and was fitted with projecting pieces of wood nailed to it in order to afford foothold, and it is evident, from the pictures of the castles of Bayeux, Dol, and Rennes, that horses were trained to climb up this steep ascent. The bridge or ladder was evidently guarded at its base by a small outwork in the shape of a timber gate or turret, and terminated, at its upper end, in a timber platform or outwork projecting from the base of the stockade running round the outer edge of the summit of the motte. Jean de Colmieu goes on to tell us that when the aged Bishop was leaving the castle to consecrate the adjacent churchyard, a crowd of his admirers followed him down the bridge which, at its highest point, was some 35 feet above the motte ditch, and the frail structure, unable to bear the unusual weight, suddenly collapsed, and precipitated them all into the bottom of the ditch, where they were up to their knees in water.

Unfortunately, we seem to possess no contemporary description of the bailey of one of these earth-and-timber castles; but the mere fact that no stables, outhouses, workshops, cowsheds, etc., are mentioned as existing on the motte shows that these must necessarily, when a bailey formed part of the fortress, have been placed in this usual accessory.

The bank of the bailey ditch was surrounded by a strong palum, pelum, palitium, or timber palisade, with its accompanying fighting platform, possibly about 18 feet high.¹ It is possible that there was a timber gatehouse of two storeys at the entrance. The custom of enfilading the enceinte by projecting mural towers did not come into force until much later; but there can be no doubt whatever that, in those castles where the hall stood in the bailey, one or two small timber towers would be placed upon the enceinte, and it is a very significant fact that the stone curtains at Richmond, which date from the last quarter of the eleventh century, are so provided. The palisade of the bailey at two points was carried up the sides of the motte until it met the stockade running round the outer edge

¹ "Locum in Eboraco qui dicitur Vetus Ballium, primo spissis et longis 18 pedum tabulis . . . fortiter in-

cludebat." T. Stubbs, in Raine's *Historians of the Church of York*, R.S., ii, 417.

of the motte summit, exactly as stone walls do in those Norman castles which eventually developed works in masonry. Occasionally this portion of the bailey stockade was provided with its own banquette running up the sides of the motte, and at the interesting little motte and bailey castle of Ardmayle, Tipperary, erected by Theobald Walter, this banquette still remains in excellent preservation.

The entrance to the bailey was usually at a point as far distant from the motte as possible. Where the contour of the ground, or other circumstances, required the entrance to be placed near the motte, there was sometimes an earth-and-timber barbican, common to motte and bailey alike, placed at this point to afford an additional protection to the entrance.¹

The counterscarp of the bailey ditch was defended by a quick hedge of thorns and brambles, or by a row of stakes entwined with thorns, termed the hericia.²

There is another point to note before we attempt to apply this contemporary evidence to the earthworks which we have enumerated as existing in the North Riding. Ordericus Vitalis tells us of the destruction, in the year 1090, of the great hall (*principalis aula*) in the bailey (*in munimentis*) of the castle of Brionne by means of red-hot darts or of arrows tipped with burning tow shot on to its shingled roof.³ This is sufficient contemporary evidence to prove that the great hall, the centre of the domestic life of the castle, was sometimes placed in the bailey and not in the timber keep on the summit of the motte. There can be no doubt whatever that there was, perhaps from the earliest times, invariably a hall in the bailey of a Norman earth-and-timber castle, which was the usual residence of a tenant-in-capite or great feudatory. This applies equally to stone castles. At Rochester, for instance, although the great stone keep contained a fine hall, there was also a timber hall in the bailey. This was also the case at Scarborough, and numerous other instances might be cited.

¹ Examples may be seen at Mexborough (West Riding), Castle Acre, Castle Colwyn, Burton-in-Lonsdale, and Lilburne.

² This would afford a useful additional protection, as the hedge would be practically impervious to fire (see Cohausen's *Befestigungen der Vorzeit*, pp. 8-13). Lambert of Ardes tells us, p. 623: "Reparato exterioris Ardensis munitionis valli fossato et amplificato, et sepibus et ericiis consepto et constipato." In the account, by Jordan Fantosme, of the siege of the castle of Wark by the

Scots, we are told that the assailants managed to penetrate the hericon or hedge on the counterscarp, and got into the bailey ditch, but failed to carry the palicium or stockade

³ "Callidi enim obsessores in fabrili fornace, quæ in promptu structa fuerat, ferrum missilium callefaciebant, subitoque super tectum principalis aulæ in munimentis jaciebant, et sic ferrum candens sagittarum atque pilorum in arida veterum lanugine imbricum totis nisibus figebant" (*Ord. Vit.*, viii, 13).

But on one point the writer must confess that he feels very doubtful, and that is where the Norman baron had his meals and where he slept.¹ Wright, in his excellent *History of Domestic Architecture* (p. 19), says: "Dining in private was always considered disgraceful, and is mentioned as a blot on a man's character;" but he also says (p. 40): "In some cases, where the party was not an ostentatious or a public one, the meal was served in a chamber instead of in the hall." The first meal of the day was often, if not always, brought to the lord in his private chamber, but it was undoubtedly the custom of the baron to have his main meal or meals with his retainers in the hall, the noble and his family on the dais, the retainers "below the salt." If the baron always resided in a chamber, either in a timber keep within the palisaded summit of the motte, or (when the motte was not of sufficient size to bear a detached tower) in a chamber in a wooden turret projecting from the palisade, we have only to see a number of these mottes to realise how very awkward it would be for the baron to take his evening meal in the hall in the bailey. Yet it is difficult to believe that he would take his meal alone or with his family in his chamber on the motte for, the work of the day done, this would be the time for the gathering together of the entire household. However useful, indeed absolutely essential, the motte was from a defensive point of view at the majority of these castles, it cannot have been a convenient place of residence. Try to imagine, for instance, my Lord Percy, after supping not wisely but too well in the great hall in the bailey of Topcliffe Castle, attempting on a dark and stormy night to ascend the steep ladder or bridge leading to his apartments on the summit of the motte. We shall probably come to the conclusion that there would be occasions when my lord would find it more convenient to occupy the solar opening out of the hall in the bailey. The whole point is one that requires elucidation.

¹ De Caumont (*Abecedaire d'Archeologie*, p. 392) thinks that the baron always slept in a tower on the motte. "Le donjon était une tour plus ou moins élevée, tantôt en bois, tantôt en pierre, divisée en plusieurs étages et du haut de laquelle on découvrait, pour l'ordinaire, une étendue de pays assez considérable. Le commandant de la place habitait dans cette citadelle, sous laquelle était ordinairement une prison souterraine où le jour ne pouvait pénétrer."

Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*, p. 74, says:

"The keep in which he (the baron) and his family live is placed on the top of the motte, which is ditched round so as to separate it from the bailey; the provisions on which all are dependent are stored in the cellar of the keep, so that they are under his own hand; and the keys of the outer ward are brought to him every night, and placed under his pillow."

Cohaussen, in his *Befestigungen der Vorzeit*, p. 282, would appear to think that the baron always resided on the motte.

It seems to the writer that the erection of a detached tower of any size within the fortified enclosure on the summit of many of the mottes would have been quite impossible. No doubt a certain number of these mottes have silted away, or have been pared away when slighted, but a very fair number which are still perfect—as is proved by the preservation of their banquettes or earthen ramparts which once carried the stockade—are of so small a diameter that they could never have borne any sort of detached central tower at all. We must remember that the stockade, with its accompanying fighting platform, would take off at the very least 20 feet from the present diameter of the motte, and when we get, as we occasionally do, mottes of only some 35 feet in diameter, the courtyard enclosed by the stockade cannot have been more than 15 feet in diameter, a space insufficient to allow of the erection of any sort of tower at all. In the case of these small mottes the palisade probably bore one or two small timber turrets,¹ which would afford the necessary accommodation for the baron and his family, and also for the guard who, whether the lord slept in the bailey or on the motte, would certainly occupy the defences on the motte, for we must remember that the motte formed part of the outer defences of the castle, and would, therefore, require to be zealously guarded, more especially as it was always the citadel of the stronghold.

These earth-and-timber fortresses were formidable strongholds during the latter half of the eleventh and for some little time during the first half of the twelfth century. Their timber defences were effective enough when the assailants were armed only with swords, axes, slings and bows, weapons which could only be used at close quarters.² Until their experience during the first and second crusades taught the Normans more advanced

¹ We get a similar arrangement in stone on the large high motte at Arundel. On the circuit of the stone wall, or shell keep, running round the top of the motte, are the remains of a tower containing a chapel, and what is known as "the king's chamber." This shell wall, with its tower, was erected between 1170 and 1187 at a cost, including the flooring of the tower, the making of a garden, etc., of £340, a sum equivalent to over £6,000 of present-day currency (Pipe Rolls, 1170-1187).

² There were elementary siege engines of sorts even in the time of the Conqueror (Oman, *Art of War*, pp. 135, 139), but that the bulk of the fighting in the siege of a motte castle was of hand-to-

hand character is proved not only by the *Gesta Stephani*, but by several other records, including Sugar's *Gesta Ludovici Grossi*, ed. A. Molinier, pp. 63-66, which gives us a graphic account of the capture, in 1111, by Louis VI, of the castle of Le Puiset. In an uncivilised country like Ireland, where the natives were ignorant of the art of war, the vast majority of the castles erected by the Norman invaders down to the middle of the thirteenth century were constructed entirely of earth and timber. We have at Roscrea, Tipperary, an explicit instance of the erection of a motte castle in John's reign (as is recorded in an Inq. of 29 Henry III, *Cal.*, i, 412, quoted by Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman*

methods of attack, the siege of a motte castle was more or less a question of hand-to-hand fighting, in which every advantage rested with the defenders. We know from our experience of present-day warfare against uncivilised tribes what a formidable defence may be offered, even to troops armed with powerful modern firearms, by a thick hedge and a strong stockade sheltering a determined enemy, and we can readily realise the difficulties an early mediæval force would experience in an attempt to capture one of these earth-and-timber strongholds. Even should they succeed in capturing the bailey, the defenders could take refuge in the stockaded citadel on the summit of the motte, from which advantageous position, a position commanding the entire bailey, they could inflict heavy punishment upon their assailants. Practically speaking, the defenders of one of these earth-and-timber castles had only three dangers to fear—fire, treachery, and starvation. An arrow, tipped with burning tow, might set fire, as occurred at Brionne, to the roof of the great hall in the bailey, or even, in very dry weather, to the stockading on the summit of the motte, but this danger was, to a certain extent, minimised by piling up sods, soaked in water, against the exterior face of the stockading, or by covering the timber defences with skins newly flayed or soaked in water. Treachery was always difficult to guard against, and was probably responsible for the capture of many an otherwise impregnable fortress. A prolonged siege by a large force who had possession of the surrounding country might lead to the ultimate surrender of the stronghold through scarcity of victuals, water, or ammunition, but we know¹ that the blockade, by the Conqueror, of Hubert de Maine's castle of Ste-Suzanne lasted three years, and that eventually the assailants were compelled to abandon the attack, and there are numerous other instances which prove clearly enough that in case of attack the advantages lay preponderatingly on the side of the defenders.

We may now proceed to examine in more detail the Norman castles of the North Riding, taking them in alphabetical order for convenience in reference. The writer feels that some apology is necessary for the amount of space devoted to this catalogue of the Norman castles, the great majority of

Castles of the British Isles, p. 345), which castle was completely demolished and the motte destroyed in the reign of Edward I, when a stone castle was built (Mr. Orpen, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxii, 454). Even as late as 1242, Henry III

constructed an earth-and-timber castle in the Island of Rhé, at the mouth of the Garonne (Cal. of Pat. Rolls, 1232–1247, quoted by Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, p. 350).

¹ *Ord. Vit.*, vii, 10.

which are now only represented by earthworks, but the bulk of the information given has never previously been placed before the readers of the *Journal*.

BROMPTON (in Pickering Lythe).

Here we have what would certainly appear to be a mutilated motte, and signs of the presence of masonry foundations; but until the site is excavated it is impossible to say anything definite. Hinderwell, writing in 1798, tells us that the foundations of an ancient castle were then visible on an eminence called "Castle Hill," and a local tradition exists to the effect that a castle stood here. At the time of the Survey¹ the manor formed part of the honour of Settrington² (East Riding), held by Berenger de Toden, and as no traces of a Norman castle exist on the twenty-one manors held by him in the North Riding except at this place, it does not appear unreasonable to suggest that these earthworks may mark the site of a stronghold erected by him during the reign of the Conqueror. Berenger died without issue, and his wife, Albreda,³ married Robert de L'Isle some time previous to 1115-1118.⁴ "As early as the reign of Henry I," says Mr. William Farrer, D.Litt., in a letter to the writer, "Brompton had been granted out by Robert de L'Isle to the Cleres, who enfeoffed Eustace Fitz-John, after whose day it descended with Westthorpe and Snainton in the line of Vescy as a member of the Bigod fee.⁵ The principal demesne of the Cleres was at Sinnington; they were a Norfolk family, and had property in Hampshire also." Of the history of the castle we know nothing.

BUTTERCRAMBE.

History.—At the time of the Survey this manor belonged to Hugh Fitz-Baldric,⁶ but on his death, late in the reign of

¹ *D.B.*, fo. 314. In Brunton Gamel had 6 carucates for geld. Land to 3 ploughs. Now Berenger has 1 plough there, and 9 villeins with 5 ploughs, and a mill of 5s. A priest and a church and 8 acres of meadow, and underwood 2 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 10s., now 20s.

² This honour contained 21 manors in the North Riding, aggregating 78 carucates and 5 bovates.

³ Berenger and his wife, Albreda, gave the church of Thorpe Basset and tithes in Settrington to St. Albans (Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, ii, 220).

⁴ The date of the Lindsey Survey.

⁵ Berenger de Toden's Yorkshire property eventually descended to Hugh Bigod, son and heir of Roger Bigod, by his wife, Adeliz, Berenger's sister.

⁶ Hugh's name appears in 1067 as a witness to a charter of Gerold de Roumare to the nuns of St. Amand, Rouen (Dr. Round, *Cal. Doc. of France*, 25), and it has been suggested (A. E. Ellis, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, iv, 237) that the nuns paid his passage to England to join in the Conquest of the North. He would appear to have had a daughter, who married Guy de Craon (Wm. Farrer,

the Conqueror or early in that of Rufus,¹ it came into the possession of Robert de Stuteville, nicknamed "Frontdebos," i.e. "Oxhead," who, previous to 1106, gave tithes and a bovate of land here to St. Mary's, York. The original Stuteville Castle was probably at Langton² (East Riding), and Buttercrambe may have been erected c. 1090. Robert was one of the adherents of Robert, Duke of Normandy, against Henry I, and being taken prisoner at Tinchebrai was imprisoned for life, and his North Riding estates confiscated.³ William de Stuteville, his son, would appear to have regained possession of a portion of his father's property⁴—including Buttercrambe—and was one of the principal commanders at the battle of the Standard.⁵ His son, Robert, in 11 Henry II, certified his knights' fees as eight in number. The old timber castle probably developed into a stone fortress under William de Stuteville—the son of Robert II—in or about the year 1200,⁶ and remained the property of the family until Joan, daughter and heiress of Nicholas de Stuteville, carried it in marriage to Hugh Wake. Her Inq. p. m. was taken in 1276, when her son and heir, Baldwin Wake, was aged 38.⁷

Description.—This castle occupied a site of considerable strategic importance in what is now known as Aldby Park, on the west bank of the Derwent, amid beautiful scenery. Camden⁸ tells us that he saw "upon the top of the hill what appeared to be the rubbish of an old castle," which statement would go to support the theory that it evolved into a stone castle, but nothing appears to be known of its history. A modern house and garden now occupies the site, and the whole of the earthworks have been so much mutilated that only two small hillocks connected by a bank—possibly part of the bailey enceinte—now remain.

D.Litt., *V.C.H. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 177), but he does not appear to have had a son. Mr. Farrer thinks (*ibid.*, p. 178) that he died whilst the summary of the Survey was being completed.

¹ Robert de Stuteville would appear to have come into possession of the bulk of Fitz-Baldric's North Riding demesne lands very soon after the Survey (*Cal. Chart. R.*, 1300-1326, p. 114). It is possible that he may have married a daughter of Fitz-Baldric.

² Mr. Farrer thinks that Robert de Stuteville's father, Geoffrey de Stuteville, may have been Goisfrid of Langton, one of Fitz-Baldric's feudatories (*V.C.H. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 178), and the earth-

work near the rectory at Langton may represent Goisfrid's Castle.

³ *Ord. Vit.*, *Eccl. Hist.*, book xi, ch. xxi (ed. Le Prevost), iv, 234.

⁴ That William de Stuteville did not regain the whole of his parental property is shown by the fact that in 1200 his grandson, William, claimed certain property against William de Mowbray (Roger de Houeden, *Rolls Ser.*, iv, 117).

⁵ He bore the arms :—Barry of twelve argent and gules.

⁶ Roger de Houeden, iv, 17.

⁷ William Brown, *Yorks. Inquisitions*, i, 167.

⁸ He wrote in 1582.

CARLTON-IN-COVERDALE.

At Carlton-in-Coverdale,¹ some 900 feet above sea level, is what appears to be an artificial motte of conical shape, which may mark the site of a small outpost castle connected with the fortress of Middleham.² Nothing, however, would appear to be recorded as to its history. If there really were a small castle here, it would probably be occupied by a few retainers whose principal duty may have been to protect the shepherds, for the Fitz-Randolphs of Middleham had extensive rights of pasturage in the vale of Kettlewell,³ and there was certainly an ancient road running *via* Carlton from Middleham to Kettlewell.⁴

CASTLE LEAVINGTON.⁵ (Fig. 1.)

History.—At the time of the Survey⁶ the manor on which this interesting earthwork stands was the property of the Crown, and was known as Alia Lenton.⁷ Very late in the reign of the Conqueror or early in that of Rufus it was granted,⁸ with other property in Cleveland, to Robert de Brus, a baron who would not appear to have come to England until about that time.⁹ The castle was probably founded early in the reign of Stephen, and its erection may have been due to a desire to defend the outlying parts of the Brus barony during the intestinal disorders of that unhappy period. Like Castleton, the other fortress constructed by Robert de Brus, Castle Leavington was a purely motte stronghold, devoid of a bailey. We shall see, under Castleton, that Henry II took from Adam de Brus his castle and lordship of Danby, and it seems probable that he also compelled him to dismantle his fortress of Castle Leavington. An account of the manor in 1274 makes no mention

¹ Carlton is thus mentioned in the Survey, fo. 311b: "In Carleton 6 carucates for geld, and 4 ploughs can be (there). Bernulf had a manor there; now the same (Bernulf) has (it) of the Count, and it is waste. Underwood, with plain land, 4 leagues in length and half (a league) in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 16s." Mr. William Farrer, D.Litt., in the *V.C.H. of Yorks*, vol. ii, p. 158, says that Bernulf's manors at a later date were incorporated in the fee of Ribald of Middleham, the ancestor of the Fitz-Randolphs.

² Such a castle would probably consist merely of a shed inside the palisade on the summit of the motte.

³ Mr. William Farrer, D.Litt., says in a letter to the writer: "The lords of

Middleham had extensive rights of pasturage in Kettlewelldale over the watershed from Coverdale."

⁴ Speight, in his *Romantic Richmondshire*, says that the coaches from Richmond to London used to go by this old road through Carlton from Richmond to Kettlewell.

⁵ The ancient and more correct spelling is Levington.

⁶ *D.B.*, fo. 300b, col. 2.

⁷ It was not until after the castle was erected in the reign of Stephen that the manor became known as Castle Levington.

⁸ *D.B.*, fo. 332b, col. 1.

⁹ Arms:—"Argent, a lion rampant azure." Brus appears to have come from Buis, now Brix, near Valognes.

of the castle itself—it was probably then dismantled—but states that “the herbage of Cringeldyk,” *i.e.* the “circular ditch,” running round the motte was said to be worth half a mark yearly.¹ Some time subsequent to the Brus partition of 1271,² the manor came into the possession of Nicholas, Lord de Meynell of Whorlton Castle, and about 1290 he appears to have restockaded³ the old Brus motte, and to have erected a large timber house or keep within the fortified enclosure, which house became the capital messuage.⁴ This late thirteenth century castle was simply a reconstruction, on the original lines, of the old Brus fortress of the time of Stephen, and it was certainly occupied down to 15 Richard II, 1391–2, *i.e.* for about a century, without developing any defences in masonry, and is but one of many instances known to the writer of a typical Norman earth-and-timber castle existing down to a comparatively late date without evolving into a stone fortress.

Description.—This remarkably well-preserved motte is situated amid pleasant rural scenery 175 feet above sea level, and 125 feet above the river Leven, which sweeps in a graceful curve round the eastern and northern banks of the nab end or angle of the steep bluff or promontory on which the earthwork stands. It is defended on the north-west, north, east, and south-east by slopes which in places fall away at an angle of 45°, and are everywhere exceedingly steep. On the west, south, and south-west the adjacent ground for some distance around is almost level with the motte. This is the only ground

¹ *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1272–9, p. 134

² In 1281 the manor was the property of William de Filgeriis, or Fougères (*Yorks. Inquisitions*, i, 221). His son, Andrew, got into the hands of the Jews (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1281–1292, p. 25), and the manor came into the possession of the Meynells, possibly by purchase, *c.* 1290.

³ Castle Leavington was probably rebuilt by Nicholas, Lord de Meynell of Whorlton Castle, in 1290. He bore the arms “Azure, three bars gemel and a chief or,” and was summoned to Parliament as a baron 22 to 25 Edward I, and died *c.* 28 Edward I (*Esch.* 28 Edward I, p. 38). The castle was probably occupied for some time by his eldest son and heir, afterwards Nicholas II; but about 1300 it became the residence of Christiana, the eldest daughter of Nicholas I, who married Robert de Sproxton, and who, in a North Riding Subsidy Roll for 1301, pays on personalty at Castle Levington. It subsequently became the residence of John de Meynell,

born 1281, the second son of Nicholas I, who had issue a son William, who predeceased him (*Esch.* 5 Edward III), and a daughter and heiress, Alice, who after her father’s death, 23 Edward III, became the owner of Castle Levington. She married, firstly, William de Percy, of Kildale, by whom she had a son, William, and a daughter, Margaret; secondly, Robert de Boulton; and thirdly, Walter de Boynton, by whom she had issue a son, Walter de Boynton, of Castle Levington, who died *s.p.* 15 Richard II, 1391–2, when the castle reverted to William de Percy, the son of Alice de Meynell by her first husband. On William’s death, without issue, the castle passed to his sister and heiress, Margaret, who, *c.* 1399, married Thomas Blanfront. The castle, however, would not appear to have been inhabited after the death, in 1391–2, of Walter de Boynton.

⁴ Brown’s *Yorks. Inquisitions*, *Yorks. Rec. Ser.*, i, 221.

on which it would have been possible to construct a bailey; but there is not the very slightest sign that this accessory ever existed; indeed, the contour of the motte and its ditches is alone sufficient to prove that we need not look for a bailey. The earthwork commands to the east and south-east a fine view of the distant Cleveland and Hambledon Hills.

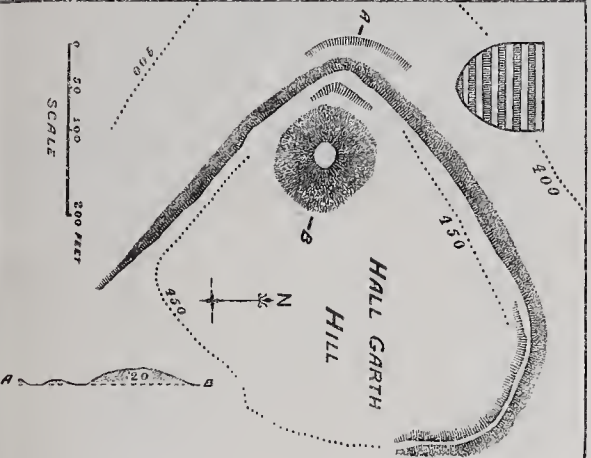
The motte is circular, and measures 175 feet in diameter. The banquette or earthen rampart which once carried the stockade and its fighting platform, running round the upper edge of the motte, is 9 feet in height, and in such excellent preservation that one is inclined to think that excavation might reveal the existence of a dry rubble wall forming its core.¹ It encloses a space of about half an acre in area. Allowing some 25 feet for the stockade and fighting platform, the court enclosed would be about 150 feet in diameter, a space sufficiently large to admit of the erection of a timber tower or keep of the first magnitude.² The main ditch, notwithstanding the steepness of the slopes, has been carried right round the motte some 30 feet below its summit. One of the most interesting features of the earthwork is a very narrow crescent-shaped outwork, some 10 feet lower than the motte, which is carried round the south and west sides, those parts of the fortress which, owing to the absence of a bailey, were the most liable to attack. It varies from 15 feet in width on the west to 25 feet in width on the south, where it is thrown slightly outwards, so as to form a kind of barbican guarding the entrance. This outwork is provided with its own ditch, some 9 feet deep, and its existence alone is sufficient to prove that no bailey ever existed. The entrance to the fortress was at the south, close to the verge of the precipice on the south-east, and much resembles those generally seen in the ramparts of a bailey. The outwork just described forms a barbican to it.

Castle Levington is the finest purely motte castle which the writer has yet met with.

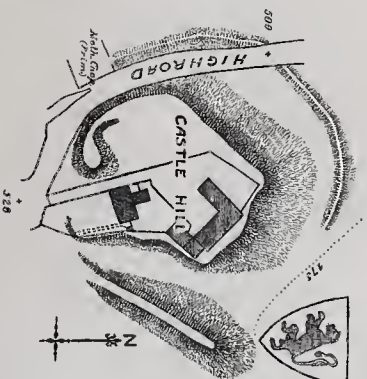
¹ In its excellent preservation, the banquette at Castle Levington greatly resembles that at the remarkably fine oval motte at Burton-in-Lonsdale, where the banquette is eleven feet in height. At Burton, however, the banquette is expanded on the east and west sides into broad flat platforms, evidently intended to carry timber towers. At Middleham, one of our North Riding castles, we get a similar expansion on the west side, which was probably occupied by the timber keep. When the motte at

Burton was carefully excavated—by Messrs. White & Walker—the unusually perfect condition of the banquette was found to be due to the existence of a mortar-built wall, which had originally formed a revetment to the bank, but which had become hidden by the fall of debris from above (see the *Trans. Cumb. and West. Antiq. Soc.* (1905), 284; see also the *V.C.H. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 29).

² As there was no bailey, the stabling probably occupied part of the basement of the tower.



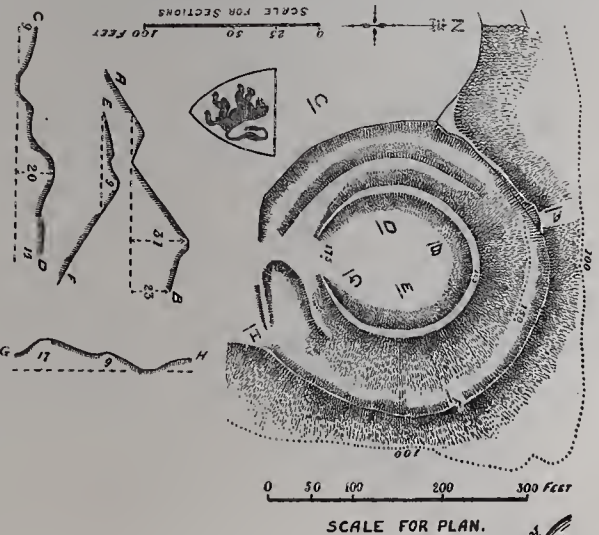
CROPTON



CASTLETON



EASBY



CASTLE LEAVINGTON

W. M. Thompson
1912

CASTLETON, CASTLE HILL. (Fig. 1.)

History.—At the time of the Survey the property subsequently known as the Lordship and Forest of Danby was in the possession of Hugh Fitz-Baldric. After his death, *c.* 1089, Rufus gave it, possibly in exchange for other lands, to Robert de Brus.¹ Historical inferences, such as they are, all tend to show that the fortress of Castleton was founded by Robert de Brus early in the reign of Rufus, and that previous to the acquisition, some time after the death of Richard de Surdeval—possibly *c.* 1100–1104—by Brus of the great fortress at Skelton, the stronghold at Castleton was the caput of the Brus barony. Robert de Brus² (*obit* 1146) had been one of the principal adherents of Stephen against the Empress, and it may have been this fact and a desire to have a castle in this part of Yorkshire which led Henry II to take from Adam de Brus (*obit* 1162) the fortress of Castleton, “with the Lordship and Forest thereto appertaining,” and to give him in exchange thereof the grange of Micklethwaite, with the whole fee of Collingham and Berdesey.³ It was not until 1200 that Castleton again came into the possession of the Brus family. Adam I was succeeded by his son, Adam II (*obit* 1198) and the second

¹ An extensive grant of lands in Cleveland to Robert de Brus took place about 1091 (*D.B.*, Rec. Com., i, 332–332b). Previous to 1094, along with Alan Niger of Richmond, he witnessed a charter of Earl Hugh of Chester, giving the church of Flamborough to Prior Reinfrid and the Convent of Whitby (*Whitby Chartulary*, 28). Almost all the fee given him, *c.* 1091, was in the hands of the Crown at the time of the Survey, and he probably received the lordship of Danby *c.* 1092, in exchange for other lands. It was probably not until 1104 that he was given by Henry I the lordship and castle of Skelton. It naturally follows that previous to making Skelton Castle the caput of his barony, he must have erected a castle somewhere on his earlier-acquired Cleveland estates. There are remains of two Norman castles on that property, viz.:—at Castleton and Castle Levington, and the probabilities are certainly all in favour of the former castle being the earlier. Moreover, the resentment shown by the family over the compulsory exchange of Castleton for other property, and the fact that they subsequently repurchased it, and that after the Brus partition of 1271 Marmaduke de Thweng, in right of his wife, joint patron of the great Priory of Guisborough, arranged that the presentation of the Prior-Elect should take place at Castleton, tends to support the theory that Castleton was the

original caput of the Brus fee. Mr. William Brown tells the writer that the late Canon Atkinson, who took a great interest in this part of Cleveland, verbally informed him that he held the same opinion.

² Arms:—Argent, a lion rampant azure.

³ The fee of Collingham and Berdesey had been forcibly taken by the king from the monks of Kirkstall (*Kirkstall Coucher*, Thoresby Soc. Miscellanea, 4, i). So far as we can see, this compulsory exchange was not an unfair one from Bruce's point of view. Although everything tends to show that he was a most unwilling partner in the transaction, we find (*Kirkby's Inquest*) that Collingham and Bardesey, with Wyk, contained 8 carucates—the value of the grange of Micklethwaite seems uncertain—whilst the lordship of Danby contained 12½ carucates, valued at one knight's fee. Considering the difference in the quality of the land, Brus would appear to have lost little or nothing by the exchange. He, however, lost a castle, and to make good this loss the king evidently permitted him to erect a similar fortress at Bardsey, for there is a Norman earthwork at that place which can only be assigned to him. The motte, which is 330 feet in length, is of unusual shape, as it is divided into two wards, connected by a narrow neck.

Adam—the builder of the stone castle at Skelton—by his son Peter I, who “in 10 Richard I paid 500 marcs for his father’s lands; and most earnestly desiring to repossess the Lordship and Forest of Daneby, of his ancient inheritance formerly taken from Adam, his father (read grandfather), by Henry II, rendered and quitclaimed to King John, in the second of his reign, all his interest in the Lordships of Berdesey, Collingham, and Rigton; and moreover, giving him £1,000 sterling, obtained them accordingly.”¹ Mr. William Brown, in his *Chart. Prior. de Gyseburne* (Surtees Society), shows us how, in order to raise this sum of money, equivalent to about £20,000 of present-day currency, Peter squeezed his tenants in every possible way, legitimate and otherwise, a proceeding which led them to extort an important charter from him. Now we have no reason to doubt that when, c. 1158, Henry II compelled Adam de Brus I to make the exchange, the fortress at Castleton was a timber structure of the usual Norman type. Although there is no masonry to be seen above ground at Castleton, we are told by the late Canon Atkinson—who resided for over forty years within a short distance of the place—that the foundations of the walls on the north side of the castle are no less than 13 feet in thickness, and that a “Norman column” and “the circular mullion of a two-light small Norman window” have been found on the site.² May not the fact that the cost of converting the original timber castle of the Brus into a stone fortress had been borne by the Royal Exchequer account for the magnitude of the fine Peter was compelled to pay in 1200 in order to regain the property, and that this sum of £20,000 (modern money) may represent the estimated value or cost of the stone castle? ³

¹ Dugdale, p. 448.

² “There is not the slightest doubt where the stronghold of the Brus was placed. The modern name, Castleton, independently of other evidence, would teach us where to look for it; but the existing foundations, in places 13 feet in thickness, together with the moats, not altogether effaced even yet, and the carved stones about the walls and buildings of the tenements existing when Ord wrote, and for long after—some of them, indeed, still existing—leave no room for so much as a question on the subject All the verge of the north side of the eminence on which the castle stood was strongly walled Twenty-five years ago the moat was quite distinct, from the east of the present entrance through the

garden and into the pasture field beyond. The keep probably stood on the conical hillock on the left as one enters, now surmounted by two or three sycamores. I saw the circular mullion of a two-light Norman window taken out of the debris overlaying the foundations, and several portions of red-deer antlers. There is also a good Norman column still extant in the garden of one of the houses near, which is known to have come from the castle” (Canon Atkinson’s *History of Cleveland*, vol. i, pp. 263-4).

³ £20,000 was not an excessive sum when we remember that Clifford’s Tower, York, cost £40,000 (Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*, p. 246).

As we shall not mention Castleton again, owing to the fact that there is no masonry visible above ground, it will be as well to refer here to the later history of the fortress. Upon the partition, in 1271, of the Brus barony, the castle and lordship, with other extensive property in Cleveland,¹ came into the possession of Marmaduke de Thweng, of Kilton Castle,² in right of his wife, Lucia, one of the four sisters and co-heiresses of Peter de Brus IV, and Marmaduke then handed over his castle of Kilton to his eldest son, Robert, and took up his residence at Castleton. We are told that Marmaduke arranged with Walter de Fauconberg, of Skelton Castle, that the presentation to the joint-patron of the great house at Guisborough of the Prior-Elect should take place alternately at Skelton and Castleton,³ a clear proof that Castleton was then considered the caput of the extensive Thweng estates. Marmaduke's son, Robert, left an only daughter, Lucia, and although the ancestral Thweng estates devolved, by arrangement, upon Marmaduke, the second son,⁴ the property which had come to the family through the Brus partition passed, in 1294, to William le Latimer, Junior, in right of his wife, Lucia de Thweng, the heiress. At a later date Latimer abandoned the Norman fortress at Castleton, and erected a quadrangular palace-fortress—one of the earliest of its type—on another part of the Danby lordship, and we hear no more of the stronghold at Castleton.⁵

Description.—Few, if any, of our North Riding castles are situated amid such bold and wild scenery as is this old fortress of the Brus, which stands on the northern extremity of the Castleton Ridge, overlooking the upper valley of the Esk. It is a district which brings to our mind the Highlands of Scotland, a district of moor and mountain, of scattered upland farmsteads linked up by moorland cart-tracks, a district immortalised by the late Canon Atkinson in his scholarly and interesting work, *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*. The motte projects from the hill side some 530 feet above sea

¹ Haeres Marmaduc de Thweng, qui est in custodia Domini Regis, tenet viii feod. milit. et dimid. et Danby pro uno feod. (*Kirkby's Inquest*). This entry refers only to those lands which had come to the Thwengs by the Brus partition of 1271; their ancestral estates, of which Kilton Castle was the caput, were held by them as feudatories of the Percies.

² Arms:—Argent, a fess gules between three popinjays vert.

³ Wm. Brown, *Cart. Prior. de Gyseburne*, Introd., vol. i, xx.

⁴ Ego, Marmaducus de Thweng, Dominus de Danby, dedi Marmaduco filio meo, Castellum de Kilton, et Manerium de Kilton, et Maneria de Lithum et Cotum (Dodsworth, 68, p. 10).

⁵ A reference to it as a ruin occurs in the Inq. p. m. of John, Lord Neville (*obit* 17 Oct., 1388).

level, and about 90 feet above the Esk, which flows beneath its northern base.

Castleton was a motte castle devoid of a bailey. The motte is somewhat of a horse-shoe shape, and measures about 200 feet from north-east to south-west by some 160 feet from north-west to south-east. The erection on its summit of a modern farmstead makes it difficult to say what the arrangements were. Canon Atkinson tells us that the foundations of the northern curtain are 13 feet in thickness—a quite abnormal thickness for a shell keep—and there is no doubt that the great hall, solar, etc., would stand here, with windows probably mainly looking inwards across the courtyard. If the Canon is correct in his measurements, there is little doubt that the curtain wall, on the first floor level, would be hollowed out to contain mural sleeping chambers. The banquette or rampart of earth which once carried the stockade, and on which Henry II probably placed a stone wall, is still perfect on the western summit of the motte. On the south-west this banquette is enlarged and forms a small hillock some 30 feet long from east to west by some 20 feet broad from north to south in its widest part. This is the place referred to by the Canon when he says “the keep would probably stand on the conical hillock on the left as one enters.” He is, however, wrong in supposing that this was the site of the keep; there was no keep, or rather the entire motte would form a shell keep, this hillock being merely an enlargement of the banquette to bear a small flanking tower or turret commanding the entrance, which was evidently on the site of the present entrance. A similar arrangement undoubtedly existed on the other side of the entrance, as is shown by the contour of the earthworks (see plan); but this would be destroyed when the farmhouse was erected. The existence of these two hillocks or platforms, one on either side of the entrance, is clear proof that no bailey ever existed. Although small, Castleton when complete would be a strong fortress. Until the site is excavated, it is impossible to say any more on the subject of this castle.

CATTERICK.

This is one of the doubtful Norman castles of the North Riding, for although, in its contours, a typical motte and bailey castle, it is mentioned in no record. This, however, is not surprising, for if a castle really did exist here, the probabilities

are that it was founded by Count Alan the Black, of Richmond, during the intestinal warfare of the time of Stephen, and that it was dismantled as soon as order was restored. It would, therefore, be contemporary with, and share the same fate as, Yafforth and Hutton Conyers, both erected by Alan the Black.¹ Whellan tells us that Walter de Urswick,² constable of Richmond Castle, resided here in the reign of Edward III, and his manor house would most probably stand on the highly defensible triangular promontory which, if a castle did exist here, formed the bailey of the stronghold.

The motte, if motte it be, which Gale calls "Mons Palatinus," is a small one lying immediately north of the church and the supposed bailey, and is now known as "Palet Hill." The present churchyard, which occupies a triangular promontory, certainly presents every appearance of having been the bailey of a Norman earth-and-timber castle. It is defended by steep natural slopes, which would seem to have been scarped away, and the ditch on the west is of great depth.³

COTHERSTON.

History.—This castle was apparently founded, early in the reign of Rufus, by Bodin, an illegitimate son⁴ of Eudo, Count of Penthievre, in Brittany, and therefore brother, on the distaff side, to Alan the Red, the first of the Breton holders of the great honour of Richmond. Count Alan granted to him

¹ By the merest chance we happen to possess records which prove the history of Yafforth and Norton Conyers, neither of which are, in appearance, such typical sites for a Norman stronghold as is Catterick. Yafforth is mentioned in a Pipe Roll of the time of Richard I (xxiii, No. 170), which refers to "the pasture of the island where the castle of Yafforth was," whilst John of Hexham, in Symeon of Durham (Rolls Series, ii, 308) makes a brief reference to Hutton Conyers as one of the "adulterine" castles of the time of Stephen. If these records did not happen to exist, both Yafforth and Norton Conyers—more especially the latter—would have been more doubtful Norman castles than is Catterick.

² Sir Walter's effigy still remains in the church. It lies in a niche in the south aisle of the nave, the niche bearing shields with the arms of (a) Urswick; (b) Scrope of Masham; and (c) Urswick, impaling Scrope of Masham. Sir Walter distinguished himself at Najara (1367), where he was knighted. The existing church was commenced c. 1412—the contract for its erection still exists.

³ Longstaff, in his *Richmondshire*, says: "The churchyard of Catterick, a triangular promontory, presents the features of an ancient camp, bounded by the hollow where the present street runs, on the west by the parsonage, and round to the north of it and the church." The site is mentioned in Camden's *Brit.* (ed. Gough), iii, 336, in which he terms the mound a high hill or keep, and refers to traces of outworks.

⁴ A. E. Ellis, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, v, 295. Mr. Wm. Farrer, D.Litt., says (*V.C.H. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 157): "Bodin, who also obtained the land of Ulchil in two places, and his brother Bardulf were said to have been the natural sons of Eudes, Count of Penthievre, and so they are sometimes styled brothers of Count Alan le Roux"; and, p. 159, *ibid.*, he says: "Odo, chamberlain of Count Alan, gave to St. Mary's, York, lands in Langthorne and Fingall, and tithes of Fleetham. This gift was attested by Robert, the grantor's son, Picot de Lasceles, Bardulf, and Bodin his brother" (Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, iii, 550; *Cal. Chart. R.*, 1300-26, p. 113).

some twenty-five manors, aggregating about 130 carucates,¹ in Richmondshire, and the fortress of Cotherston was undoubtedly founded, possibly at the request of Alan the Black, to defend Teesdale, just as the contemporary fortress of Middleham was erected to defend Wensleydale. The Thoresby *Rotulus Genealogicus* states that Bodin, in his old age, desiring to serve God, quitted the world, and became a monk in the Abbey of St. Mary at York, founded by his brother, Alan the Red. This event may have occurred about 1110. His estates were divided between his brothers Bardulf and Ribald, but a portion of them, including Bedale and Melsonby, subsequently came into the possession of Scolland, sewer to Alan III of Richmond. The castle of Cotherston passed to Bodin's brother, Bardulf, another illegitimate son of Eudo by the same mother.

Bardulf, some time afterwards, also became a monk in St. Mary's Abbey, York, and when he entered that house gave the church of Ravensworth to the convent.² It was probably at this time, c. 1120, that Scolland came into possession of a portion of Bodin's estates, the remainder of the property passing to Ascharius, Bardulf's son. Akarius, Akary, or Ascharius Fitz-Bardulf, who is said³ to have fought at the battle of the Standard, retained the castle of Cotherston, and in 1144 founded the Cistercian Abbey of Fors, in Wensleydale.⁴ He was succeeded by his son, Herveius or Hervey, during whose lifetime, through the influence of Conan le Petit, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, the Cistercian community was removed from the inhospitable and sterile country at Fors to a delightful site near the river Yore, where the stately abbey of Jervaulx was erected by them. Hervey stipulated that the bones of his father and mother should be reinterred at Jervaulx, and that

¹ The bulk of the lands given to Bodin belonged T.R.E. to Torfin. There were churches on the manors of Bedale, Melsonby, and Ravensworth, and mills at Bedale and Scorton. For a description of the remains of the pre-Conquest church at Bedale, see H. B. McCall's *The Early History of Bedale*, pp. 74-8.

² Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, iii, 549; *Cal. Chart. Rot.*, 1300-1326, p. 114.

³ Plantagenet Harrison's *History of Yorkshire*, p. 136.

⁴ The interesting story of the foundation of Fors and Jervaulx is given in Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, v, 568. Akary Fitz-Bardulf, of Cotherston Castle, gave certain lands at Fors to a learned physician, Peter de Quincy, who, with certain other monks from the abbey of Savigny, founded a cell at Fors. The chapter of

the parent house decided that the cell should be given to Byland, and, in 1150, John of Kingston, and other nine monks, were transferred from Byland to Fors. But the land at Fors was barren, the climate cold and dreary, one bad summer succeeded another, the corn would not ripen, and altogether the community had a very miserable time. Gladly would they have returned to Byland but for the ridicule with which they would have been received. In 1156, Conan le Petit, taking compassion upon them, with the consent of Hervey, the son of the founder, removed them to Jervaulx, where they flourished until the ill-advised Dissolution. In front of the high altar at Jervaulx is an effigy of one of the Fitz-Hughs.

the patronage of the house should be vested in him and his descendants. He died in 1182, and was interred at Jervaulx, which became the burial-place of his descendants, the Fitz-Hughs. Henry Fitz-Hervey, in 1200, replaced the timber defences of Cotherston by masonry, receiving the royal licence to crenellate.¹

Description.—This ancient fortress of the Fitz-Hughs—which, like Castleton, was a motte castle devoid of a bailey—stands on the angle of a height to the north of the village of Cotherston, amid beautiful scenery, about four miles north-west of Barnard Castle. Just below it is the junction of the Tees and the Balder Beck. As fragments of Henry Fitz-Hervey's stone castle erected in 1200 still exist, the ruin will be described in a later article.

CRAYKE.

History.—This manor was a place of considerable historic importance for some time previous to the Conquest, and long before Flambard or Pudsey erected the "castel" the Saxon bishops of Durham had an "aula" or manor house on the site.² At the time of the Survey,³ Crayke formed part of the possessions of the See of Durham, and the castle probably owes its origin to Ranulph Flambard, the famous Bishop and Chancellor, *temp.* Rufus, or, at the latest, to Bishop Pudsey (1153–1195).⁴ It was at this fortress that Pudsey contracted his last illness by indulging too freely at the table.⁵ The castle would not appear to have developed any extensive works in masonry until the time of Bishop Bek (1283–1310), and subsequently considerable additions were made by Bishop Neville (1437–1457). The architectural history of the stone castle will, however, be dealt with in a later article. At the time with which we are now dealing (1154) it was a motte and bailey castle, the defences of which were entirely of timber. Both motte and bailey of the early Norman castle may still be distinctly traced.

¹ *Cal. Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.).

² The vill and "tria in circuito ipsius villæ miliaria" were given by King Egfrid to St. Cuthbert *c.* 685 (Symeon Dunelm., *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, lib. 1, ch. ix, p. 47), and here the saint's body rested for four months (Symeon, ii, 13) in the monastic house of Crayke, when the monks were driven from Lindisfarne by a Danish invasion. The

manor remained the property of the See of Durham until about 1830, and as late as 1844 was an outlying part of the county of Durham, and is so marked on early nineteenth century plans.

³ *D.B.*, fo. 304b, col. 2.

⁴ Gill, in his *Vallis Eboracensis*, 134, assigns it to the latter prelate.

⁵ He died at Howden on the 3rd Mar., 1195.

CROPTON, T'HALL GARTH. (Fig. 1.)

History.—At the time of the Survey,¹ Cropton was a royal manor, but early in the reign of Rufus it was given to Robert de Stuteville, nicknamed “Frontdebos,” possibly a son of Goisfrid of Langton,² a feudatory of Hugh Fitz-Baldric. After Hugh’s death, “Frontdebos” came into possession of a considerable portion of his North Riding property, whether by marriage with one of his daughters and co-heiresses or by gift from Rufus would appear uncertain. Cropton Castle was probably erected early in the reign of Rufus by “Frontdebos,” but when its founder was taken prisoner at the disastrous battle of Tinchebrai,³ Henry I gave it, with Aislaby, Middleton, and Wrelton, to Turgis Brundos, lord of Liddle, who gave three carucates of land in Nunnington to St. Mary’s, York.⁴ About 1160, Henry II restored the castle to William de Stuteville,⁵ “Frontdebos’” son, who was one of the Anglo-Norman barons who fought at the battle of the Standard. Robert de Stuteville II, William’s son, founded the Priory of Rosedale c. 1190.⁶ The castle remained the property of the Stutevilles until Joan, daughter and heiress of Nicholas de Stuteville, carried it in marriage to Hugh Wake, as mentioned under Buttercrambe. Hugh was succeeded by his son, Baldwin—aged 38 in 1276⁷—who died previous to 1283,⁸ and John, his son and heir, had livery of all his lands in 18 Edward I.⁹ John, Lord Wake, died in 28 Edward I, leaving a widow, Joan, and a son and heir, Thomas Wake, then aged two years.¹⁰ The old Stuteville fortress did not develop any works in masonry, but John, Lord Wake, probably about 1290–5, erected a half-timber manor-house within the bailey, immediately to the east of the motte, the foundations of which still exist, although they are not shown

¹ *D.B.*, 300a, col. 2.

² See Wm. Farrer’s *The Domesday Survey* (*V.C.H. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 178).

³ *Ord. Vit.*, *Eccl. Hist.*, book xi, cli. xxi (ed. Le Prevost), iv, 234.

⁴ *Cal. Chart. Rot.*, 1300–1326, pp. 117, 119.

⁵ Arms:—Barry of twelve argent and gules.

⁶ This priory was situated amid beautiful scenery on the banks of the little river Seven, and was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Laurence. The property belonging to the house was situated principally in Rosedale, Cropton, Cawthorn, Lockton, Newton, and Pickering. The Conventual Church was used as a chapel-of-ease until 1838, when the interesting structure was ruthlessly

destroyed and the present edifice erected on its site. The amount of damage wrought by the ignorant clergy and churchwardens of the North Riding on our ancient churches between 1810 and 1850 is almost inconceivable. Another act of vandalism in this district was the destruction, in 1850, of the castle chapel at Cropton. All that now remains of the priory is the lower portion of a well-stair, a fine Late Norman doorway having been destroyed within the last half-century.

⁷ Wm. Brown, *Yorks. Inquisitions*, i, 167.

⁸ *Kirkby’s Inquest*. Cropton. Johannes filius Baldwini Wake qui est in custodia domini regis, etc.

⁹ Dugdale’s *Bar.*, i, 540.

¹⁰ *Cal. Gen.*, ii, 587, 605, 616.

on the plan. When this manor-house was abandoned is uncertain. In Drake's time the earthworks were known as "Crop-ton Castle"¹; but the site is now called "T'Hall Garth."

Description.—The earthworks which mark the site of this ancient fortress of the Stutevilles are delightfully situated on the extreme point or nab end of a promontory projecting westward, and commanding a very beautiful and extensive view over Rosedale. The position is one of considerable strategic importance, and admirably adapted for defence. Not far from the fortress is the Roman road leading from Malton (*Derventio*?) to Dunsley Bay (*Prætorium*?), and not quite two miles away is the famous Cawthorne Camp. To the immediate east of the castle, just outside the bailey, is the modern chapel-of-ease, in the Norman style, built about 1850, on the site of the ancient castle-chapel, probably erected in the reign of Rufus by Robert de Stuteville I, the only building in masonry appertaining to the fortress.

The motte stands at the apex or western end of the roughly triangular bailey at an elevation of some 450 feet above sea level. It is now about 20 feet in height, and some 150 feet in diameter at the base. It is so much silted down that it is now impossible to say what were its original dimensions. From the summit a magnificent view is obtained. It still retains traces of its ditch.

The bailey has covered an area of a little over three acres. The northern rampart and ditch is in fair preservation, as is a portion of the southern rampart; but the greater part of the eastern defences have been levelled, and the ditch filled up. Everything points to the great hall, etc., having been, from the first, placed within the bailey, possibly against the southern side. The motte, as at Topcliffe, was probably crowned by a palisade, with one or more small timber turrets on its enceinte.

EASBY, BOROUGH GREEN. (Fig. 1.)

History.—We know nothing whatever of the history of this Norman earthwork, but the probabilities are that it represents a castle erected, during the civil wars of the time of Stephen, by Bernard de Balliol,² the commander-in-chief of the

¹ *Eboracum*, 36.

² At the time of the Survey (*D.B.*, 300a, col. 2) we find that Easby (*Esebi*) was a small royal manor of two carucates, but Rufus granted it, as part of the barony or lordship of Stokesley, to his friend, Guy de Balliol, a Norman knight,

to whom he had given the barony of Bywell, in Northumberland. Guy was succeeded by his son, Bernard de Balliol (arms:—"Gules, an orle argent"), whose great-grandson, John Balliol, became King of Scotland.

Anglo-Norman army at the battle of the Standard. Balliol was lord of the manor of Easby, which formed part of his lordship of Stokesley, and the castle was probably intended to defend this outlying portion of his estates. When order was restored, the necessity for such a stronghold would vanish, and it would probably be abandoned early in the following reign.

Description.—This earthwork stands on a very bold and heavily-wooded nab end, known as Castle Hill, at an elevation of nearly 600 feet above sea level, rising at an angle somewhat steeper than 45° to a height of 200 feet above the river Leven, which flows beneath its southern base. When the trees are leafless and the earthwork can thus be seen from below, its position is a most commanding and imposing one. When complete it probably bore a fairly close resemblance to that at Castle Leavington, except that the latter is circular and the Easby earthwork is horse-shoe shaped, as is Castleton. The fortalice obviously consisted of a motte only, its heel or base on the south-east being defended by the precipitous declivity, and its north-east side by ground falling away gently towards the wood and the river. Unfortunately, the motte, which has measured some 115 feet from north-west to south-east by about 100 feet from north-east to south-west, has been much mutilated, the banquette or rampart of earth, which at one time carried the stockade, having been thrown down into the ditch. This ditch, although partially filled up in this way, originally ran round three sides of the motte, and is still quite distinct on the south-west and north-east sides, more especially at the points where its extremities merge into the steep declivity.¹ The ditch was not carried round the south side of the motte, as here the precipitous slopes rendered any artificial defence unnecessary, the stockading being probably placed on the very verge of these formidable natural defences. At a small castle of this type it is improbable that there was a timber keep, a mere shed inside the palisading probably being all the accommodation provided for the few retainers stationed there. Even when perfect the motte cannot have been of any great height,

¹ There are no traces of a counterscarp bank. The earthwork covers an area of about one-third of an acre, and bears a fairly close resemblance to the old Percy stronghold at Castle Haugh, Gisburn, Craven, the only castle site which exists on the Percy fief in that district. The motte at Gisburn is, like that of Easby, small, and is placed on

the very verge of a precipice. It measures 90 feet in diameter, and is 25 feet in height, and the ditch around it, some 7 feet deep, is in excellent preservation. The castle at Gisburn was erected by William de Percy, the founder of Topcliffe Castle, and was still in the possession of the family at the time of *Kirkby's Inquest*.

possibly not more than 12 to 15 feet, and it is now about 8 feet high. The writer is informed by the Rev. C. V. Collier, F.S.A., that the motte was dug into in the centre some years ago, but that no masonry or anything of interest was found. The soil thus excavated was carefully replaced.

FELISKIRK. (Fig. 2.)¹

Immediately to the north of the vicarage, and some 150 yards south of the church,² in the pretty little village of Feliskirk is what would certainly appear to be a small artificial motte. Unfortunately, three sides of the base of the hillock have been cut into by roads which have destroyed all trace of those details—ditch, counterscarp bank, etc.—the existence of which would have proved beyond all doubt that the earthworks represent a Norman castle.³ The vicarage garden looks very much like a bailey; but here again, what may have been the bailey ditch on the east is occupied by a road, whilst the ground on the west falls so steeply away that artificial defences would be here unnecessary. As all the ground which may have been occupied by the bailey has been under cultivation for many generations, all traces of the ditch on the south, if any ditch existed, have vanished.⁴

If a castle did exist here it would owe its origin to a junior branch of the powerful family of Fossard, who were settled here as early as the reign of Henry I.⁵ In 1210 they sold, or otherwise disposed of, their property here to the monastic houses of Byland and Newburgh, and to the Hospitallers of Mount St. John.⁶

¹ A plan is given of this earthwork, as a typical example of a doubtful motte and bailey castle.

² In his interesting description of this church (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxii, pp. 193–198), Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, F.S.A., tells us that the probable date of the original portion of the church is “the first quarter of the twelfth century,” which coincides with the advent of the Fossards of Feliskirk, and the probable date of the erection of the castle, if castle there were. The gem of the church is the beautiful effigy of Sir Wm. Cantilupe, *obit* 1309, which was identified by Mr. William Brown, F.S.A., at the last excursion of the Society (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxii, pp. 198–203).

³ There are now no traces of the banquette on the summit of the motte.

⁴ View the place from whatever point we like, it has every appearance of having been a motte and bailey castle; but the mutilation it has undergone renders it impossible to say definitely that such was the case.

⁵ Mr. William Farrer, D.Litt., in a letter to the writer, says:—“Considering the proximity of the Fossards’ estates to the York-Durham road, there would be nothing surprising in the possession by the Fossards of a stronghold at Feliskirk.”

⁶ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 164.

FOSS,¹ near Whitby. (Fig. 3.)

History.—All historical inferences would tend to show that this castle was founded *c.* 1071–3, as the caput of his extensive Cleveland estates, by Nigel Fossard, one of the two great feudatories of Robert, Earl of Mortain and Cornwall. Nigel held under the Earl the following property in Yorkshire, viz.:—

		Value.						
		Extent.	T. R. E.			1086–7.		
North Riding ..	131 car.	..	£33	15	0	..	£5	11 4
East Riding ..	227	..	64	16	0	..	20	14 0
West Riding ..	72	..	41	15	0	..	22	0 0
		430 car.	£140	6	0		£48	5 4

Nigel was a great castle builder, and would appear, in addition to Foss, to have erected the huge fortress of Mountferrant,² near Birdsall (East Riding)—his chief seat—Langthwaite,³ near Doncaster, and Lockington⁴ and Aughton,⁵ two East Riding castles. In its original form Foss Castle probably bore a large timber tower or keep on the summit of the motte,

¹ The writer names this earthwork after the neighbouring mill, as it is some little distance from the village of Lythe, in which parish it is situated. Lythe may have been a place of some importance in Anglo-Saxon times, and some hogbacks have been found in rebuilding the church there; these are enumerated in the interesting article on Anglo-Saxon sculptured stone by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., in the *V.C.H. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, pp. 125–6. Lythe is thus described in the Survey:—"In Lid 2 carucates for geld, and 1 plough can plough (them). Swen had 1 manor there. Now the Count of Mortain has (it), and Nigel (Fossard) of him. 6 villeins (are) there with 1 plough and 6 acres of meadow. Pasturable woodland 1 league in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. The whole manor (is) 1½ leagues in length and half a league in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 20s.; now 5s. 6d."

² The great castle of Mountferrant, near Birdsall (East Riding), stood on a long narrow promontory among the Wolds. It was, undoubtedly, one of the largest and strongest of the Yorkshire earth-and-timber castles. Unfortunately it is, and apparently has been for some considerable time, under the plough, and the ditches dividing the various wards are almost obliterated.

³ Langthwaite was probably the first castle erected by Nigel. The motte is, unfortunately, very much mutilated;

there are, indeed, not wanting signs that it was intentionally slighted, and is now only some 16 feet in height. The motte ditch, 40 feet in width, is in excellent preservation, and a portion of it still contains water. The well-preserved bailey, covering about half an acre, is bean shaped, and retains the bank on the scarp and also portions of that on the counterscarp. There are traces, moreover, of a second or later bailey, which evidently developed works in masonry.

⁴ The motte and bailey castle of Lockington, which was always a favourite residence of the Fossards and of their successors, the Mauleys, is still in very fair preservation. The motte is only 14 feet high, and that it was never much higher is shown by the fact that it still retains a portion of its banquette. The bailey was walled round either by Robert de Turnham or by his successor, Peter de Mauley I.

⁵ The motte and bailey castle of Aughton—which subsequently became the stronghold of the Askes, feudatories of the Fossards and Mauleys—stands well above the river Derwent, and occupies a site of considerable strategic importance. The motte is placed on a square platform, which is itself encircled by a square ditch—a somewhat unusual arrangement. The bailey, which is completely isolated from the motte, is guarded by a ditch, 40 feet wide and 6 feet deep.

containing great hall and private apartments; but when William Fossard II, the last of the Fossard barons, made Foss his principal residence, a new hall, etc., would probably be constructed at the south end of the bailey overlooking the precipice and the Sandsend Beck. Considering the importance of the Fossard family, it is somewhat extraordinary that we appear to know so little about them. Of Nigel's ancestry it would appear impossible to ascertain anything definite; the surname, which is not a territorial one, seems to throw no light on the subject. Shortly before his death Nigel, who appears to have been a grasping and unscrupulous man, made an extensive grant of lands to the abbey of St. Mary at York.¹ He left at least 3 sons, Robert (afterwards second feudal baron), Walter, and Stephen.² Robert married a certain Atscelina, and had issue four sons, William, Robert, Nigel and Ralph, and two daughters, Gertrude and Agnes.³ Previous to 21 Henry I (1120) he gave the churches of Bramham, Warrum, and Lythe, with twenty-eight bovates of land, to the priory of St. Oswald at Nostel.⁴ William Fossard, the third feudal baron, would appear to have succeeded his father c. 1135,⁵ and was one of the principal commanders at the battle of the Standard. William Fossard II, the fourth feudal baron, may have been the grandson rather than the son of William I, and the custody of his person and estates was given by Henry II, in 1165, to William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle.⁶ He died c. 1195, leaving by his wife,

¹ Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, iii, 551b; *Cal. Chart. Rot.*, 1300-1326, p. 115. In this lavish gift his wife's name, "uxoris meae," is not given, so that we get no clue as to who she was. It is witnessed by his sons, Robert and Walter. The gift is not included in the confirmation to St. Mary's, issued by Rufus in 1089, showing that it was made subsequent to that date. Nigel died c. 1091. In 1088, owing to the rebellion of the Earl of Mortain, he would appear to have become a tenant-in-capite, and was one of the most powerful and energetic of the Yorkshire barons.

² In 1 Henry II (1154-5) a Nigellus de Doncaster paid into the Exchequer 20 marcs of silver, the fine of his sons for the death of a man (Pipe Roll, 1 Henry II).

³ Gertrude married Robert de Meynell, and was the mother of his son and heir, Stephen de Meynell, of Whorlton (*Whitby Chart.*, ii, 374). On the death of her first husband, she married Jordan Paynell, who, for the good of her soul, gave a carucate of land in Bridlington to the priory there, with the consent

of his step-son, Stephen de Meynell (Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 286). Robert de Meynell, Gertrude's first husband, was the founder of Whorlton Castle, and gave Miton to St. Mary's, York, during the abbacy of Stephen (*ibid.*, iii, 558). Agnes, the other daughter of Robert Fossard, married Alexander Paganel.

⁴ He also founded a chapel at his manor-house of Rossington, near Doncaster; gave, in 1124, a carucate of land in Roucebi to Whitby (*Mem. of Foundation, Cart. Abb. de Whiteby*), and gave the church of Huntington to Evesham (*ibid.*, No. 175).

⁵ In 1135 he confirmed the grants to Whitby of his father, Robert, and of his vassal, Durand, of land at Rousby (*Cart. Abb. de Whiteby*, No. 69), and his father's gift of Huntington to Evesham (*ibid.*, No. 79), etc.

⁶ He came of age in 17 Henry II (1170-1) (Pipe Roll, p. 73). The fine on succession was paid off by 23 Henry II (Pipe Roll, p. 70). The Meaux chronicler says that he seduced a sister of the Earl, and afraid of that noble's vengeance,

Beatrice, who survived him,¹ two daughters, Joan and Idonia, the former eventually becoming his sole heiress. Joan was given in marriage by Richard I to his favourite and armour-bearer, Robert de Turnham, Junr. She is principally noted as the founder of the little priory of Grosmont, near Whitby.² Robert de Turnham was the elder of the two sons of Robert de Turnham, of Thurnham Castle, Kent.³ Realising that, owing to the proximity of higher ground immediately north of Foss Castle and to the rapid advances then being made in siege artillery, the fortress was not capable of withstanding a determined attack, Turnham abandoned it c. 1197, and commenced the erection of a rectangular keep castle on the broadest part of a long narrow ridge some half-mile east of the old castle. Although inhabited for some 125 years, Foss never developed any works in masonry.

Description.—The earthworks which mark the site of this old stronghold of the Fossards stand on the northern bank of the Sandsend or Barnby Beck, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles east-north-east of Whitby, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the coast. It is, undoubtedly, one of the most beautifully situated of our North Riding castles. The Sandsend Beck rises on the dreary moorlands of Newton Mulgrave, and flowing in an easterly direction, at one point in the course of its career dashes through a narrow dingle or ravine, where picturesque rocks jut out like gargoyles, where ledges create beautiful water-falls, and where the beck fights its way seawards, 'mid moss-grown rocks and hanging precipices overhung by ancient trees. On the left-hand side of this ravine, at the edge of a wood, are the tree-grown earthworks of Foss Castle.

The motte, which is only about 13 feet in height, is circular, and measures some 120 feet in diameter on its summit, which is exactly 100 feet above the beck, which washes its southern base. It has, owing to mutilation about the beginning of the

fled abroad, and did not return until after the Earl's death in 1179. As Fossard would, when the event is said to have occurred, be only some 16 years of age, and the Earl's sister must have been about 40—her father died before 1130—the story is probably incorrect. Chroniclers were not above introducing a little fiction into their narratives to relieve the monotony. The castle of Mountferrant, which the chronicler says was destroyed by Henry II as a mark of his displeasure at this escapade, had, almost certainly, been destroyed some ten years previously.

¹ *Pedes Finium Ebor.*, vol. xciv, p. 1.

² The foundation charter will be found in Dugdale, iii, p. 15. No remains of the priory now exist, but the Suppression papers show that the church was 60 feet in length by 24 feet in width, and contained 3 altars and 16 stalls. To the south of the church were the miniature cloisters, 36 feet square, with the various buildings ranged round them.

³ Arms:—Gules, a lion passant in fess or between two mascles in pale argent. The Fossards bore the well-known arms, "Or, a bend sable."

last century, lost its banquette, which may, when complete, have increased the height of the motte ramparts to some 22 feet above the bottom of the ditch.¹ It is surrounded by a ditch except for a distance of some 80 feet on the south, where the sides of the motte rest on the edge of a precipice dropping sheer some 80 feet towards the beck beneath. This ditch is continued on the side (south-east) next the bailey, and is carried right round the motte, widening on the north, where the counterscarp is enlarged into a long platform, which doubtless bore additional defences for the protection of this, the weakest part of the fortress.

The bailey is small compared with the motte, but its exact dimensions are difficult to ascertain, owing to the fact that the precipice and steep slopes by which it is protected on the south-west and south, and to some extent on the south-south-east, rendered a ditch unnecessary, the stockading being placed on the very verge of these formidable natural defences.² It probably measured some 180 or 190 feet each way, and approximates to a horse-shoe in shape. From the base of the motte the ground on which the bailey was placed drops towards the beck, so that the enclosure was completely dominated by the defences on the summit of the motte. On the west the bailey was defended by a deep broad ditch, now much silted up in places, with scarp and counterscarp banks, which ditch, on the north-west, joins the main ditch running round the motte.³

GUISBOROUGH.

At the time of the Survey,⁴ Robert, Earl of Mortain and of Cornwall, the greatest of the Cleveland tenants-in-capite, was the principal landowner in Guisborough, holding in that vill and in Middleton and Hutton Lowcross twenty-five carucates of land, and having in his demesne one plough, and ten villanes

¹ Dr. Young gives us some clue to this mutilation. He describes (p. 687) the motte as a "round camp," or "strength" or "circular fort," near "Foss Mill, about half a mile north-west from old Mulgrave Castle," and states that it is a "large mound of earth, about 120 feet diameter at top, 30 feet high on east side, and near 40 on the west, where the ground is lower"; that the top was "crowned with a low parapet of earth, the descent on every side being very steep." He adds in a note, "the top was dug into some years ago to examine the materials, its original form

is therefore a little altered." He gives us no results of this unscientific examination. Probably the mutilation was caused (see Pickhill) by some tradition as to hidden treasure.

² In this Foss somewhat resembles the well-known earthworks of the Busli Castle at Bailey Hill, Bradfield (West Riding).

³ The bailey ditch is not shown on the 25 in. ordnance map.

⁴ *D.B.*, fo. 300a, col. 1; 305a, col. 1; 320b, col. 1; 332b, col. 2; Recap., 380b, col. 1.

with four ploughs. There was a church, priest, and mill.¹ The Earl subinfeuded the greater portion of his Yorkshire estates to his two great feudatories, Richard de Surdeval, of Skelton Castle, and Nigel Fossard, who, as we have just seen, had a fortress near Whitby. But Guisborough was one of the manors he retained in his own hands; he was one of the greatest of our Norman castle builders, and it is by no means improbable that he founded a stronghold at this place soon after the Conquest. If so, the only three castles existing in Cleveland at the time of the Survey were in his hands or in those of his feudatories. If a castle ever existed at Guisborough,² certainly not the faintest trace of the earthworks which usually mark the site of a Norman stronghold are now to be found, or indeed appear to have been visible for many centuries.³ If, on the very scanty evidence we possess, we come to the conclusion that the Earl did construct a fortress here, it would probably be destroyed when he rebelled in 1088, and when Rufus confiscated his Yorkshire property.

HELMSLEY. (Fig. 2.)

History.—The rectangular and concentric earthworks on which, c. 1200, Robert de Roos, or “Fursan,” erected a stone castle, are certainly not of the type usually associated with a Norman stronghold, and the theory that they form part of a pre-Conquest fortification, possibly of Roman date, has been advanced by more than one authority.

The erection of Helmsley Castle is always assigned to Robert de Roos, probably on the authority of Dugdale⁴ and Camden⁵; but this would only appear to be one of several instances known to the writer where the honour of actually founding a certain castle is given, by monastic chroniclers, to the man who first substituted masonry for timbering.

¹ *D.B.*, fo. 305b, col. 1.

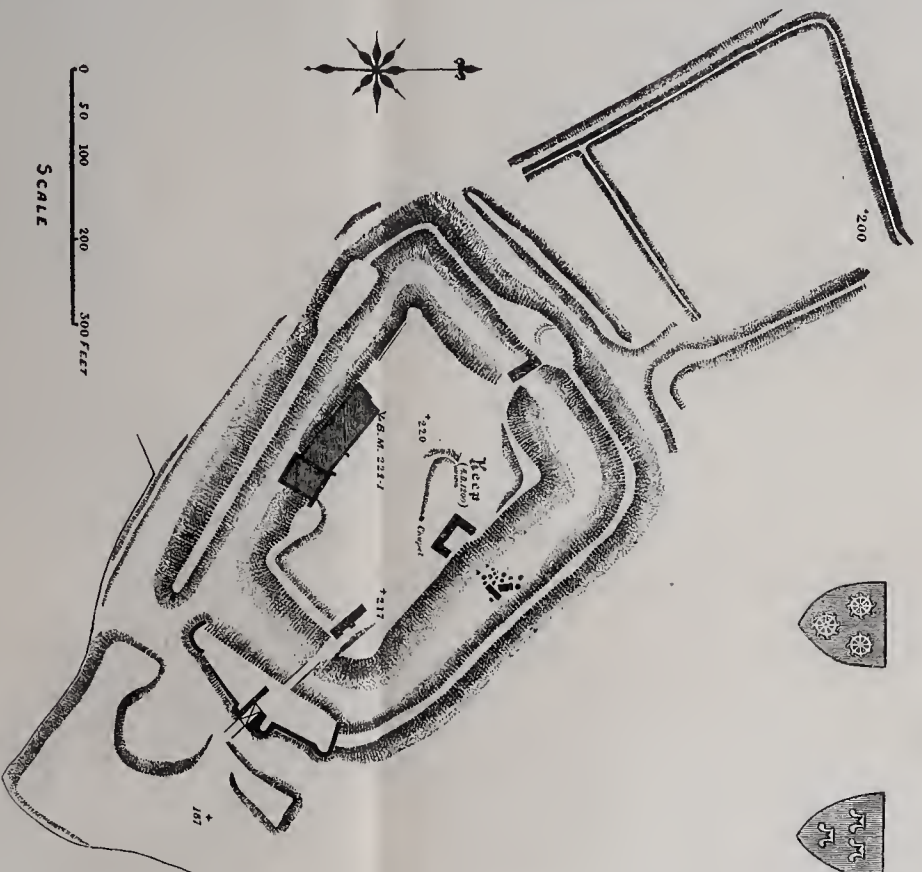
² Dallaway, in his *Discourse upon Architecture in England*, p. 272, mentions a castle as having existed here.

³ Ord, in his *History of Cleveland*, p. 338, note—a work to which, unfortunately, little importance can be attached—says the structure stood in “the large field close to the lane going from Church Street to Redcar, called Wars’ Field. Part of the moat may still be distinguished in this and the adjoining field, with elevated ridges and uneven

surfaces, occupying several acres of ground.” These earthworks, which are well-known to the present writer, have certainly never had anything to do with a Norman castle; they may, perhaps, represent the one-time existence of enclosures, outbuildings, and a pond attached to the Priory Home Farm.

⁴ Dugdale’s *Mon. Angl.*, v, 280.

⁵ Camden says, alluding to Ryedale, “in this vale is Elmsley where Robert de Ross, surnamed Fursan, built a castle.”



HELMSLEY

W. H. Mason
1915

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About 1110, Henry I enfeoffed Walter Espec¹ in five knights' fees in the North Riding, the principal manors on which property were Helmsley and Kirkham. The grant was made partly out of the Count of Mortain's demesne lands—which had reverted to the Crown in 1088 or, at the latest, in 1104—and partly out of the royal demesne. Historical inferences all tend to show that for some years subsequent to 1110 Espec resided in an aula or manor-house at Kirkham, and here he was probably living when, in 1122, he founded the abbey of that name.² Had the earthworks at Helmsley been in existence in 1110, when Espec came into possession of Helmsley and Kirkham, it seems strange that he did not utilise them, admirably adapted as they were for the purpose, in erecting a defensible residence. The fact that he is always termed the lord of Helmsley—showing that it was his seigneurial residence—that he was a great warrior, that Helmsley is the only one of his Yorkshire manors on which we find the slightest trace of the former existence of a Norman stronghold—a most significant fact when we remember that he lived through the terrible intestinal warfare of the time of Stephen—tends to show that if the earthworks do not actually owe their origin to him they were, at any rate, utilised by him as the site for a formidable stronghold.

The writer, however, is strongly of opinion that the earthworks are not Roman but that they owe their origin to Espec, and this opinion is held, in a more modified degree perhaps, by such an eminent authority as Professor Haverfield.³ Probably

¹ He was probably the son or grandson of a Domesday baron, William Spech, to whose Bedfordshire property he succeeded (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xvii, 238-9). He appears to have been a favourite of Henry I, and was one of the principal commanders of the Anglo-Norman army at the battle of the Standard.

² The romantic story of the foundation of this house, which first appears in a Cottonian MS. (given in the *Mon. Angl.*, v, 280), the date and authorship of which is uncertain, is a mere legend. Espec, the lord of Helmsley, is said to have had an only son, who was killed when out riding, and that in his memory the famous warrior founded the houses of Kirkham (1122), Rievaulx (1131), and Wardon, in Bedfordshire (1136). But no son is mentioned in the foundation charters of Kirkham and Rievaulx (that of Wardon has not been found) in the long list of persons whose souls

were to be prayed for, and Aelred, the third Abbot of Rievaulx, distinctly states that Espec was childless, "nempe cum liberis careret heredibus de optimis. tamen quibusque possessionibus suis Christum fecit heredem" (Leland, *Collect.*, iii, 361).

³ Professor Haverfield, in a letter to the writer, says: "Helmsley Castle has puzzled most people. The objections to calling its earthworks of Roman origin are two:—(1) Save for one coin, found somewhere near Helmsley, no Roman remains have ever been detected, either at the Castle or in the neighbourhood, although if such great earthworks are of Roman origin, it is incredible that Roman objects should not have been found in or close to them in abundance. (2) So far as I could judge from a rather hasty visit, the earthworks themselves contain no feature which is characteristically Roman, that is, nothing of which you would say that it must be, in all human

the earthworks thrown up by Espec were considerably strengthened by Robert de Roos, *c.* 1200, when he replaced the timber defences of the inner ward by works in masonry, for the width of the ditches is altogether unusual for a castle of the time of Henry I. The Pipe Rolls show that there was great working at castle ditches in the reign of John; probably in order to widen them in consequence of the longer range of the new siege engines.

The date of the foundation of Helmsley Castle is probably contemporary with that of the beautiful and famous abbey of Rievaulx, *i.e.* the year 1131. Walter Espec died, probably at an advanced age, in 1153, and the great timber castle of Helmsley was, in 1154—the year with which we are dealing—in possession of the Roos family through the marriage of Peter de Roos¹ with Espec's sister, Adeline.

Description.—Helmsley Blackamoor, as it is called in the old records, is one of the brightest and pleasantest of our old-world North Riding townlets. It has an air of comfort, cleanliness, and rural prosperity, with its broad sunny market-place, its quaint old houses, its monument to the second Lord Feversham, its ancient cross, and its modernised church—internally the ideal of what a country church should be. Although we possess no concentric stone castle in the North Riding we have, in the earthworks which mark the site of the Espec fortress, clear proof that in the days of King John such a fortress existed in timber.

The formidable earth-and-timber castle of Walter Espec consisted of a level main or inner ward, covering some 1½ acres, and measuring some 330 feet from north-west to south-east by about 220 feet from north-east to south-west. There is no trace of the former existence of a motte, indeed, considering the nature and extent of the outer defences, the inner ward itself was a citadel of very great strength. Here, probably at

probability, Roman work and nothing else. They are not typically mediæval, no doubt; but as they are also not typically Roman, I see no reason for calling them Roman. You may remember the rhyme

Was man nicht deklinieren kann,

Das sehe man als Neutrum an.

Many antiquaries follow this rule; if they cannot explain a thing as mediæval, they call it Roman. Yet all the while it may well be some form of mediæval which they arbitrarily rule out because it is unusual.

There is a somewhat similar puzzle at

Castle Acre in Norfolk. Here a part of the earthworks has been called Roman because it does not look like mediæval work. But no Roman remains have been found in that part, or indeed within a mile or two, and the earthworks themselves have no specifically Roman features.

In all such cases it seems to me best either to allow for the possibility that the work is mediæval or to admit that there is no real reason known to assign it to any age. At Helmsley I should incline to the first alternative."

¹ Arms :—"Gules, three water bougets argent."

the southern side of the enclosure and occupying roughly the site of the existing modernised stone "palace," would be placed the timber great hall, solar, etc., of the founder of Rievaulx. Whether the enclosure, as at Scarborough, contained a timber keep in addition to the wooden great hall will probably never be known. The ward was completely surrounded by a formidable ditch, some 100 feet in width on its northern side, and about 35 feet in depth. Traces of the banquette on which the timber defences were placed—and which was subsequently crowned by works in masonry—still remain at the south-east end, and also at the northern angle of the ward.

Beyond the deep ditch encircling the inner ward is a high counterscarp or ridge, some feet lower than the ward by which it was completely dominated. This ridge, undoubtedly, once bore a strong timber stockade forming the outer palisade of enceinte. It was widened out into broad platforms on the south-east, north-west, and south. The great south-east platform measures some 220 feet in length from north-north-east to south-south-west, and is about 60 feet in width at its broadest or central part. Here would be a very strongly stockaded barbican or outwork, probably provided with flanking timber turrets, and containing the main entrance to the fortress. A timber bridge would give access, across the great ditch, to the main ward. The north-west platform measures some 110 feet in length by 40 feet in width at its broadest part. Here, too, would be a strongly stockaded barbican or outwork, connected by wooden bridges with both the inner or main ward and the north-western or outer ward. The platform on the south measures some 80 feet in length by about 40 feet in width, and probably bore a long rectangular timber tower flanking and defending this side of the fortress. We have, therefore, a castle within a castle, just such a structure as we get in masonry at Beaumaris. One is inclined to think that these additional defences were mainly added by Robert de Roos towards the close of the twelfth or during the first decade of the thirteenth century.

The southern side of the outer defences was guarded by another formidable ditch with a counterscarp which, although not now complete, would appear to have been widened out, and which, almost certainly, bore additional timber defences. To the south-east of the main barbican was a ditch-defended outwork of some size, at the north-east angle of which, flanking

the outer entrance to the barbican, was a platform measuring some 65 feet in length from north-east to south-west, which probably bore a small timber outwork separated from the barbican by a deep ditch.

The outer ward lay to the north-west of the main ward, with which it was connected by means of the smaller of the two barbicans. It is rectangular in form, and was defended by a ditch with scarp and counterscarp banks of varying width. It measures some 300 feet square, and was probably added by Robert de Roos, *c.* 1200.

HOD, NEAR THIRSK.

That the Mowbrays erected a timber castle at Hod, or Hood Grange, near Thirsk, would appear to be proved by an entry in the Close Rolls for 1218¹; but up to the present the writer has been unable to find the slightest trace of this fortress.

HUTTON CONYERS.

History.—This castle owes its origin to Alan Niger, Earl of Richmond,² one of the most powerful supporters of King Stephen against the Empress. The Earl took advantage of the terrible anarchy which prevailed during the civil wars to erect, *c.* 1136, the castle of Hutton Conyers,³ for the sole purpose

¹ The writer is indebted to Mrs. Armitage for the following extract from the Close Rolls, viz.:—*Mandatum est Vicecomiti Ebor. quod si castrum de Hod, quod in parte prostratum et in parte exstans est, erectum fuit et firmatum in feodo de Novo Burgo post guerram motam inter Dom. J. regem patrem Dom. H. Regis et Barones Angliae, ut dicitur, tunc castrum predictum sine dilatione funditus prosterni et dirui faciat* (Close Rolls, i, 366, 1218). There would also appear to be a reference to the castle in the *Mon. Angl.*, i, 411, viz.:—“*Ex dono Rogerii de Mubrai unam mansuram ad pontem Fosse in excambium propter Hod quam tenet Richardus faber.*” In the *Progenies Moubraiorum*, Newburgh Priory, vi, 320, a document not earlier than the time of Henry VIII, we are told that Roger de Mowbray, son of Nigel d’Albini, lived at the “*castellum de Hode*,” to which place he brought a lion from the Holy Land! William, son of Nigel de Mowbray, previous to 1222, is said to have confirmed to Byland all donations in the vill of “*Angoteby subtus Hode Castrum.*” The one-time existence of a castle at Hode is, however, well authenticated by the above extract from the Close Rolls.

In the *Licences to Crenellate* (Patent Rolls, 48 Henry III), permission is given to John D’Eyvill, in 1257, to crenellate La Hode. The writer is informed by Mr. W. T. Lancaster, F.S.A., that a tradition exists to the effect that Hode was the headquarters of a notable band of robbers in the time of Edward II. Rymer tells us that “a noted robber, Sir Gosceline Deyville,” who was of good family, was the leader of a band of robbers in this district in the time of Edward II, and that he attacked and rifled the Bishop’s Palace at Northallerton. He was finally captured by the Sheriff and hanged at York. Stowe says “Sir Goscelin Deivile and his brother, Robert, with 200 men in the habit of friars, did many notable robberies; they spoiled the Bishop of Durham’s palaces, leaving nothing in them but bare walls, for which they were afterwards hanged at York.” Leland, who wrote *temp.* Henry VIII, tells us, in his reference to this district, that Sir Gotselyn Daivil, a partisan of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was finally executed for robbery.

² Arms:—Chequy or and azure, a canton ermine.

³ See also Catterick and Yafforth.

of exacting tribute from the inhabitants of the city of Ripon, and of maltreating and extorting ransom from any persons who were unfortunate enough to fall into the clutches of the garrison of the fortress.¹ When order was restored in or about 1154, this robber den would share the same fate as befell Yafforth, being dismantled and destroyed by order of Henry II.

Description.—The earthworks which mark the site of this castle have been much mutilated, probably when the stronghold was destroyed by Henry II. It was clearly useless, when pulling down one of these “adulterine” fortresses, to destroy only the timber palisading and buildings, for, as we have already seen at Castle Leavington, it would have been a simple matter to restockade them at any time.² It is possible the people of Ripon would destroy the earthworks if this were not done by the king. Apparently the castle consisted of a square central platform—after the style of that of Helmsley—defended by outworks and a series of concentric ditches and banks, but the mutilation is so extensive that it is practically impossible to say what was the original design. There would, however, appear to have been two oblong courts on the north and east, and there are traces of an ancient road leading to the entrance at the south-east angle of the eastern enclosure.

KILDALE.

History.—At the time of the Survey,³ Kildale was in the king’s hands, but very shortly afterwards⁴ it came into the possession of Robert de Brus, whose caput was probably then the neighbouring fortress of Castleton. At a comparatively early date, certainly as early as the reign of Henry I,⁵ this manor, with other property in Cleveland, was subinfeuded by Robert de Brus to a certain Ernald de Percy, and a castle

¹ John of Hexham in *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Ser., ii, 308.

² We are told (*Suger’s Gesta Ludovici Regis*, ed. Molinier, p. 79) that when, in 1112, Louis VI captured Hugh de Puiset’s castle (Puiset—Eure et Loire), he not only levelled the earthworks but dug up the wells (*effosis puteis*).

³ *D.B.*, fo. 331b, col. 1. Terra Tainorum Regis. In Childale habuit Ligulf vi carucas terre ad geldum. Terra ad iii carucas. Ibi habet Orme i carucatam et viii bordarios cum ii carucis. Ibi presbiter et ecclesia. Duas leucas longa et i lata. T.R.E. ualebat xvi solidos. Modo xx solidos. Kildale would seem, in some way or other, to have

escaped the terrible devastation wrought by the Normans upon the neighbouring manors.

⁴ *D.B.*, fo. 332b, col. 1. Fief of Robert de Brus. In Childale, 6 car.

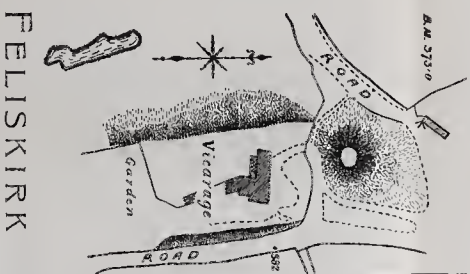
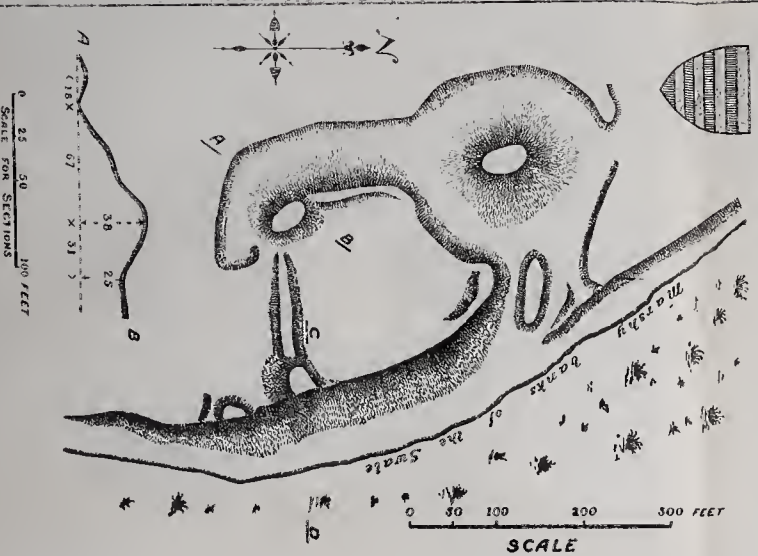
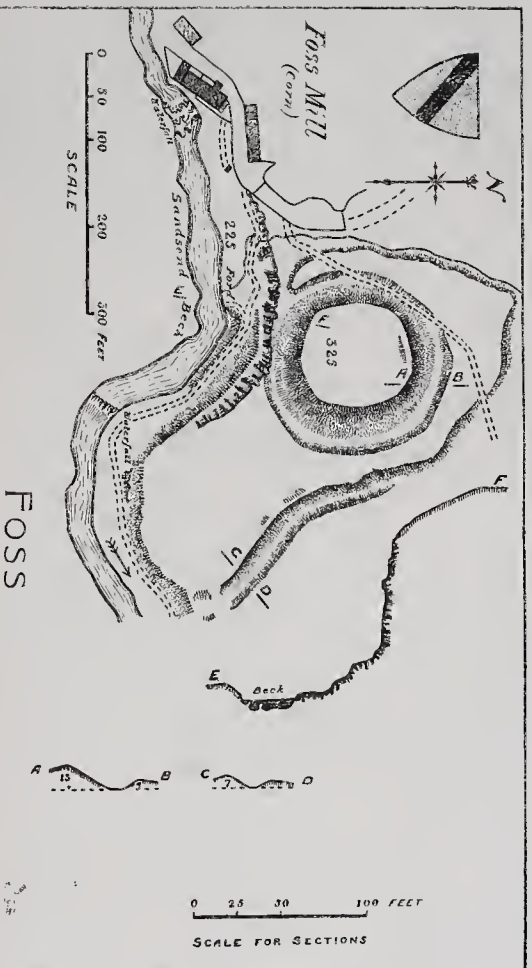
⁵ The foundation charter of Guisborough Priory states that Robert de Brus, Agnes, his wife, and Adam, his son and heir, confirm, among other grants made by their vassals, “the Church of Ormesby, with all its appurtenances, and the mill of Caldecotes, with the land adjacent, the gift of Ernald de Percy,” and we know, from the Percy Feodary, that the Percies of Kildale held Ormesby under the Brus in the reign of Henry I.

was probably founded here early in the reign of Stephen. Until the earthworks are examined, it is impossible to say when and to what extent the castle developed into a stone fortress, but that it did so develop is very probable, although one is inclined to think that it eventually evolved more on the lines of a fortified manor-house than on those of a feudal castle. For many generations it was held by the Percies of Kildale, whose names are frequently met with in the Chartulary of the neighbouring priory of Guisborough. John de Percy, of Kildale, who died towards the close of the fifteenth century, left four daughters and coheiresses, who sold the property to their relative, Henry, Lord Percy, by deeds executed in 1494, 1502, and 1503. The castle, which was probably then more of a manor-house than a fortress, was evidently occasionally occupied by the Earls of Northumberland, but seems to have been finally abandoned in the Tudor period.

Description.—The old stronghold of the Percies of Kildale—a purely timber structure at the time of the accession of Henry II—was charmingly situated, immediately to the west of the church (which was in existence long before the castle¹), in a narrow, secluded, and beautiful moorland vale, snugly tucked away between the towering heights of Percy Cross and Kempswithen, not far from the source of the river Leven, and some 5½ miles east of Stokesley. The motte is very much silted down and defaced, and now measures on the summit some 300 feet in length from east to west by about 200 feet in width from north to south. It is probable that, at some period during its occupation, it has been lowered, as was done at Whorlton. A modern farmstead now occupies the summit, and in part the motte is cut through by the railway. Mrs. Armitage says, in a letter to the writer, “An old man whom I met there in 1902 said he had always been told the castle stood on the rising ground west of the church, at the east end of the knoll. He also said there used to be a well there, but that it dried up when the railway cutting was made. There is now a farmhouse and a clump of trees on the knoll. The ground falls all round, probably marking the site of the ditch.” This ditch

¹ The Survey informs us that a church existed at Kildale in 1087, and that it was a pre-Conquest church is certain, for when the existing structure was rebuilt in 1868 under the superintendence of Mr. Fowler Jones, replacing a churchwardenised edifice rebuilt in 1714, some interesting Danish interments,

etc., were found, an account of which appears in Canon Atkinson's *History of Cleveland*, pp. 81–85. Built into the walls of the present porch are four large slabs with floriated crosses, two of which bear the famous five fusils in fess of the Percies.



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may be clearly traced on the north and north-west sides of the motte, and is marked on the 6 in. ordnance map as "remains of moat." Mrs. Armitage adds: "I strongly suspect that the churchyard was formerly the bailey; it has something like a ditch on the east side, and on the north-west I saw something very like a fragment of a bank."

KILLERBY, CASTLE HILLS. (Fig. 3.)

History.—At the time of the Survey,¹ Killerby (*Chiluordebi*) was a berewick of five carucates in the manor of Catterick, retained by Alan the Red in his own hands; but it subsequently came into the possession of Scholland or Scolland, sewer to Alan Niger of Richmond (1137–1146),² who, probably *c.* 1120–5, erected a motte and bailey castle upon it. Scolland's name is associated with the great hall at Richmond Castle, and the writer is inclined to think that the twelfth century alterations to the hall may have been executed under his supervision during the minority of Conan le Petit. He had issue a son, Brian,³ and a daughter, Constance. Agnes,⁴ who eventually became the heiress of the family, married Brian,⁵ second son of Alan III of Richmond by his wife, Bertha, daughter and heiress of Conan, Duke of Brittany. Brian was succeeded by his son, Alan Fitz-Brian, who died *c.* 1190,⁶ leaving by his wife, Agnes, daughter of Bertram Haget,⁷ a son Brian, a minor at the time of his father's death,⁸ an adherent of the baronial party against King John,⁹ and at one time custodian of the royal castles of Scarborough and Pickering.¹⁰ On his death, *c.* 1239, the estates passed to his son, Alan Fitz-Brian, who died between 1254 and 1261, and was succeeded by his son, Brian Fitz-Alan,¹¹ who, in 19 Edward I (1291), abandoned the

¹ *D.B.*, fo. 310b, col. 1.

² *Sed graviter irascebatur (i.e. Count Alan) contra Scollandum dapiferum suum et Rollandum constabularium suum et quosdam alios pro multitudine luporum ibi commorantium, qui multa mala tam hominibus quam bestiis faciebant, etc. (Mon. Angl., v, 572).*

³ As "Brianus fil. Scollandi," he is a witness to the gift of Melsonby to the priory of Castle Acre, in Norfolk (Castle Acre Reg. quoted in *The Ancestor*, xii, 186–7).

⁴ She was probably another daughter of Scolland.

⁵ As "Briennus filius Alani," he witnesses *c.* 1154 a deed of Conan, Earl of Richmond (Pipe Rolls, x, 54), and was living in 1165 (Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, ii, 883).

⁶ Pipe Rolls, 1 Rich. I.

⁷ H. B. McCall, *Early History of Bedale*, p. 21.

⁸ Pipe Rolls, 2 Rich. I.

⁹ *Rot. Claus.*, i, 165 and 338.

¹⁰ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, p. 144.

¹¹ An excellent history of this distinguished soldier is contained in *The Early History of Bedale*, pp. 29–41. The Fitz-Alans of Killerby Castle must not be confused with their name-sakes, the Fitz-Alans, Earls of Arundel, with whom they were not connected in any way. The Killerby family bore the arms:—"Barry of eight or and gules." Brian Fitz-Alan died in 1306 (*Parl. Writs*, i, 598 note). His singularly beautiful effigy still remains in Bedale Church.

earth-and-timber castle of his ancestors, and erected a stone castle a short distance away.¹ Although Killerby was inhabited for about 170 years, it never developed any defences in masonry.

Description.—About half-mile south-west of Catterick, on the marshy banks of the Swale, are the earthworks—locally known as Castle Hills—which mark the site of Scolland's fortress. The situation is one of great strategic importance, for not only was the castle close to two main Roman roads leading to Catterick (*Cataractonium*), but it commanded a ford of the Swale, and from its comparatively lofty site overlooked a great stretch of flat country.

The motte, unfortunately, is very much eaten away, so much so, indeed, that any measurements of its present height, or of the present area of its summit would be entirely misleading. It stands at the northern end of the earthworks, surrounded by a ditch, which completely isolates it from the bailey.² The latter is still in fair preservation. On the east its ramparts rise to a height of no less than 60 feet above the swamps of the river Swale, and are very formidable in appearance. It is quite possible, previous to a great flood in 1771, that the river may have washed the base of this side of the bailey. On the west the ramparts rise to a height of no less than 38 feet above the bottom of the bailey ditch. The summit of the ramparts vary in width, and would appear, in parts, to be much eaten away, but the corners are well preserved, and have been enlarged into small platforms, which may have once carried small timber towers. Altogether the bailey must have been a very strong fortification. Clarkson³ may well be excused for taking the platforms for separate mounts, but they are merely broadenings of the scarp banks. The bailey covers about an acre; the entire earthworks about 1½ acres.

One is inclined to think that the timber great hall, solar, kitchen, etc., always stood within the bailey, and that the motte was a citadel pure and simple.

¹ This castle will be described in a later article. A local tradition exists that Brian Fitz-Alan also erected a castle at Bedale, but there is not a shred of evidence to support it, and it is most improbable that he built two stone castles so close together.

² Access to the summit of the motte from the bailey may have been obtained by means of a bridge or ladder, which could be drawn up on to the top of the motte when desired, a similar arrangement to that adopted with regard to the bailey entrance at Topcliffe.

³ *History of Richmondshire*, p. 393.

KILTON.

History.—During the reign of Stephen, possibly c. 1135–40, Pagan, a feudatory of the Percies of Topcliffe,¹ and the ancestor of the Kiltons of Kilton, would appear to have founded a stronghold on a bold, narrow promontory jutting out into a deep ravine some $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east-south-east of Skelton Castle, and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east-north-east of Guisborough Priory. At the time with which we are dealing, viz. the year 1154, the castle was in the possession of Osbert de Kilton,² who would appear to have been a son of Pagan.

Description.—The castle occupied the summit of a narrow promontory, some 300 feet in length, 300 feet above sea level, and 180 feet above the Kilton Beck, which washes the base of the nab end of the promontory. The site, which somewhat resembles that of Montferrant,³ the great fortress of the Fossards, was one which could easily and economically be made practically impregnable.⁴ The eastern or nab end rose sheer 120 feet above sloping ground, which dropped another 60 feet towards the stream; the southern façade was guarded by inaccessible precipices; the northern façade by a very steep slope. All that was necessary in the way of engineering was to cut a ditch, 46 feet wide and 12 feet deep, across the narrow neck of the promontory until it merged into the ravines on either hand. Owing to the unusual strength of the site an artificial motte was evidently considered unnecessary.⁵ As this castle subsequently developed works in masonry, it will be again referred to in a later article.

¹ Pagan held the following manors, etc., in Cleveland under the Percies of Topcliffe, viz.:—Kilton, 3 car.; Kilton, 1 car.; Kilton Thorpe, 2 car.; Kilton Thorpe, $1\frac{1}{2}$ car.; Little Moorsholm, 1 car.; South Loftus (soke), 6 car.; Hinderwell, 4 car. 6 bov.; Arnodestorp (soke), 10 bov.; Seaton, 3 car.; Roxby (soke), 2 car.; Roscheltorp (soke), 1 car.; Hinderwell (soke), 10 bov.; Boulby (soke), 2 car.; Roxby, 1 car.; Kirkleatham, 4 car.; Westlide (soke), 2 car.; in all 36 carucates and 6 bovates of land. The Kilton fief in the Barony of Percy was apparently founded c. 1106, and was necessitated by the augmentation of the Cleveland estates of the Percies, which occurred after the confiscation by the king of the Mortain property.

² Osbert gave two oxgangs and a toft in Kirkleatham and two bovates of land

in Kilton to the Priory of Guisborough (*Cart. Prior. de Gyseburne*, ii, 147). He would appear to have married a daughter of Conan Fitz-Henry, a Richmondshire feudatory. He was interred in the Priory Church at Guisborough. In 1875 a seal of this Osbert bearing the inscription, "Sigillum Osberti de Kiltune," was in the possession of a Mr. Corner, wine merchant, of Whitby. Osbert died c. 1170.

³ The site of the castle of Kilton is even better, from a defensive point of view, than that of Montferrant.

⁴ The original defences of the castle would be entirely of timber.

⁵ There would appear to have been a motte at Montferrant; but, strange to say, it was not placed at the nab end of the promontory, as we should naturally have expected would have been the case.

MALTON.

History.—The foundation of this castle may be assigned to Eustace Fitz-John¹ (*obit* 1157), a favourite of Henry I. His first wife was Beatrix, daughter and heiress of Ivo de Vesci; his second wife was Agnes, daughter and heiress of William Fitz-Nigel. Stephen, having just cause to suspect his loyalty, greatly offended him by depriving him of his castle of Bamborough,² and Fitz-John thereupon openly joined David, king of Scotland, and aided him in his invasion of England,³ which terminated in the total defeat of the Scottish army, 26,000⁴ strong, at the battle of the Standard. Fitz-John fought on the Scottish side on this occasion,⁵ and after the battle a portion of the victorious army besieged and captured his castle of Malton.⁶ It is usually stated that the fortress was dismantled on the accession of Henry II, but this is incorrect. The castle is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1187,⁷ and here Richard I met the king of Scotland in 1194.⁸ Eustace Fitz-John was succeeded by his son, William, who assumed his mother's name of de Vesci. William, in turn, was followed by his son, Eustace de Vesci.⁹ Both were powerful and influential men, and it is certain that, during their time, the castle developed works in masonry. Colonel Parker, C.B., F.S.A., in a letter to the writer, says: "I think that the stone castle must have been built before the meeting of Richard I and the king of Scotland in 1194—probably by William de Vesci, or by Eustace, his son." When King John visited the North Riding early in 1213, receiving the submission of all the barons with the solitary exception of Roos of Helmsley, he ordered the destruction of Malton Castle, and the fortress was dismantled in February of that year.¹⁰

¹ In 1150 he founded the Priory of St. Mary, at Malton, endowing it with the churches of Malton, Wintringham, and Brompton, and with the vill of Linton, which gifts were confirmed by his son, William de Vesci.

² *Symeon of Durham, Op. Hist.*, Rolls Ser., ii, 292.

³ Richard of Hexham, *Gesta Stephani*, sub anno 1138.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ He subsequently (1150) founded the Priory of Watton, East Riding, as a penance for this act.

⁶ *Chron. Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, Rolls Ser., ii, 165.

⁷ "In liberatione unius capellani residentis in castro de Malton, £1 8s."

⁸ *Roger of Howeden*, iii, 242.

⁹ This Eustace was an adherent of the baronial party against King John,

and was killed by a crossbow man at the siege of Barnard Castle in July, 1216 (*Melrose Chron.*, sub anno 1216).

¹⁰ "In expensis Stephani de Oxford et 2 magistrorum piccatorum cum ix aliis ad prosternandum castrum de Mealton. £11 2s. 8d." As Colonel Parker points out to the writer the use of the word "piccatorum" and the comparatively heavy cost of destroying the building is proof that a certain amount of masonry was pulled down. The site of the castle is in the grounds of "The Lodge," the residence of the Hon. Geoffrey Dawnay, to whom the writer is indebted for showing him round. It was admirably situated for defensive purposes, being placed at the angle of a promontory, but all that now remains is an angular fragment of the earthen rampart. No trace of a motte now exists,

MIDDLEHAM, WILLIAM'S HILL (fig. 4).

History.—At the time of the Survey,¹ the manor of Middleham was held, under his brother, Alan le Roux, of Richmond, by Ribald,² one of the sons of Eudo, Count of Penthièvre in Brittany, by his wife, Innoguent, daughter of the Count of Cornouaille. Ribald married Beatrix,³ daughter of Ivo Taillebois,⁴ and by her had issue three sons, Ralph, Hervey, and Henry.⁵ There would seem to be practically no doubt that the castles of Middleham and Cotherston are contemporary strongholds, and that the former was erected by Ribald early in the reign of Rufus. For the purpose of defending Wensleydale it would have been difficult to select a better site than that chosen by the brother of Alan le Roux. It commanded not only Wensleydale but its tributary vale of the Cover, and stood close to an ancient road leading from Richmond to Skipton-in-Craven, *via* Carlton-in-Coverdale.⁶ Many years after the death of his wife, probably about 1134—certainly between 1131 and 1137⁷—Ribald, then possibly over 80 years of age, became a monk in the famous Abbey of St. Mary at York, founded by his brother, Alan le Roux.

but as the Eures undoubtedly had, in mediæval times, a manor-house on or close to the site, and as Ralph, 3rd Lord Eurs, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, 1593, who married Mary, daughter of Sir John Dawnay, and died 16 March, 1612,—built a very large mansion on the site we need not be surprised that practically no traces now remain of the ancient castle.

¹ *D.B.*, fo. 311b, col. 1. In Medelai (Middleham) for geld 5 carucates and 3 ploughs may be there. Ghilepatric had a manor there. Now Ribald has it, and it is waste. The whole 1 leaga in length and 1 in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 20s.

² Ribald also held, under his brother, large estates in Norfolk (*V. C. H. of Norfolk*, i, 70-5). After 1114, under the style of "Ribauld, frater Alani comitis," Ribald gave the church of Optone to the Priory of Spalding, Lincolnshire, for the souls of King William, Count Alan, and Ivo Taillebois.

³ Beatrix must have died previous to 1112, for in that year, as "Ribaldus frater Comititis," Ribald gave to the Abbey of St. Mary, York, for the souls of Count Alan, of Beatrix, his own wife, and of all his ancestors, 4 carucates in Briniston, in the time of Abbot Stephen, who died in 1112.

⁴ Ivo Taillebois figures prominently in Chas. Kingsley's novel, "Hereward the Wake." He was an Angevin, and gave

the church of Spalding to the Abbey of St. Nicholas at Angers, expelling the English monks of Croyland who had a cell there. He gave certain lands to St. Mary's, York (*Mon. Angl.*, iii, 553), the charter being witnessed, among others, by Lucy, his wife, and Ribald, his son-in-law. In November, 1088, during the rebellion of William de St. Carileph, he besieged and captured Durham Castle (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, sub anno 1088).

⁵ This Henry was one of the witnesses to his nephew Ralph's charter to Fountains Abbey (*Mon. Angl.*, v, 310).

⁶ As we have already seen, under Carlton, the Fitz-Randolphs probably erected, at a later date, a small motte castle in Coverdale. It is also very probable that there was another road (Roman ?) leading from Isurium (Aldborough) *via* Well and Middleham to Bainbridge (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vii, 459), so that Ribald's castle of Middleham was fortunately situated in this way.

⁷ Ribald was evidently still lord of Middleham in 1131, for he quitclaimed by charter to Abbot Goisfrid of St. Mary's, York (1131-2), one of the carucates he was then holding under the monks (*Mon. Angl.*, i, 394). He also gave to St. Mary's certain "mansurae" near Richmond, and to St. Martin's Priory, Richmond, he gave for two garbs in his demesne land in Snape.

Ralph, Ribald's eldest son, came into possession of the castle and barony of Middleham on his father's retirement.¹ By his wife, Agatha, daughter of Robert de Brus of Skelton Castle, he had issue three sons, Robert, Ribald, and Ralph. Robert, the third feudal baron of Middleham, married Helewisa, the youngest of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Ralph de Glanville,² the famous Justiciar to King Henry II. Probably between 1180 and 1190, possibly nearer the latter than the former date—Gale³ says 1190—Robert abandoned the earth-and-timber castle on "William's Hill," and commenced the erection of the existing rectangular keep, one of the largest in England. About 1189 Helewisa founded, on land she had inherited from her father, a house of Præmonstratensian canons at Swainby in the parish of Pickhill, which, in 1212, was removed to Coverham by her son, Ralph. Robert, the third feudal baron, had issue by his wife, Helewisa de Glanville, three sons, Walran, who did not long survive his father; Ranulph, and Ralph.

Description.—The interesting earthworks which mark the site of the Norman castle of the Fitz-Randolphs lie to the south of the later and more famous stronghold. They occupy the summit of a grassy knoll, a highly defensible site, the ground beneath which slopes fairly steeply down towards the grey old-world town of Middleham. The view from the site is beautiful. To the left the lovely vale of Wensley winds upwards to meet the mountains of the west; just below is feudal Middleham, "the Windsor of the north," the grandest of our Yorkshire castles; northward stretches a delightful and well-wooded country side, studded with villages and churches.

Ribald's fortress is one of the smallest but strongest motte and bailey castles known to the writer, and covers only about an acre of ground, equally divided between the motte and the

¹ He made a grant to Fountains Abbey (*Mon. Angl.*, v, 310), his sons, Robert, Ribald, and Ralph, and his uncle, Henry, being witnesses.

² Robert, the third feudal baron, gave all the tithes of his lands in Well, Snape, Crakehall, Spennithorne, etc., to St. Martin's Priory, Richmond (*Mon. Angl.*, iii, 603). This house had been founded c. 1100 by Wymar of Aske, steward to Stephen of Richmond, as a cell to St. Mary's, York (*Mon. Angl.*, iii, 601). Robert's father-in-law, Ralph de Glanville, captured William the Lion, king of Scotland, at Alnwick, on July 12, 1174, and had him conveyed to Richmond

Castle, where he was, according to tradition, confined in the small room above the Chapel of St. Nicholas, in "Robin Hood's Tower." This was the station assigned to the Fitz-Randolphs of Middleham in the garrisoning of Richmond Castle, so it is permissible to conclude that the custody of the Scottish king's person was entrusted by Glanville to his son-in-law. The room in question, which forms the first floor of an eleventh century mural tower, is not provided either with a fireplace or a garderobe.

³ *Reg. Hon. de Richmond.*

bailey. The motte is rather more than three-quarters detached, and measures, on its summit, some 160 feet by 115 feet. It is 40 feet in height, and is defended by a formidable ditch, some 20 feet wide, with bold counterscarp banks rising some 9 feet above the bottom of the ditch. From this bank the ground drops steeply towards the north (see section A-B on plan). On the top of the motte, at its south-east end is a small sunken court, measuring some 85 by 55 feet, to which the edge of the motte forms a breastwork or banquette. On the west this banquette expands into a flat platform, roughly triangular in shape, the base of the triangle being about 112 feet in length, whilst a straight line drawn from the centre of this base to the apex of the triangle is about 55 feet in length. In this arrangement Middleham somewhat resembles the fine oval motte at Burton-in-Lonsdale, but at the latter place there are two such platforms, one at the east and the other at the west end. There is little doubt that this platform bore the wooden tower or keep of the stronghold, whilst it is possible that the sunken court may have been occupied by the great hall, with its store room on the basement. In any case it is tolerably certain that the dwelling-house accommodation was confined to the motte.

The bean-shaped bailey is unusually small, especially considering the size of the motte, being only about half an acre in extent.¹ It was defended on all sides by a continuation of the motte ditch, branches of which ditch also separated the motte from the bailey. Part of the ditch on the south side of the bailey still contains water.² The rampart on the inner side of the bailey ditch is about 13 feet high, and would form a formidable defence when crowned by its timber stockading. The entrance to the bailey may still be distinctly traced on the east-south-east, where there is a gap both in the ditch and in the rampart. This entrance was guarded by an outwork, which would appear to have been flanked by a triple row of stockading, but this portion of the earthwork is not in such good preservation as is the remainder.

NORTHALLERTON, CASTLE HILLS (fig. 4).

History.—Tempore Regis Edwardi “Aluertune” (Northallerton), containing 44 carucates, was held, as one manor, by Edwin,

¹ In this it somewhat resembles the bailey at Dingstow, Monmouthshire, and that at the Busli castle of Mexborough, W.R. At these places the bailey

forms, as it were, a kind of forecourt to the motte.

² As a general rule the ditches of a motte and bailey castle were dry.

Earl of Mercia, who had there no fewer than 66 villeins with 35 ploughs, the manor being valued at £80 a year.¹ It seems highly probable that the Conqueror founded a motte and bailey fortress on what is now known as "Castle Hills" when he encamped at Northallerton in 1068.² Ingledew³ is of opinion that this castle was founded within a Roman camp, but Professor Haverfield doubts the existence of such a camp on the site, and what one can learn of the contour of the now destroyed earthworks would tend to show that no such camp existed.⁴

Soon after 1087 Rufus granted the lordship of Allertonshire, with all its rights and appendages—except the property held within it by Count Alan of Richmond⁵—to the able but unscrupulous William of St. Carileph, bishop of Durham. This prelate subsequently became implicated in the rebellion against Rufus; his castle of Durham was captured by Ivo Taillebois on 14 Nov., 1088,⁶ and he was deprived of the see which he had held about eight years.⁷ He was reappointed on 14 Sept., 1091,⁸ and died at Windsor on 2 Jan., 1096.⁹ For three years Rufus retained the bishopric in his own hands,¹⁰ and then appointed the famous Ranulph Flambard to the see. Flambard was succeeded by Geoffrey, chancellor to Henry I, and on his death, in 1141, William Cumin, chancellor to David, king of Scotland, with the object of extending the Scottish frontier, seized Northallerton and Durham Castles, and the temporalities of the bishopric. He entirely rebuilt Northallerton Castle, converting it into a very strong fortress. On 14 March, 1143, William of St. Barbara was legally elected bishop, but Cumin refused to give up possession, and was supported by Alan of Richmond,¹¹ one of the most powerful of the North Country nobles. During the disorders which followed, the castle at Northallerton was more than once attacked, but eventually an insurrection of the feudatories of the County Palatine, led by Bertram de Bulmer of Sheriff Hutton Castle,¹² compelled Cumin to give up his claim.¹³ Hugh Puiset, a cousin of King

¹ *D.B.*, fo. 229a, col. 1.

² *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Ser., i, 100.

³ *History and Antiquities of Northallerton*.

⁴ The illustration of the earthworks given by Ingledew show what is obviously a motte and bailey castle of considerable size and strength. Considering that he had never heard of such a thing as a Norman earth-and-timber castle, the illustration is of considerable value.

⁵ See Yafforth Castle.

⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, sub. anno 1088.

⁷ His letter to the king on the subject is preserved in the Fairfax MSS., Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, i, 248-250.

⁸ *Symeon, Hist. Eccl. Dun.*, Rolls Ser., ii, 218.

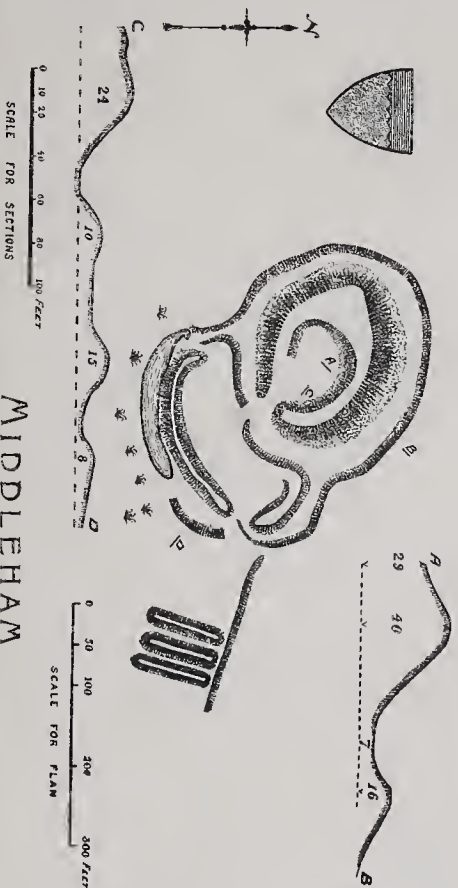
⁹ *Ibid.*, i, 134.

¹⁰ During these three years he drew £300 a year, equivalent to some £6,000 a year of present day currency, from the bishopric (*ibid.*, i, 135).

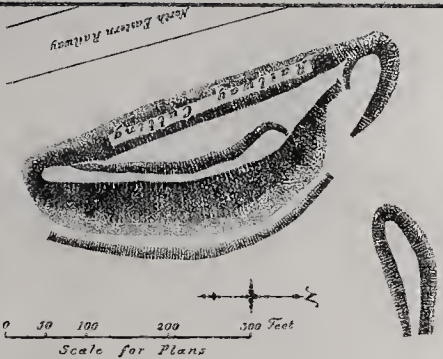
¹¹ *Ibid.*, i, 152.

¹² *Ibid.*, i, 158.

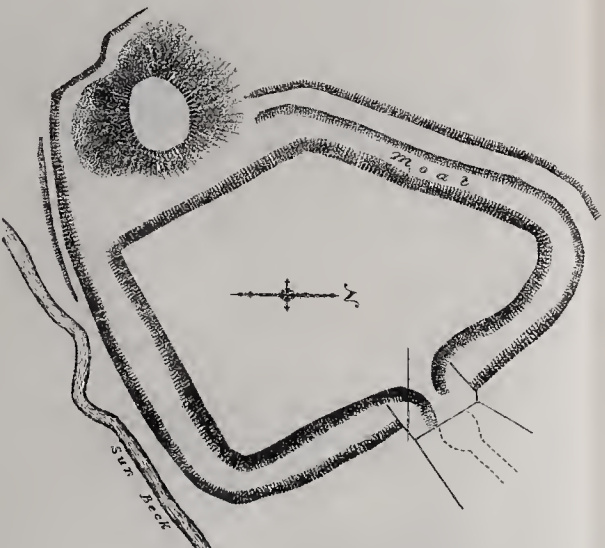
¹³ *Ibid.*, i, 166.



MIDDLEHAM (WILLIAM'S HILL)



NORTHALLERTON (CASTLE HILLS)



NORTHALLERTON (BISHOP'S PALACE)

W. H. Johnson
1912

FIG. 4.

Henry II, succeeded St. Barbara in January, 1153,¹ and repaired Northallerton Castle,² which, at a later date, he arranged to garrison, apparently in agreement with William the Lion, king of Scotland,³ with 40 knights and 500 Flemings, under his nephew Hugh, Count of Bar.⁴ But on the very day (13 July, 1174) these mercenaries landed at Hartlepool, the Scottish king was captured at Alnwick, and, immediately on hearing the news, Puiset sent the Flemings back to their own country although he despatched the Count of Bar and the 40 knights to augment the garrison at Northallerton. Knowing that resistance was now useless, the rebels and conspirators having been deprived of the aid they expected from Scotland, he submitted to the king at Nottingham, surrendering his castles of Durham, Norham, and Northallerton, but in spite of his prompt submission he had great difficulty in obtaining the king's pardon for the garrison of Northallerton.⁵ The castle was dismantled and destroyed by order of Henry II in 1174.⁶

Description.—Northallerton, the official capital of the North Riding, is a sleepy, old-fashioned town, possessing no objects of interest beyond the church and the site of the Bishops' Palace, and consisting principally of one long, wide street, with broad cobbled pavements, lined with dull old houses. The antiquary who expects to find the enormous motte and the mighty earthworks of the Norman castle of the Prince-Bishops will be disappointed. All that now remains to mark its site is a fragment of what was the eastern rampart of the bailey, for the North Eastern Railway has put a finishing touch to the work of destruction commenced by Henry II.⁷

The fortress stood on relatively elevated ground with a wide and extensive view for miles over the low-lying ground, with on one side the Hambledon and on the other side the Richmondshire hills blue and hazy in the distance. Leland says: "At

¹ *Scriptores Tres.* (Surtees Soc.), App., p. 1.

² *Roger of Houeden, Chron.*, Rolls Ser., ii, 57.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 63.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 101; *Benedict of Peterborough*, i, 160.

⁷ "About the beginning of the present century," *i.e.* about 1800, says Ingledew, "the high embankments and trenches on the east side were taken down and levelled. . . . After the death of Miss Lampton, the north side of the Castle Hill, which was entire, was bought by Mr. Thomas Hunter, who took down

the high mounds, which were very formidable, and filled up the deep trenches, and afterwards the north terrace, which, with the rampart or terrace on the east side (still remaining), formed a kind of crescent or half-circle. A strong pavement of stones, about 2 feet below the surface and three or four courses deep, firmly set in lime, was removed, several score loads being sold to the overseers of the highways." In 1838 the remainder of the earthworks—with the exception of the fragment of the eastern rampart, still remaining (see plan)—were levelled on the construction of the Great North of England (now the North Eastern) Railway.

the west end of Northallerton, a little from the cherche, is the Bishop of Durham's palace, strongly builded and well motid, and a two flite shottes from it west-north-west be the ditches and the dungeon hill where the castelle of Alverton sumtime stode."

NORTHALLERTON, BISHOPS' PALACE (fig. 4).

History.—The origin of this castle is uncertain,¹ but it would appear exceedingly probable that, in order to raise money for the Crusade, Richard I sold to the Bishops of Durham the right to build a second castle at Northallerton.² The earthworks marking the site of this fortress stand on the banks of the Sun Beck, about 200 yards west of the church. When the castle developed works in masonry is unknown, but the stockading of the motte would not appear to have ever been replaced by stonework, and there is no doubt that the building developed more on the lines of a moated manor-house than on those of a feudal castle,³ and that the motte was lowered, and abandoned as part of the edifice. The house was evidently in good repair when Leland wrote,⁴ in the reign of Henry VIII; but Richard Franck, writing in 1658, describes the place as then being "demolished with age and the ruins of time," and as serving "as a receptacle for bats and buzzards, owls, and jackdaws." In 1663 John Cosin, bishop of Durham, gave the stone from the ruins of the manor-house to Mr. Thomas Lascelles, of Northallerton, for the purpose of rebuilding the Castle Mills, and executing some repairs in connection with various houses in the Market Place. Langdale, writing in 1791, states that not the smallest vestige of the building was then in existence, but adds that about thirty years previously there was a large fragment of

¹ Although this castle would not appear to have been founded until the last decade of the twelfth century, it was, in its original form, a typical Norman stronghold, and as such will be more conveniently dealt with now than in a future article.

² The right was probably sold to Hugh Puiset when King Richard sold him the earldom of Northumberland in 1189. Philip Peytevin, a native of Aquitaine, and one of the king's privy councillors, was elected Bishop of Durham, 4 Jan., 1195-6 (G. Coldingham, *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres.*, Surtees Soc., 17). The election was confirmed at Northallerton, in the presence of Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, who had come to York as Legate (*Roger of Houeden Chron.*, Rolls Ser.,

iii, 308). This would lead one to imagine that the new castle was finished prior to 1195. Evidently Puiset was not permitted to refortify the formidable earthworks which marked the site of the stronghold of his predecessors—this, one would imagine, would certainly have been done had not such an act been expressly forbidden—and it would therefore be necessary to construct an entirely new residence.

³ Indeed, if we eliminate the motte—which may have been abandoned at a comparatively early date—we get a typical mediæval moated manor-house.

⁴ He describes it as "strong of building and well motid," and in the Bishops' accounts, preserved at Durham, are several entries in connection with payments for keeping swans on the moat.

the Gate House still standing.¹ The moated enclosure is now used as a cemetery.

Description.—The motte, which is about 160 feet in diameter at its base, and which lies to the south-west of the bailey, has evidently been lowered. It is defended on the south and west by its own ditch, and on the east by the broad bailey ditch. The bailey, which is irregular in shape, and covers some $2\frac{3}{4}$ acres, measures about 510 feet in extreme length from north to south, by about 330 feet in extreme breadth from east to west. It is defended by a formidable dry ditch, some 60 feet in width, which was, when the "Palace" or manor-house was inhabited, filled with water. The bold broad counterscarp of this ditch still remains in fair preservation on the west and partially on the south. The entrance to the bailey—and the site of the stone Gatehouse—was in the centre of the eastern side.

PICKERING (fig. 5).

History.—At the time of the Survey,² Pickering was an important royal manor of 37 carucates with sokes aggregating other 50 carucates attached to it, and was the caput of an Honour retained by the king in his own hands. Although the earliest known mention of the castle occurs in the Pipe Rolls of 26 Henry II,³ there appears to be little doubt that this interesting and important castle was founded by the Conqueror, possibly c. 1071. It is an excellent example of the gradual evolution of an Early Norman earth-and-timber stronghold into a shell-keep fortress, and will be more fully described in a later article.

Owing to the fact that Pickering has been cited as an anomaly,⁴ owing to the fact that the motte is now central, it is

¹ A stranger to the North Riding, as he is whirled northward in an express from York to Darlington, may be excused if he were to form the opinion that the district is singularly devoid of mediæval military remains. The only relic of the kind which will come to his notice is a slighted motte and a moated cemetery at Northallerton which marks the site of the palace of the bishops of Durham.

² *D.B.*, fo. 229a, col. 2.

³ In operatione domorum regis in castello de Pikeringa, £6 10s.

⁴ Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, in his excellent work, "Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages," says (p. 43): "The mount might

be within the enclosure, even, as at Pickering, in its centre." The writer has met with several castles in France where the motte occupies a central position. It is possible that in one or two of these examples this arrangement may be due, as at Pickering, to the subsequent addition of a second ward; but, owing to a lack of knowledge of the history of these fortresses, the writer is unable to express an opinion on the point. At Gisors (Eure), founded by Rufus, the motte was originally, as usual, on the enceinte. It was made central, as at Pickering, by Henry I, who doubled the size of the bailey and walled it in, making it practically circular in shape instead of semi-circular.

important to notice that in its original form, and for some 110 years subsequent to its foundation, the fortress consisted only of the motte, and what is now the inner or northern bailey, and the plan given on fig. 5 shows the fortress in its original form, and as it existed at the time of the accession of Henry II. The outer or southern bailey is certainly not of a date anterior to 1182. Between 1182¹ and 1186² Henry II appears to have converted the stronghold into a stone castle by erecting a wall round the original bailey, and it seems very probable that he, at the same time, added the outer or southern bailey, which he would defend with timber palisading.³ The masonry of the outer bailey was not erected until the reign of Edward II. King John visited Pickering more than once.⁷

Description (as in 1154).—Pickering is an old-fashioned and rather dull market-town, pleasantly situated on the southern verge of Blackamore. The castle stands on a cliff above the Pickering Beck at the north-west end of the town, and commands extensive and beautiful views. Not only is it a very defensible site, but it was only some two miles from the Roman road leading from Malton (*Derwentio*?) *via* Cawthorn Camp (*Delgontia*?) to Dunsley Bay (*Prætorium*?), a road which linked up the Fossard castle near Lythe, the Stuteville castle of Cropton, and the de Vesci fortress of Malton.

¹ In reparatione (altered from operatione) castelli et domorum Regis de Pikeringe, £20 13s. 4d. Pipe Rolls, 1182-3.

² In operatione domorum regis et pontis castelli de Pikeringa, £23 10s. Unpublished Pipe Rolls, 1184-5.

³ The writer is indebted to Mrs. Armitage for the following interesting and valuable note on Pickering Castle, viz.:—"1218. The county of York was committed to the royal chamberlain, Geoffrey de Neville. Out of the revenues of the shire he was to maintain the castles of Scarborough and Pickering.

1220. An inquisition ordered as to what Geoffrey de Neville had spent on the castle of Pickering since the peace between the king and Louis, and in what state the castle was when Geoffrey took possession, how much was standing and how much was fallen, or had been thrown down. Close Rolls, i, 436a.

At some probably late date in Henry III's reign, Pickering Castle was given by the king to his second son, Edmund, along with several other important castles (*Cal. Rot. Chart.*, 94). Edmund cannot have done much to Pickering Castle, as when it escheated to Edward I on Edmund's death, an inquisition of

1296 reports that it is a 'castrum debile' (*Yorks. Inq.*, iii, 73, 74). Some details are given, and the works of the hurcinium are mentioned. From another inquisition (i, 46), it appears that certain tenants had to do one perch of the heritinium (evidently the same as hurcinium or hericio, the fence on the counterscarp of the ditch, but mistranslated by the editor) every year. I was certainly led to think that the whole of the towers of the outer wall are of the Decorated period, and probably the work of the rich and powerful Earl Thomas, Edmund's son. These entries, when one thinks them over, lead one to come to the conclusion that Henry II added the outer bailey, as well as walling with stone the inner one, but that he probably only banked and palisaded the outer."

⁷ He dates from Pickering a charter to the nuns of Wykeham, Feb. 1, 1201. In Close Rolls, i, 114 (1208), there is an entry for repairs at the castle ordered by the king. In the Mise Roll (1210), p. 159 (Cole's edition), King John is stated to have lost 10s. at Pickering to the Earl of Salisbury in playing at backgammon. In the Pipe Rolls, 1210, repairs aggregating £4 11s. 2d. are mentioned to the "castelli, domorum, et pontium."

The remarkably fine motte, one of the best preserved in the North Riding, is 44 feet in height, and measures 75 feet in diameter at the summit and about 220 feet at its base. It is surrounded by a broad circular ditch, which joins the bailey ditch on either side. At the time with which we are dealing, viz. the year 1154, the motte would probably be crowned by a strong palisade enclosing a timber keep of no great size. In the reign of Edward II a shell keep was erected on the summit.¹

The original, or northern bailey, is half-moon shaped, and covers an area of about an acre and a tenth, measuring some 380 feet in length from north-east to south-west, by some 120 feet in width. It would, in 1154, be enclosed by a strong palisade occupying the site of the present stone curtains, erected by Henry II *c.* 1182–1186.² This palisade would be carried up the sides of the motte, being replaced in later times by the stone wall which now occupies the same position. The fortress was admirably protected on the north by a scarped hillside, and on the north-east and south-west sides was a ditch, the counterscarp of which carried an additional stockade.³ The timber great hall was probably, from the first, placed in the bailey, possibly against the northern stockade.⁴

PICKERING, BEACON HILL (fig. 5).

History.—We know nothing whatever of the history of this earthwork. It is a motte castle, devoid of a bailey, and may possibly represent the original stronghold erected by the Conqueror, but it is very much more likely that it is a siege castle constructed during the course of some unrecorded blockade of the royal fortress, possibly during the intestinal warfare of the time of Stephen.⁵

¹ If we allow 20 feet—a by no means generous allowance, 30 feet would probably be nearer the mark—for the stockade and fighting platform, the space available for the timber tower would be some 50 feet and, as it would have to stand clear, it is improbable that this keep would be more than 40 feet square.

² In the northern curtain is a Late Norman doorway, which may have been a postern in connection with Henry II's timber great hall. It seems very improbable that Henry II constructed a stone great hall when he walled in the original bailey—the expenses in connection with the work not being heavy enough to have covered the erection of such a hall. Leland, writing in the reign of Henry VIII, referring to this portion of the castle, says: "In

the ynner court be also four toures, whereof the Kepe is one. The castelle waulles and the toures be meatly welle. The loggings yn the ynner court that be of timbre be in ruine. In this inner court is a chapelle and a cantuarie prest." See *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, x, 323.

³ An inquisition of *c.* 1298 mentions the work of the hurcinium, or palisade on this counterscarp (*Yorks. Rec. Ser.*, xxxi, 73).

⁴ There is no evidence that there was ever a stone great hall.

⁵ A short distance south-west of Corfe Castle, Dorset, are some earthworks, called "The Rings," which probably mark the site of a siege castle constructed by Stephen when he unsuccessfully besieged Corfe Castle in 1139. Henry I erected a siege castle on what

Description.—This motte occupies a highly defensible site on the summit of what is known as “Beacon Hill,” facing the castle on the opposite side of the stream, and it would be exactly the site selected for a siege castle. The motte is 14 feet in height, and measures on its summit 110 feet from north to south by 90 feet from east to west, and still retains traces of its banquette. It measures some 220 feet from east to west by about 225 feet from north to south in diameter across its base in the motte ditch, of which there are still traces on the south and south-east. The view from the summit is extensive and beautiful, a fine view of the ruins of the shell keep fortress of Pickering being obtained across the intervening valley. There are no signs of masonry, nor should we expect to find any.

PICKHILL (fig. 5).

History.—At the time of the Survey,¹ the manor of Pickhill was retained by Count Alan le Roux in his own hands. The castle may have been founded by Roald, the third Hereditary Constable of Richmond. Enisand Musard, the first Hereditary Constable, was one of the most powerful of the Richmondshire feudatories of the Breton Count, from whom he received 23 manors, aggregating 140 carucates of land, valued T.R.E. at £21 8s., and in 1086–7 at £16 5s. 4d.² He had churches on his manors of Aldbrough, Startford, and Hindreleg (in Marske?), and mills at Aldbrough and Brompton-on-Swale. He gave the church of Croft, with 4 carucates of land, to St. Mary’s, York.³

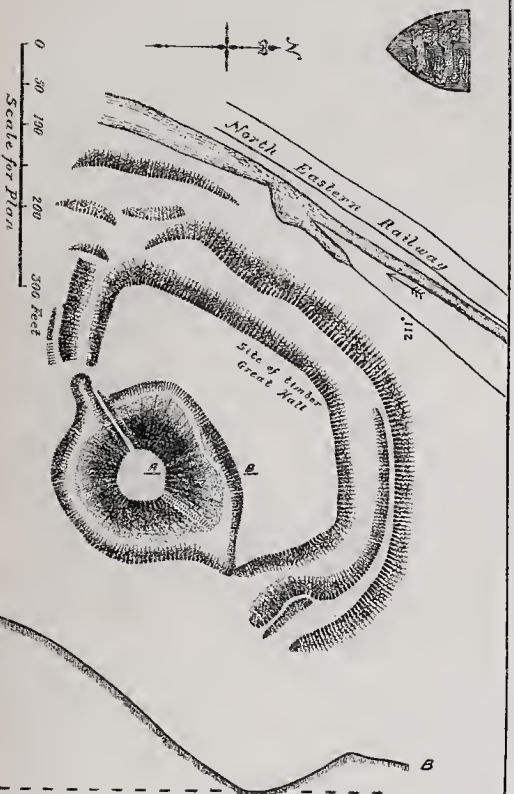
is locally known as “Pampudding Hill,” below the castle of Bridgenorth (*Florence of Worcester, Chron.*, A.D. 1102). There are other well authenticated examples of siege castles. We are told (Suger’s *Gesta Ludovici Regis*, ed. Molinier—Suger died in 1151) that in 1112 Hugh de Puiset rebuilt his castle of Puiset (Eure et Loire), and again rebelled against Louis VI. The King laid siege to the rebel’s fortress, and, under the fire of his enemy’s fundibularii and balistarii, restockaded an old motte, “antiquam antecessorum suorum destitutam motam,” close to the new stronghold. This old motte may, as the editor suggests, have been the original fortress of Puiset, or may have been an old siege castle. It was, however, too near the rebel fortress, and the King was compelled to remove his headquarters to a point a mile distant. The writer is indebted to Mrs. Armitage for kindly drawing his attention to this passage. We are told (*Ord. Vit.*, vii, 10) that when, in 1083, the Conqueror blockaded, for three years, Hubert de Maine in his

fortress of St. Suzanne (Mayenne), he constructed a siege castle—“Rex itaque quoddam municipium in valle Beugici construxit ibique magnam militum copiam ad arcendum hostem constituit.” When this siege took place the defences of St. Suzanne would probably be entirely of timber, for although De Caumont (*Abécédaire*) states that the keep dates from the eleventh century, the writer, who has examined it, is convinced that it is a twelfth century tower. In 1088 Rufus compelled Odo to surrender the castle of Rochester by throwing up two siege *castella* on his lines of communication (*Ord. Vit.*, viii, 2).

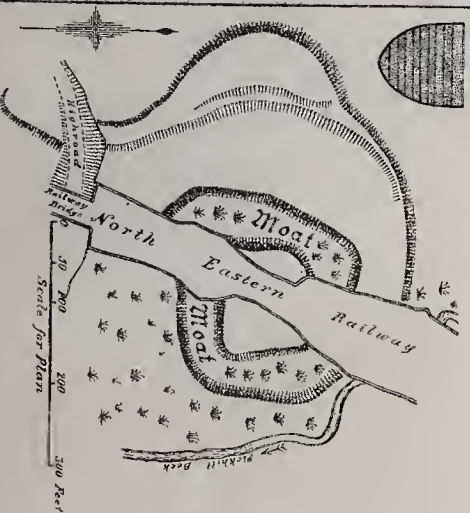
¹ *D.B.*, fo. 313b.

² The greater part of the estates given to Enisand or Enisant Musard had been, T.R.E., the property of Tor of Barningham, who held in Gillingshire 26 manors, containing 178 carucates, valued at £24 11s. Enisant, as appears from the Survey, also held the manor of Cheveley, Cambridgeshire, of Count Alan le Roux.

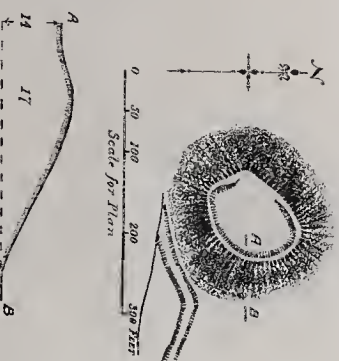
³ Dugdale’s *Mon. Angl.*, iii, 551b.



PICKERING



PICKHILL



PICKERING (BEACON HILL)

W. M. Johnson
Drawn at No. 10 15

After his death his estates passed to his grandson, Roald, son of Hascoit or Harsculf Musard.¹

Roald, the third Hereditary Constable—whose descendants bore the arms “Barry of ten, or and gules”—founded, in 1153,² the well-known Præmonstratensian abbey of St. Agatha, near Richmond,³ and may have erected Pickhill Castle during the intestinal warfare of the time of Stephen.⁴ Roald was succeeded by his son, Alan Fitz-Roald, 4th Hereditary Constable,⁵ whose daughter, Amfelisa, married Jollan de Neville, to whom Alan gave the manor of Pickhill. Jollan de Neville, who died in 1209, may have added to the castle; but as the church appears to date from c. 1135–1145, it seems highly probable that church and castle are contemporary, and that whoever built the one built the other also, and in the reign of Stephen.⁶ The Nevilles appear to have resided at Pickhill Castle until 1319, when their fortalice was probably burnt by the Scots,

¹ Another son, Robert Fitz-Hersculf, would appear to have been the ancestor of the Cleasby branch of the family. See Raine's “Marske-in-Swaledale,” *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vi, p. 214.

² Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 927; Gale's *Reg. Hon. de Rich.*, p. 263.

³ The Rev. J. Raine suggests (*Assoc. Arch. Soc. Reports*, ii, 316) that Roald may have brought back from Sicily some relics of St. Agatha when returning from the second Crusade (1146).

⁴ Plantagenet Harrison says (*History of Yorkshire*, p. 35) that Henry II gave to Roald le Ennase, constable of Richmond Castle under Alan, third Earl of Richmond, the manor of Pickhall [*sic*], which he gave in marriage with his daughter, Amflesia, to Jolan de Neville.

⁵ Alan Fitz-Roald, 4th constable, was succeeded by his son, Roald Fitz-Alan or Fitz-Roald, 5th constable, and Roald by his son, Alan Fitz-Roald, 6th constable, and Alan by his son, Roald Fitz-Roald, 7th Hereditary Constable. During the reign of Edward III—according to the *Monasticon*, some time previous to that time according to the *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Reports*, 1853, p. 321—Thomas Fitz-Roald de (Constable) Burton, sold his ancestral estates to Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton, and the Scropes thus became possessed of the patronage of the Abbey of St. Agatha at Easby. After that we appear to hear no more of that ancient house, the Fitz-Roalds, with their picturesque title, Hereditary Constables of Richmond Castle. Roald, the 5th constable, played a fairly prominent part in the Barons' Wars of the time of John. The constable held the castle for the baronial party but, in his northern campaign of 1216,

the king compelled him to submit, and Roald ransomed his garrison by payment of 200 marcs and six suits of armour (*Rot. de Oblates et Fin.*, Rec. Com., 569; *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, Rec. Com., i, 163). The king ordered the castle to be dismantled (*Rot. Lit. Pat.*, Rec. Com., i, 143), but this order was apparently never carried out.

⁶ For a pedigree of the Nevilles of Pickhill Castle, see H. B. McCall's *Richmondshire Churches*, p. 131. Jollan de Neville I died in 1209, leaving two sons, John (*obit* s.p. 1219) and Jollan II, the justice (*obit* 1246). Jollan II had issue at least two sons, Jollan III (*obit* 1249) and John (living in 1254). John was succeeded by Andrew de Neville (*obit* 1295), and Andrew by Jollan IV, who had a grant of market in Pickhill in 1306. In the existing church of All Saints the Norman chancel arch and the south door—both of which have scalloped capitals and chevron mouldings—appear to date c. 1135–1145. Whitaker styles them (*History of Richmondshire*, ii, 135), “the most elaborate specimens of that style now remaining in Richmondshire.” The enlargement of the chancel and the addition of the chantry chapel are probably due to Andrew de Neville (*obit* 1295). In the north side of the chancel is the effigy of a knight, whose shield bears the fillet dancette surmounted by a chevron—the arms of the Nevilles of Pickhill—which the writer is inclined to assign to this Andrew. The knight is clad in chain mail armour with surcoat, and wears steel knee caps, the general details of the work pointing to a date between 1290 and 1310. The legs of the effigy are broken off about mid-way between the knees and the ankles, and it is mutilated in other ways.

who sacked and destroyed the village in that year. The castle never developed any works in masonry.

Description.—The site of this castle is pleasantly situated amid gently undulating country on the banks of the Pickhill Beck. The earthworks, like those at Kildale and Northallerton (Castle Hills), have suffered much at the hands of the railway engineer, and the motte, which is, like that of Whorlton, squarish in shape, is cut completely in two by the North Eastern Railway, and now forms part of the railway embankment. It is now about 13 feet high, but it is impossible to say what its original elevation may have been. It measures, on the summit, some 105 to 130 feet from east to west, by some 110 feet from north to south; but the mutilation it has undergone may have slightly modified its original shape and size.¹ It was surrounded by a broad ditch, portions of which still exist, some 60 feet wide, which, at the time of the occupation of the castle, may have been filled with water from the beck now running to the north and east of the motte. Less than 100 yards to the east of the motte ditch, and standing on rising ground opposite the site of the castle, is the interesting church of All Saints.

The bailey was to the west of the motte, but its earthworks have been so much mutilated that the accompanying plan of it can only be taken as approximately correct. The earthen ramparts on the west side are of considerable breadth, and one might venture to hazard the conjecture that here would be the principal domestic buildings; hall, solar, kitchen, etc.

RICHMOND.

The great Honour, afterwards known as the Earldom of Richmond, granted by the Conqueror, about 1071, to Alan

¹ There was a local tradition to the effect that Mother Shipton prophesied that the village of Pickhill would never prosper until "Pict's Hill," or "Money Hill," as the motte is called to this day by the villagers, was cut open, and a legend existed that there was a chamber in the centre of the motte in which was a large oak chest, with three locks, containing untold treasure. Numerous similar traditions exist, especially in Wales, with regard to the mottes of Early Norman castles. In 1851 the Leeds and Thirsk Railway Company cut open the motte before finally making it part of their embankment. Needless

to say, although the motte was cut through in all directions, and right down to its base, no treasure was found; the excavation, however, served to establish the fact that no masonry had existed. In the motte ditch were found fragments of cooking utensils, portions of tiling, a small brick, and a thin piece of iron which had evidently once formed part of a mediæval helmet. A local tradition still (July, 1913) exists to the effect that "once upon a time" a great battle took place at this place, and may refer to the capture and destruction of the castle by the Scots.

le Roux,¹ a son of Eudo, Count of Penthievre in Brittany, contained "within its castellry" 199 manors, aggregating 1,153 carucates of land.² This vast stretch of country,³ which extended from the river Wiske westwards to the borders of Westmorland and the West Riding, and from the Tees southwards to the Yore, had been, T.R.E., the property of the English earl, Edwin, whose aula or manor-house had been at Gilling.⁴ In the vast extent, and more especially in the compactness of this great Honour, we get an admirable illustration of the policy of the astute Conqueror—a policy also seen in the Welsh marches—of granting a large and unbroken territory to an energetic and capable warrior for purposes of national defence. It served as an excellent barrier against the Scots, covering as it did the approach from the north by way of Wensleydale, Swaledale, Teesdale, and the county of Durham.

It is obvious that a strong fortress would be an absolute necessity for Alan le Roux in the midst of a hostile and hardy population. No sentimental objections would weigh for a moment with the foreign count in favour of retaining the old English capital of Gilling, when near at hand was a site apparently created by nature for the erection upon it of a great and formidable castle. No one who has visited this picturesquely situated fortress can fail to grasp not only the supreme excellence of the site—this is obvious at a glance—but more especially its vast strategic importance as the caput of the Honour.

On the large triangular plateau rising almost perpendicularly above the northern bank of the Swale, Count Alan le Roux, in or about 1071, commenced the erection of his seigneurial

¹ Alan le Roux is styled "Alanus comes Orientalium Anglorum" in the Conqueror's charter of 1081 to Bury St. Edmund's (Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, iii, 141b).

² *D.B. Summary*, fo. 381, which informs us that he had "within his castellry" 199 manors, of which 108 were described as "waste." Of these 199 his vassals held 133. In addition to the 199 manors in the castellry, Alan held, outside its limits, 43 manors, aggregating 161 carucates, and containing land for 170½ ploughs. At the time of the Survey he held, besides this vast north country property, no fewer than 101 manors in Lincolnshire, 81 in Norfolk, 63 in Cambridgeshire, 12 in Herefordshire, etc., as a perusal of the Domesday Survey shows.

³ Mr. Wm. Farrer's Domesday Map

of the North Riding (*V.C.H. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 136) gives an excellent idea of the proportion of the North Riding belonging to the Honour of Richmond.

⁴ Edwin's aula would certainly not be built for defensive purposes; private or individual fortresses were unknown to the English, indeed under the English rule they could have no *raison d'être*. Edwin's residence would be merely a timber house fenced in by a light palisade, but Alan *may* have strengthened it and utilised it whilst Richmond Castle was being constructed. About the beginning of the last century there was in existence on what is still known as "Castle Hill," in the parish of Gilling, an oval earthwork of which a plan is given in Mr. McLaughlan's paper, *Arch. Journal*, vol. vi, but it had no motte.

fortress, which he is said to have named Richmond.¹ But he was not content with the ordinary earth-and-timber castle usually thrown up by a Norman baron. Alan le Roux was no ordinary baron; as the holder of the great Honour of Richmond he was almost a prince, for his vast property was, as it were, within a ring fence, forming one huge unbroken tract of country, a shire in itself, in which his power and influence was absolute and paramount. As a general rule the possessions of a great tenant-in-capite were much scattered, so that he was compelled to erect a number of castles, one to defend each considerable portion of his property. As we have already seen, under our notice of Foss Castle, Nigel Fossard, or his immediate successor, would appear to have erected no fewer than five castles on the Fossard estates, and yet those estates covered but little more than a third as much land as was contained in the "castellry" of Richmond. Owing to the strategic importance of the site selected, only one great castle was needed by Count Alan, and consequently he was in a position to lavish upon that one structure all the labour and material which another baron, of equal but scattered estates, would have to spend on the erection of ten or a dozen castles. Thus it comes about, owing to the unusual circumstances of the case, that we have at Richmond a great stone fortress of the last quarter of the eleventh century, a castle of unrivalled interest in the wonderful preservation of its eleventh century hall.

As this article is practically devoted to those Norman castles of the North Riding which never developed works in masonry, or where no masonry now exists, a history and description of Richmond is deferred until we come to deal with it among the rectangular keep castles of the Riding.²

¹ "Hic Alanus primo incepit facere castrum et munitionem juxta manerium suum capitale de Gilling, pro tuitione suorum contra infestationes Anglorum tunc ubique exhaeredatorum, similiter et Danorum, et nominavit dictum castrum Richmond suo ydiomate Gallico, quod sonat Latine divitem montem, in editiori et fortiori loco sui territorii situatum." *Mon. Angl.*, v, 574, from an MS. compiled in the reign of Edward III.

² The genealogy of the early Counts of Richmond is still not perfectly clear. A charter given in the *Mon. Angl.*, iii, 550, if genuine—and so far as the writer is aware its authenticity has never been questioned—would appear to throw some light upon the subject. This charter reads as follows: "Notum sit omnibus legentibus et audientibus literas

has quod ego Conanus, dux Britanniae et comes Richmondiae, Alani comitis filius, concessi et dedi et presenti carta confirmavi ecclesiae sanctae Mariae Eboraci, et monachis ibidem Deo servantibus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro me ipso et pro salute patris et matris meae, et pro animabus avunculorum patris mei, comitum videlicet Alani Rufi et Alani Nigri, quicquid ipsi avunculi patris mei, comitis, et avus meus, comes Stephanus, et pater meus Alanus dederunt sive confirmaverunt," etc. Witnesses: Robert de Gant, Robert the chamberlain, Hamelin the chancellor, Hervey fil. Acheris, David Lardenarius, William the sheriff, Wigan fil. Cades, Galfrid Boniface, William fil. Roald, Arnold the clerk, Eudes the marshal, et multis aliis apud Eboracum.

SCARBOROUGH.

During the intestinal warfare of the time of Stephen, William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, one of the most powerful of the Yorkshire barons,¹ erected a stone castle on the huge rocky promontory on which Henry II's keep now stands. The Meaux chronicler tells us that "William, surnamed Le Gros, Earl of Albemarle and Holderness, observing this place to be admirably situated for the erection of a castle, increased the great natural strength of it by a very costly work, having enclosed all the plain upon the rock by a wall, and built a tower at the entrance. But this being decayed and fallen, King Henry II commanded a great and strong castle to be built upon the same spot."²

Early in 1155, Henry II advanced to York with a large army, and William le Gros, realising that resistance would be useless, surrendered his castle of Scarborough at the king's command.³ Doubtless Henry's first intention was to destroy the fortress, as he destroyed so many of the castles run up in the time of Stephen, but apparently struck by the superlative excellence of the site, he decided to complete the structure, and between 1158 and 1174 erected the still partially existing keep.⁴

A description and history of this great castle will be given in that portion of this work dealing with the rectangular keep castles. All that we need now remember is that in 1154 Scarborough was a more or less strongly walled enclosure devoid of a stone keep.

¹ William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle (whose descendants bore the arms "Argent, a chief gules"), founded, in 1150, the abbey of Meaux or Melsa (*Chron. Mon. de Melsa*, Rolls Ser., i, p. xiii). He already, previous to the foundation of Scarborough Castle, possessed a great fortress at Skipsea, East Riding, the earthworks of which still exist and are of great interest. The motte, which is 46 feet high and about 100 feet in diameter at the summit, in mediæval times was surrounded by a swamp, and the bailey, which covers no less than 8½ acres, is the largest known to the writer. This castle of Skipsea is said (*Chron. de Melsa*, i, 89) to have been founded by Drogo de Bevrère, and was destroyed by Henry III in 1221 (*Rot. Lit. Claus.*, Rec. Com., i, 474b).

² *Chron. de Melsa*, ii, 3. "The tower at the entrance," referred to by the chronicler, would undoubtedly be constructed of timber; in no other way is it conceivable that in so short a time, some twenty years, intervening between its erection by the earl and the seizure of the fortress by the king, could it have become, as the chronicler tells us, "decayed and fallen." This timber keep probably stood on or near the site of the present magnificent stone tower, and it may have contained the earl's private apartments.

³ *Chron. Stephen, etc.*, Rolls Ser., i, 104.

⁴ Pipe Rolls Soc., vol. i, pp. 29, 30, 31; ii, 14; iv, 36; v, 50; vi, 57, 58; vii, 11, 12; xii, 79; xiii, 31.

SHERIFF HUTTON (fig. 6).

History.—At the time of the Survey,¹ Nigel Fossard (see Foss Castle), one of the two great Yorkshire feudatories of Robert, Earl of Mortain and of Cornwall, was the principal landowner in Sheriff Hutton. Very soon after the Survey, certainly before 1100, Nigel gave this manor, with other property in the district, to Aschetil de Bulmer,² whose name (probably in his capacity as the chief Fossard feudatory) appears as the second witness to Nigel's important charter to St. Mary's, York, between that of Robert, Nigel's eldest son and heir, and that of Stephen, his second son. Aschetil de Bulmer was also an important landowner in the adjoining county of Durham, but the pedigree of the family would never appear to have been properly worked out. Camden tells us that Bertram de Bulmer,³ the son of Aschetil, erected a castle at Sheriff Hutton in 1140, and this may be the true history of the foundation of the castle, although it is quite possible that it may really owe its origin to Aschetil c. 1100. Bertram de Bulmer was one of the few North Riding adherents of the Empress against Stephen—it will be remembered that his neighbour, Eustace Fitz-John of Malton, was also an opponent of Stephen—and his castle was besieged and captured by Alan, Count of Richmond. Bulmer's principal interests apparently lay in the county of Durham, and in August, 1144, he captured the church of Merrington, some nine miles south of Durham, which Cumin, the usurper of the see of Durham, had fortified to hold his lines of communication with his ally, Alan of Richmond.⁴ On the death of Bertram the manor of Sheriff Hutton passed by the marriage of his daughter and heiress, Emma, to Geoffrey de Neville,⁵ who died in 1194.⁶

¹ *D.B.*, fo. 300b, col. 1; fo. 306a, col. 1; fo. 373, col. 1. The first entry informs us that in Hotune (Sheriff Hutton) the king held 4 carucates; the second that Nigel Fossard held 11 carucates under the Earl of Mortain; the third that Nigel had seized the lands of Turulf, Turchil, and Turstan, which they held under the king—an action thoroughly characteristic of Nigel.

² Aschetil de Bulmer succeeded a certain Osbert as Sheriff of Yorkshire. This must have occurred in 1115 as Osbert died in that year. *Mon. Angl.*, i, 241b; vi, 1179b-80, 1272b.

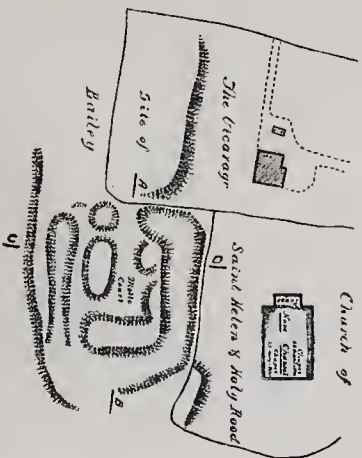
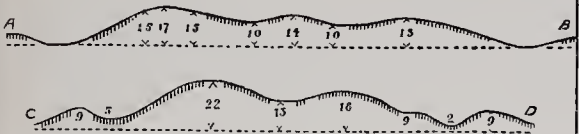
³ Arms of the Bulmers: Gules, billette or, a lion rampant of the second. He founded the Augustinian Priory of Marton. Burton, *Mon. Ebor.*, 265.

⁴ *Symeon of Durham*, i, 158.

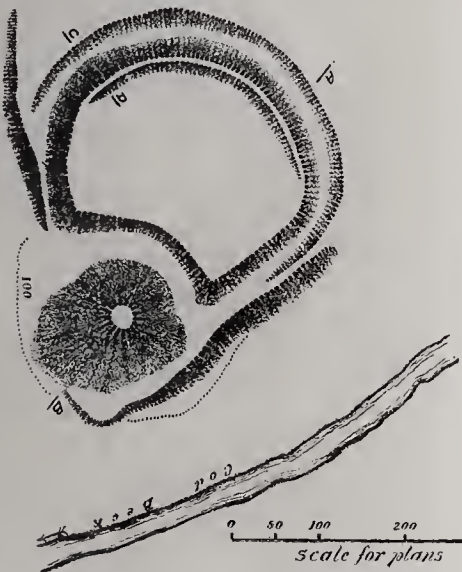
⁵ Geoffrey de Neville was the eldest son and heir of Gilbert de Neville, who

founded the monastic house of Topholme, c. 1168. The Nevilles, who derived their name from Neuville-sur-Toque, settled in Lincolnshire at an early date. By his wife, Emma de Bulmer, Geoffrey had issue a son, Henry, and two daughters, Avise and Isabella. Henry, who died s.p., confirmed the grant made by his grandfather, Bertram de Bulmer, to the Priory of Marton (*Dugdale, Mon. Angl.*, vi, 199, No. ii), and gave it additional property. Avise also died s.p. Isabella married Robert Fitz-Meldred, the Saxon lord of Raby, and had a son, Geoffrey Fitz-Robert, who assumed the name of Neville, but retained his parental arms, the famous "Gules, a saltire argent." In 1382 his descendants commenced the erection of the stately "fortress-palace" of Sheriff Hutton.

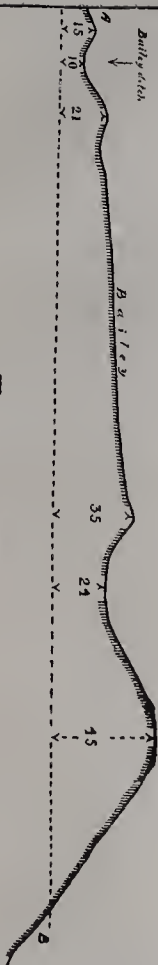
⁶ Surtees' *Durham*, iv, 158.



SHERIFF HUTTON



Drill holes



TOPCLIFFE

Wm. Ligon
1911

After its capture during the civil wars of the time of Stephen, we hear nothing more of Sheriff Hutton Castle.

Description.—The earthworks which mark the site of the Bulmer castle of Sheriff Hutton lie immediately to the south of the church, and are certainly the most curious of their kind in the North Riding. At the first glance one might be inclined to think that here we have the usual Norman motte, but that it has been slighted in an unusual manner. But the true solution of the extraordinary appearance the motte presents is that it marks a new and unusual type of earth-and-timber castle consisting of a motte of some size enclosing a very small ward surrounded by an abnormally high and wide banquette, which appears, accustomed as we are only to light banquettes, absolutely colossal when compared with the miniature court beneath.¹ In three places this banquette presents huge gaps, which gave an extraordinary bastion-like appearance to the motte. The gap on the west represents the entrance to the summit of the motte from the attached bailey; but it has, of course, been very greatly enlarged. The enlargement of this, and of the other two gaps, has probably been caused by previous incumbents using the motte as a handy place from which to obtain soil. The motte ditch is still in good preservation on the north and south. The timber walls of the keep would rest upon the banquette; the well-like ward or court forming the basement of the tower.

The bailey lay to the west and north-west of the motte, but its ditches have been largely filled up. There are, however, distinct traces of them (see plan).²

¹ The fortifications probably resembled those at Devizes (Wilts.), where the buildings are so deeply sunk inside the motte as to justify the expression so frequently met with in the Pipe Rolls, “domus infra motam” or “in motâ.”

² The church of St. Helen, immediately north of the church (see plan), is contemporary with it, the lower part of the tower dating from the first quarter of the twelfth century. In this church is what the writer considers one of the most interesting effigies in the North Riding. It lies in what is now the vestry but which was originally the chapel of St. Nicholas and St. Giles, founded a year or two previous to 1447 by Thomas Witham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, into which it may have been moved from the chancel. The tomb bears five mutilated shields, which the writer, taking them from west to east, reads as follows: (1) (Argent) a fess (gules) between three

popinjays (vert), for Thweng of Kilton Castle. (2) Quarterly (gules and vair), over all a bendlet (or), for Constable of Flamborough. (3) (Argent) a fess (gules) between three popinjays (vert), on the fess three escallops (argent), for Thweng of Cornborough. (4) (Or) a bend (sable) bearing three eagles (argent), the arms of Robert de Mauley (Roll of Arms, *temp.* Edw. II, ed. Sir Harris Nicholas, 61). (5) (Argent) a fess (gules) between three popinjays (vert), for Thweng of Kilton. The effigy is in excellent preservation. The knight's arms and legs are protected by plate armour; he wears a mail hood surmounted by a conical helmet; a shirt of chain mail reaches almost to the knees. His head rests upon two cushions supported by angels; his legs are crossed; his feet rest upon a lion. His shield bears a fess between three popinjays, and on the fess are three escallops. These arms

SKELTON (figs. 7 and 8).

Although the original timber castle of Skelton developed into a rectangular keep fortress, very little of the stone stronghold of the Brus now remains above ground, and the writer, therefore, proposes dealing with it in this article rather than in those devoted to the rectangular keep castles.

History.—There would seem to be little doubt that this castle was founded by Richard de Surdeval,¹ possibly about

prove that he was the head of the house of Thweng of Cornborough, a junior branch of the Thwengs of Kilton. He wears a surcoat which falls in graceful folds midway between the knees and the ankles. The conjunction of a surcoat with plate armour appears to the writer to be unusual. Taking all the details into consideration, the plate armour, the presence of the shield and of the surcoat (instead of the later fourteenth century short, tight-fitting jupon), the writer is inclined to date the effigy about 1350–1360. The effigy may represent Edmund de Thweng of Cornborough, son of John de Thweng of Cornborough, and father of the John de Thweng of Cornborough who was living 41 Edward III (1367–8). If, however, it is possible to trace the history of this junior branch of the Thwengs, the shields should put the question beyond all doubt. The effigies of Yorkshire have never received the attention their importance undoubtedly merits, and it is to be hoped that the county may produce an expert on this most fascinating branch of archaeological research. An examination by the writer, during the spring of this year, of all the North Riding effigies, was sufficient to convince him that even some of those which have been “identified” are assigned to persons they do not represent. The Crathorne effigy is a case in point. It is said to represent Sir William de Crathorne, slain at Neville’s Cross in 1346, and a modern tablet to that effect is placed above it, but it is obvious that the effigy cannot be later than 1300–1310, and even supposing that Sir William bought his effigy during his lifetime out of stock, he would hardly have selected an effigy nearly half a century old. It has been suggested to the writer by a well-known North Country antiquary that the effigy probably represents a Percy, the original lords of Crathorne, and that it was subsequently “acquired” by the Crathornes. A particularly glaring example of such an “acquisition” may be seen at Norton (co. Durham).

¹We are told, with monotonous regularity, in local “histories” and guide books, that Skelton Castle was founded in the reign of Stephen, about 1140, by Robert de Brus, and by dint of

constant repetition, and because the statement has not hitherto been contradicted, it has actually come to be accepted as gospel. But when we track this statement to its source, we find that it was first propounded by Ord (*History of Cleveland*, p. 248), a writer to whose statements, either historical or architectural, no importance whatever need be attached. In order to ascertain to whom we may attribute the foundation of Skelton Castle, the writer has visited, at the expenditure of a considerable amount of time, patience, and petrol, all the numerous manors in Yorkshire held at the time of the Survey by Richard de Surdeval and by Nigel Fossard, the two great Yorkshire feudatories of Robert, Earl of Mortain. On the manors held by Fossard he found earthworks marking the sites of no fewer than five Norman castles, the erection of three of which, Montferrant, East Riding; Foss, North Riding; and Langthwaite, West Riding, may, almost certainly, be attributed to Nigel Fossard between 1071 and 1075. The other two, Aughton and Lockington, both in the East Riding, may be assigned either to Nigel Fossard or to his son and successor, Robert, previous to 1100. But although between 1071 and 1100, we may safely say that Nigel Fossard, or his son, erected five castles on the Fossard estates, which contained 430 carucates of land, an examination of the numerous manors, aggregating 257½ carucates, held by his co-feudatory, Richard de Surdeval, fails to reveal the slightest trace of the former existence upon them of any castle of Norman date with the solitary exception of the great “burgus” castle of Skelton. When we remember that a castle would be an absolute necessity to such a powerful landowner as Surdeval undoubtedly was, the only conclusion, surely—in the absence of any contemporary record on the point—we can come to is that Surdeval was the founder of Skelton Castle, and as the sub-infeudation of the Mortain property in Yorkshire undoubtedly took place very soon after 1071, we may, with some degree of assurance, state that Skelton Castle would be founded between 1072 and 1075, possibly nearer the former than the latter date.

1072-5. Surdeval was one of the two great Yorkshire feudatories of Robert, Earl of Mortain and of Cornwall,¹ under whom he held 121 carucates of land in the North Riding, 56 in the East, and 80½ in the West, or 257½ carucates in all. Among his North Riding manors was that of Skelton-in-Cleveland.² He came from Sourdeval-le-Barre, near the town of Mortain (Manche). We know very little about him; his name does not appear as a benefactor to any monastic house, or even as a witness to a charter.³ He would appear to have become a tenant-in-capite after the Mortain rebellion of 1088.⁴ We have

¹ Robert, Earl of Mortain and of Cornwall, the "Comes Moritoniensis," of the Survey, was a younger son of Herleva, the mother of the Conqueror, by her husband, Herlwine de Conteville. He held, at the time of the Survey, some 215 manors in Yorkshire, 93 of which he gave, in subinfeudation, to Nigel Fossard (see Foss Castle), and 59 to Richard de Surdeval. This subinfeudation would appear to have taken place soon after 1071, possibly even in that year. The earl would seem to have possessed none of the energy and ability of his famous brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, but he was a noted castle-builder. The remarkable keep at Pevensey—recently excavated by Mr. Harold Sands and Mr. D. H. Montgomerie—probably owes its origin to him. Mr. Wm. Farrer (*Vic. Count. Hist. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 155) says: "he was a dull and heavy man of little influence." He was, however, undoubtedly one of the most wealthy men in the kingdom. "The list of his possessions," says Freeman, in his beautifully worded book (vol. iv, pp. 169-170), "lands of Earl Harold, of the Sheriff Maerleswegen, and of a crowd of smaller victims, is simply endless. Hardly any other land-owners appear to Cornwall, except the Crown and ecclesiastical bodies. . . . Thus arose that great earldom, and afterwards Duchy of Cornwall, which was deemed too powerful to be trusted in the hands of any but men closely akin to the royal house, and the remains of which have for ages formed the appendage of the heir-apparent to the crown."

² Richard de Surdeval held the following manors in Cleveland under the Earl of Mortain at the time of the Survey, viz.:—Aislaby, Barnby, Little Broughton with its soke of Marske, Great and Little Moorholm, Skelton, Seaton near Hinderwell, Seamer and Taunton near Stokesley, Stainton and Tocketts, aggregating 67 carucates and 3 bovates of land, Skelton being the most important manor. Skelton is thus described in the Survey: "In Schelton ad geldum xiii carucate et vii caruce possunt esse. Ibi Vctred habuit i manerium. Nunc

habet Ricardus (de Surdeval) de Comite. In dominio i carucata et xii villani cum iii carucis et prati acre xx Silua pastoralis ii leucas longa et ii quarantenas lata. Totum manerium v leucas longum et ii latum. T.R.E. ualebat xl solidos, modo xvi solidos."

³ Robert de Surdeval, one of the barons who settled in Italy, was probably Richard's brother. Robert accompanied Bohemund, Prince of Tarentum, to the Holy Land in the first Crusade, 1096 (*Ordericus Vit.*, ix, iv). Although Richard de Surdeval of Skelton would not appear to have had a son, the name of Surdeval is met with in England after his death, and it is obvious that he must have been accompanied to England by at least one kinsman. A certain Eudo de Surdeval was the second abbot of Furness in the reign of Henry I, and Peter and William de Surdeval who, as tenants of Walter Espec, witnessed the foundation charter of Rievaulx in 1131, may have been Richard's nephews.

⁴ Robert, Earl of Mortain and of Cornwall, was induced, in 1088, by his ambitious brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, to join in the conspiracy to depose Rufus, and to place Robert of Normandy on the English throne. The attempt being a failure, he was banished by Rufus, who confiscated his vast estates in England. He died two years later and, according to the obituary of that house, was interred in the abbey of Grestain (Eure), founded by his father, Herlwine de Conteville. Although his son, William, subsequent to his father's death, would appear to have recovered a portion of the English property, it seems very improbable that he ever regained the Yorkshire estates. The fact that there would not appear to exist any confirmation by this William of Nigel Fossard's lavish grant of lands, c. 1090, to St. Mary's, York, or of his gifts to Holy Trinity Priory, York, practically proves that Nigel—and therefore, of course, his co-feudatory, Richard de Surdeval—had become tenants-in-capite at the time of the confiscation of the Mortain property in

apparently no means of ascertaining the exact date of his death, but it may have taken place c. 1090–5. That he left no son seems certain, and the division of his property is by no means clear. His son-in-law, Ralph Paynel,¹ would seem to have inherited, in right of his wife, Matilda de Surdeval, lands in Adel, Arthington, Hooton Paynel, etc.,² but it seems probable that the king took possession of the greater part of his North Riding estates, including his castle of Skelton, retaining the latter in his own hands for the period—some five to fifteen years—which appears to have intervened between Surdeval's death and the grant of the castle to Robert de Brus.

Robert de Brus would not appear to have come to England until about 1091,³ if so early, and, apparently about 1091, was given extensive estates in the North Riding. That he would require a castle on his Cleveland property previous to Henry I giving him the Surdeval fortress of Skelton is certain, and we have already come to the conclusion that the stronghold of Castleton was his original Cleveland home.⁴ It is obvious that Brus came into possession of Skelton Castle between 1100

1088. Dr. Round, in his *Cal. Doc. of France*, 437, tells us that, between 1103 and 1106, Ralph Paynel, Robert de Brus, and others, witnessed Count William's charter to Marmoutier, but the writer agrees with Mr. Wm. Farrer (*Vic. Count. Hist. of Yorks*, vol. ii, p. 155) that little or no importance need attach to the fact that they were witnesses. In his foundation charter of Guisborough Priory, 1119, Robert de Brus—Surdeval's successor at Skelton—states that he grants all the property to that house "with all the liberties, free customs and privileges which we"—i.e. himself, his wife Agnes, and Adam, his eldest son and heir—"possessed in them by the gift and grant of Henry, king of England."

¹ Ralph Paynel was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1088.

² Thos. Stapleton, *Holy Trinity Priory*, Royal Arch. Inst., York, Mem. (1846), p. 19.

³ It is, perhaps, needless to comment upon the absurd statement that he came over with the Conqueror, fought at Hastings, subdued the rebellion in the North, and that as a reward for his services the Conqueror bestowed upon him vast estates in Yorkshire (Ord, *History of Cleveland*, p. 247, and copied by others). This is all very clearly disproved by the Domesday Survey. It seems impossible to fix any definite date for the appearance of Robert de Brus in England. Mr. William Farrar, D.Litt. (*Vic. County Hist. of Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. 186), says: "Robert de Buis was a witness to the charter of Earl

Hugh of Chester, giving the church of Flamborough to Prior Reinfrid and the convent of Whitby (*Whitby Chartulary*, 28). It was addressed to 'He. Vicecomite Eboraci,' and was further attested by Count Alan (of Brittany). It appears, therefore, to indicate that Robert de Buis was one of the feudatories of the county before 1094, possibly before 1089." Unfortunately, however, this charter is of very doubtful authenticity—this is the opinion both of Mr. William Brown, F.S.A., and Mr. W. T. Lancaster, F.S.A.—and therefore cannot be taken as proof that Robert de Brus was in England either in 1094 or in 1089. The writer is, however, inclined to agree with Mr. Farrar (*ibid.*) that "he (Brus) obtained after the completion of the Survey, apparently from Rufus, a large estate in Cleveland and in the wapentake of Claro, besides other lands. Shortly afterwards he obtained Danby and part of Eskdale from the King in exchange possibly for Azerley and some other lands in "Borgescire wapentake." The writer has already expressed his opinion (p. 337) that the original fortress of Brus was at Castleton, and that this stronghold remained his seigneurial residence until, some time between 1100 and 1119—it is impossible to be more definite—he received from Henry I the grant of the barony of Skelton. But it must not be overlooked that there is no definite proof that Brus owned any lands in Yorkshire, or indeed in England, previous to the year 1110.

⁴ See Castleton.

and 1119¹—it would seem impossible to fix the exact date—and doubtless at once moved his caput to Skelton. He married Agnes, a daughter of Fulke Paynel.

As nothing remains of Skelton Castle except the deep scarped ravines which surrounded the old Surdeval fortress, it is unnecessary to go into detail, in a work of this kind, with regard to its history. In 1119 Robert de Brus founded the famous and wealthy Priory of Guisborough, endowing it with truly regal prodigality,² and in 1138, as a man well stricken in years, was one of the principal commanders of the Anglo-Norman army at the battle of the Standard. By his wife, Agnes Paynel, he had two sons, Adam, who inherited the barony of Skelton, and Robert,³ who inherited the Scottish property given to his father by David of Scotland, and who became the ancestor of the famous royal house of Scotland.

Adam Brus I was one of the adherents of Stephen against the Empress; and we have already noticed that Henry II compelled him to exchange his castle and lordship of Danby for lands in the West Riding. All historical inferences would tend to show that his son and heir, Adam II, in the last decade of the twelfth century, converted the old timber castle into a strong stone fortress with a rectangular keep. Adam II was succeeded by his son, Peter I, who, as we have already seen, repurchased his ancestral fortress at Castleton. He died in February, 1222, and was buried in Guisborough Priory. By his wife, Agnes, sister of William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, and widow of William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln, he had, among other issue, a son Peter, who succeeded him. Peter was a man of very considerable power and influence, and one of the principal leaders of the baronial party against King John.⁴ On 31 January, 1216, John, in one of his rapid rushes to the North of England, came to Guisborough, where he spent a week, as the guest of the Prior, who was probably a somewhat unwilling host. From there he went to Skelton⁵ and received Brus'

¹ As we have already seen Brus states, in his foundation charter (1119) to Guisborough, that he held his Skelton property "by the gift and grant of Henry, king of England," who came to the throne in 1100.

² "Twenty-nine carucates with the advowson of ten churches and other gifts speak for themselves. . . . Guisborough, which at the time of the Reformation was the fourth richest monastery in Yorkshire, being surpassed only

by St. Mary's, Fountains, and Selby, may be called, without any exaggeration, the creation of the Brus family." Wm. Brown, *Guisborough Chart.*, i, Intro., pp. xvi-xvii.

³ Ninth in descent from this Robert was Robert Bruce, the celebrated warrior king of Scots.

⁴ *Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj.*, Rolls Ser., ii, 531.

⁵ See the king's itinerary.

submission. On 12 February he went on to Scarborough.¹ Practically all the North of England had been in arms against him, but all the North Riding barons submitted with the solitary exception of Robert de Roos, who held out defiantly in his great castle of Helmsley.² Vesci of Malton appears to have been absent, and for this want of courtesy John ordered the destruction of his castle. Peter de Brus I would appear to have been the builder of the famous chapel within the castle of Skelton,³ which chapel would probably be in existence when he had the honour of entertaining, somewhat unwillingly no doubt, that very unpopular monarch, King John. By his wife, Helewise, one of the sisters and co-heiresses of Wm. de Lancaster, baron of Kendal, Peter II had, among other issue, a son Peter, who succeeded him. Peter III married Hillaria, eldest daughter of Peter de Mauley I, of Mulgrave Castle, and dying in 25 Henry III was interred at Guisborough.⁴ He was succeeded by his son, Peter,⁵ who died in 1272 without issue, when his vast estates⁶ were divided among his four sisters and co-heiresses, his eldest sister, Agnes, carrying Skelton Castle to her husband, Walter de Fauconberg.⁷ We may take it for granted that certain alterations would be made, previous to 1271, to the original stone castle erected c. 1190–1200 by Adam de Brus II.

The Fauconbergs resided at Skelton Castle for a considerable period,⁸ and would, no doubt, make minor alterations to the structure. Finally Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas

¹ Here William, Earl of Albemarle was probably in command. *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 152.

² *Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj.*, Rolls Ser., ii, 642. The county of York was left under the control of three of John's favourites, Robert de Vipont, Brian de l'Isle, and Geoffrey de Lucy (*ibid.*, ii, 643). The barons invoked the aid of Louis, the dauphin, and when he landed in England, the North Riding barons again rose in rebellion under Roos, Percy, and Brus (*ibid.*, ii, 663).

³ "In the latter part of the reign of King John, Peter de Brus, then lord of Skelton, is recorded to have delighted soe much in the beauty of the chapelle, that he gave certain landes unto Henry Percy, upon condition that every Christ-masse day he should come to that castell, and leade his wife by the arme from her chamber to the chapell" (Cott. MS. Julius F.C., fo. 455, cited by Graves, *History of Cleveland*, p. 351).

⁴ In 10 Henry III he was one of the justices itinerant in Northumberland.

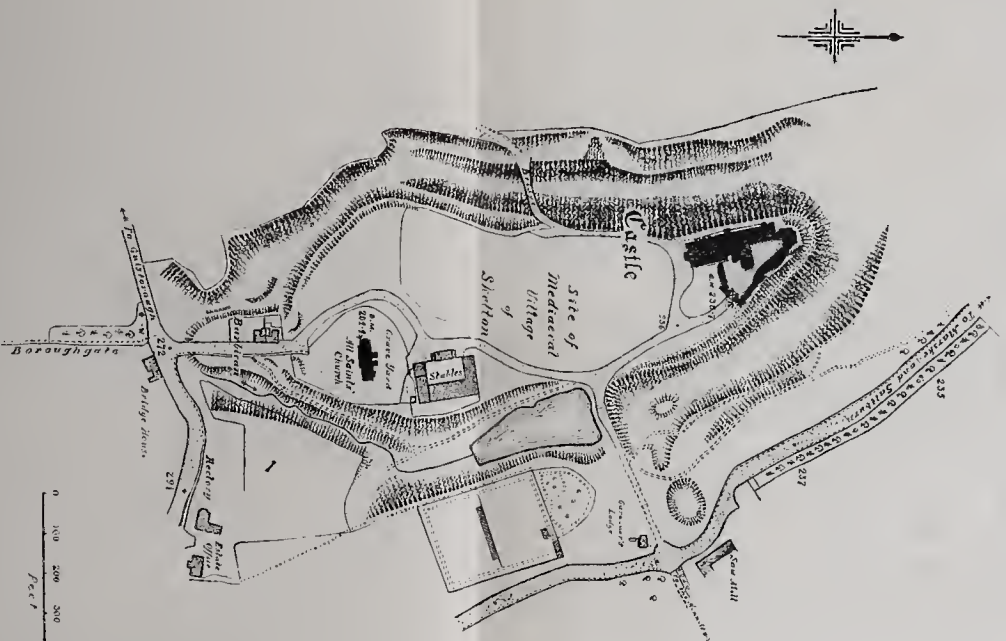
⁵ In 31 Henry III, on the partition of the lands of William de Lancaster, lord of Kendal, he had certain property

assigned to him in right of his grandmother, Helewise, the wife of Peter II. In 42 Henry III he served in the Welsh campaign. In 52 Henry III he was one of the justices itinerant in Yorkshire; in 53 Henry III was constable of Scarborough Castle; and left four sisters, his co-heiresses.

⁶ In his *Inq. p. m.* in 1271 (No. 32, mem. 4), it is stated that he held 116½ carucates of land.

⁷ See *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, i, 147. Walter de Fauconberg bore the arms: "Or, a fess azure, in chief three pallets gules," but subsequently assumed the "Argent, a lion rampant azure" of the Bruces of Skelton Castle.

⁸ They lived at Skelton Castle for five generations. Walter, first Lord Fauconberg of Skelton Castle, died 1 Nov., 1304. He was succeeded by his son, Walter, second Lord Fauconberg (*Chan. Inq. p. m.*, 32 Edw. I, No. 40)—who married Isabel, daughter of Robert, Lord de Roos of Helmsley Castle, and died in 1318 (*ibid.*, 12 Edw. II, No. 51)—and who was succeeded by his son, John, third Lord Fauconberg. John, born 1290, High Sheriff of Yorkshire



SKELTON



Barons
1104-1212



Beaumonts
(original lords)



Beaumonts
1212-1300



Neville
1300-1363



Courtenay
1363-1387



Wolfer
1387-1421



Warburton
1421-1427

10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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Fauconberg, carried the castle to her husband, Sir William Neville,¹ afterwards Earl of Kent, who died 3 Edward IV, leaving three daughters and co-heiresses, the youngest of whom, Alice, carried the castle in marriage to her husband, John, Lord Conyers. Skelton Castle remained the seat of the Conyers family until the reign of Mary Tudor, when an unfortunate dispute arose between the husbands and co-heiresses, a dispute which appears to have had very disastrous results.² In 1577, the castle was purchased by Robert Trotter,³ whose descendants

in 1342, settled the manor on himself with remainder to his son Walter, in tail, in 1344 (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1343-5, p. 301), and died in 1349 (*Chan. Inq. p.m.*, 23 Edw. III (1st Nos.), No. 57). Walter, fourth Lord Fauconberg, who died 29 Sept., 1362, was buried in Guisborough Priory. He was succeeded by his son, Thomas (*ibid.*, 36 Edw. III (1st Nos.), No. 77), one-third of the property, however, being assigned as dower to his step-mother, Isabel (*Close Rolls*, 40 Edw. III, m. 11; *Chan. Inq. p.m.*, 40 Edw. III (1st Nos.), No. 52). Thomas gave the reversion of this third, together with the castle, for his lifetime, to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland (*Chan. Inq. p.m.*, 2 Hen. IV, No. 47), who was holding the fortress in 1401 (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 24). As Thomas Fauconberg was incapable, through mental disorder, of looking after his estates, the custody of the castle was, in 1403, in the hands of the king, who granted it to Robert and John Conyers (*ibid.*, 255). Thomas died in 1407 (*Chan. Inq. p.m.*, 9 Hen. IV, No. 19), leaving issue by his second wife, Joan Bromflete, an only daughter and heiress, Joan (*ibid.*, 9 Hen. IV, No. 19), his widow holding a third of the property as her dower (*ibid.*, 10 Hen. IV, No. 15). This heiress, who was also mentally afflicted, married, when not 16 years old (*ibid.*, 10 Hen. V, No. 22b), William Neville, second son of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort.

¹ Arms: "Gules, a saltire argent differenced by a rose" (*The Ancestor*, iv, 232), or by a red mullet (*Harl. MS.*, 6163). He would appear to have subsequently quartered these with the "Argent, a lion rampant azure" of the Bruces and Fauconbergs. He was the second son of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland by his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, and was summoned to Parliament 3 August, 7 Henry VI (1429), as Lord Fauconberg of Skelton Castle, in right of his wife. He was created Earl of Kent 30 June, 1461; fought as a Yorkist leader, at Towton, was a K.G., and Admiral of England. Died 9 January, 1463, and was buried in Guisborough Priory.

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² An ancient MS. (Cott. MS. Julius F.C., fo. 455) gives the following interesting description of the castle about this time. "On the righte Hande an antyent castle all rente and torne yt seemed rather by the unkind vyolence of man, than by the envye of Tyme, shewed itself on the syde of a broken banke. I demanded of my guide how the castle was named and what misfortune had so miserablye deprived yt. Sir, Quoth he, yt is Skelton Castle, the ancyent inheritance of the Lord Bruce, and dignified with the title of an Honor, which by marriage came to the Lord Falconbridge, and successively to the Lord Conyers, who leaving three daughters, co-partners of his estate, much Varyance fell betwixt their Husbands for the Division of their shares, that neither Partye being inclyned to yield unto other, every one for despite ruyned the part of the castle whereof he was in possession, lest afterwards by suite of Lawe the Lott should fall to another, insomuch that the goodlye chappell, one of the Jewells of this kingdom, rudely went to the Grounde, with the fayre Hall and large towers; but now scarcelye are the Ruynes of a Chappell to be seene, such Barbarisme raseth out the Glorye of noble families, when an entyre Right of Inheritance is not invested in the Person of one Man." If we may accept this story as correct, it is evident that the famous chapel was destroyed some 350 years ago. The MS. referred to has been printed in the *Topographer and Genealogist*, ii, 403-432, the passage given above commencing on p. 419. Mr. Wm. Brown, F.S.A., in a letter to the writer, says, "I should be inclined to accept the story as true. The guide mentioned may actually have been an eye-witness to the destruction of the chapel."

³ Robert Trotter died in 1611, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who died in 1623, and was succeeded by his son George, who, in turn, was followed by Edward Trotter, who married Mary, daughter of Sir John Lowther of Lowther, which alliance accounts for the presence, in the hall at Skelton Castle, of a portrait of John, Lord Lowther. Edward died in 1708, and was succeeded

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were resident there until 1727, when it came into the possession of Joseph Hall, who married Catherine, eldest daughter of John Trotter, of Skelton Castle. From him it has descended to the present owner, Mr. W. H. A. Wharton.¹ It is interesting, in view of the number of times the castle has changed hands, to note that the present owner can claim relationship, through the royal house of Scotland, with the ancient Brus barons of Skelton.²

Description.—This great “burgus” fortress—by far the largest (in area) of the timber castles of the North Riding, if we include the “burgus”—occupied a long, rather narrow, diamond-shaped promontory, some $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, running north and south, and measuring some 1,600 feet in length by some 370 feet in extreme width.³ The slopes of the natural ravines on either side were scarped away to form broad deep ditches defending the long promontory on the east and west, and encircling its northern extremity. The approach to this large fortified enclosure was from the south by a paved bridle path, still bearing the significant name of “Borough-gate.”

The entrance to the stockaded enclosure was evidently almost exactly at the point where the road known as “Church Lane” now meets the high road from Skelton to Guisborough, and here was a small triangular-shaped outwork or barbican (see plan, fig. 7), which would certainly be defended by palisading. From this fortified outwork, a gate, almost on the site of the gate now leading into the grounds of the present castle, gave access to the large communal fortified enclosure, or “burgus.”

by his grandson, Lawson Trotter, who was holding the property in 1729. Sometime between that date and 1732 he sold it to his brother-in-law, Joseph Hall.

¹ In order to make clear the recent descent of the castle, it should be mentioned that Joseph Hall, of Skelton Castle, brother-in-law of and successor to Lawson Trotter, died in 1733, and was succeeded by his son, John Hall, who assumed the name of Stevenson, and died in 1785. His son and successor, Joseph, died in the following year, and was succeeded by his son, John Hall Stevenson, who assumed the name and arms (Sable, a maunch argent) of Wharton. Ambrose Stevenson, three generations previously, had married Ann, eventually sole surviving child and heiress of Anthony Wharton, of Gillingwood Hall, near Richmond, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Wm. Hicks, Bart., of Beverston Castle, Gloucestershire.

The Gillingwood estate is still the property of the Whartons of Skelton Castle. The Whartons derive their descent from Henry Wharton, of Wharton, Westmorland, living 10 Henry V, who was the ancestor of the Lords Wharton, the last of whom was created Duke of Wharton. John Wharton, of Skelton Castle, died in 1843 without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, John Thomas Wharton, who died in 1900, and was succeeded by his son, William Henry Anthony Wharton, the present owner.

² His great-grandmother, Margaret, Lady Dundas, was a daughter of Major Alexander Bruce of Kennet, who was descended from Sir Thomas Bruce of Kennet, to whom the Kennet estates were granted in 1389 by Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, grandson of King David Bruce of Scotland.

³ See fig. 7.



SKELTON CASTLE FROM THE N.N.W.

Showing the scarped promontory on which the feudal castle stood.



SKELTON CASTLE IN 1762.

From the frontispiece in John Hall Stevenson's "Crazy Tales," first edition, 1762.—British Museum, press matt., 8401, 18(2).

This enclosure, as was the case at Barnard Castle and at Whorlton—two neighbouring “burgus” castles—contained the church¹ and village. Around and about the church would cluster the timber huts of the “burgus” or village. The enclosure would be defended by timber palisading crowning the summit of the scarped sides of the ravine or dry ditch on either side.

A “burgus” was no unusual adjunct to an Early Norman castle. In exchange for the protection thus afforded, the lord would receive rent from the burgers, they would have to grind their corn at his mill, and perform certain services of value.² The lord would also receive tolls on all commodities brought into the “burgus,” and in the event of there being a market—as was the case at Skelton—would receive a percentage on the goods sold. The village was evidently of some size, for there were 63 taxpayers at Skelton in 1301. How long it remained here it is impossible to say, but the aristocratic aloofness which characterised the late seventeenth century would certainly not have tolerated the existence of any houses here beyond 1700, if, indeed, they were allowed to remain so long.³

The seigneurial fortress, or castle proper, occupied the northern or nab end of the long promontory, a highly defensible site, as the ravines—scarped into broad, deep, dry ditches—which encircled it on three sides, are here no less than 240 feet in width and some 50 feet in depth. The castle would be cut off from the “burgus” by a deep and broad ditch, now com-

¹ The original church, probably a stone building—very often for a considerable time the church was the only work in masonry in connection with a Norman castle—would be coeval with the foundation of the fortress, *c.* 1072–5. It was given, in 1119, by Robert de Brus to the Priory of Guisborough. About 1785 the then existing church was pulled down, and the present ugly and tasteless structure erected on its site in the hideous style usually known as “The Churchwarden.” In the chancel were interred Christopher, second Lord Conyers (died 14 June, 1538), his wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, and his son, Leonard Conyers of Skelton Castle (*Test. Ebor.*, vi, 263: *Reg. Test.*, xxi, 63). Mrs. Wharton drew the writer’s attention to a very large stone slab near the altar rails, from which the brass figures, arms, and inscription have been torn away, but which, in all probability, marks the resting-place of Lord Conyers and his wife.

² Mrs. Armitage in her *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*, p. 86 note, says: “Henry II built a castle and a very fine borough (*burgum pergrande*) at Beauvoir in Maine (*Robert of Torigny*, Rec. Ser., p. 243). Minute regulations concerning the founding of the borough of Overton are given in Close Rolls, Edward I (1288–1296), p. 285.” There was a market at Skelton from a very early date, and this would certainly be held within the “burgus.” In 13 Edward II John, Lord Fauconberg, obtained the king’s licence to change the market day from Sunday to Saturday. There was also, in mediæval times, a yearly fair at Skelton on Whit-Monday and the two following days.

³ Close to the drive leading from the east lodge (marked gardener’s lodge on plan) is an old mile-stone, which records that its distance from the market “Crofs” at Guisborough is 3½ miles. Mr. Wharton suggests that the public road may, at one time, have run across the park in front of the south façade of the castle.

pletely filled up, cut right across the promontory until it merged into the scarped ravines on either side. The motte—if one existed¹—would be of small size, and would certainly be placed at the northern or nab end of the promontory.² When, c. 1190–1200, Adam de Brus II pulled down Surdeval's timber stronghold and erected a stone castle on the site he evidently adopted the rectangular keep type, placing the keep at the northern or nab end.³ There is no reason to think that the keep would ever undergo much alteration, and when pulled down was probably pretty much in the same condition as when Adam de Brus II erected it in the closing years of the twelfth century. Stretching southwards from the keep, along the verge of the western ravine, were the domestic buildings, great hall, solar, private apartments, etc., and these, doubtless, had been much modernised, in the interests of comfort, by the Conyers and Trotters, indeed Hall Stevenson's sketch suggests that such was the case. It is difficult to ascertain much from his drawing—the only existing evidence we appear to possess—but the polygonal turret, mentioned by him as being “transform'd into a pigeon-cote,” may have been very late fourteenth century in date.⁴ Undoubtedly the earliest portion of the castle existing at the time of its destruction was the late twelfth century keep. If we may trust that brilliant but eccentric person, John Hall Stevenson, the castle

¹ Hall Stevenson's drawing would rather suggest that the rectangular keep may have been erected on a lowered motte.

² This was the usual position when a motte existed on such a site. Montferrant, East Riding (there is, or was, a French castle of the same name north-east of Clermont), the great timber castle of the Fossards, is an exception, for there the motte is placed a short distance from the nab end, which is there occupied by a small inner ward.

³ John Hall Stevenson's description, in his *Crazy Tales*, of the castle as it existed previous to its destruction, tallies very well with his drawing. He says:—

“This ancient castle is called Crazy,
Whose mouldering walls a moat
 environs,
Which moat goes heavily and lazy,
Like a poor prisoner in irons.

A turret also you may note,
Its glory vanish'd like a dream,
Transform'd into a pigeon-cote,
Nodding beside the sleepy stream.
From whence by steps with moss
 o'ergrown,

You mount upon a terrace high,
Where stands that heavy pile of stone,
Irregular, and all awry.

If many a buttress did not reach
A kind and salutary hand,
Did not encourage and beseech
The terrace and the house to stand,
Left to themselves, and at a loss,
They'd tumble down into the foss.
Over the castle hangs a tower,
Threatening destruction every hour,
Where owls, and bats, and the jack-
daw,

Their vespers and their Sabbath
keep;

All night scream horribly and caw,
And snore all day in horrid sleep.”

He mentions, therefore, the polygonal turret, “transform'd into a pigeon-cote,” shown at the south-west angle in his drawing; the buttressed terraces and the irregular domestic buildings, also buttressed; and, at the north-west angle, the ancient and, apparently, abandoned keep dominating the entire castle.

⁴ One is inclined to conjecture that it would be contemporary with the two polygonal towers at Warwick Castle, Guy's Tower, and Cæsar's Tower.

must have been in a very dilapidated condition when he came into possession of it.¹ It is a deplorable thing, however, that instead of entirely destroying the historic home of the Bruces—an act of vandalism fortunately unequalled elsewhere in the North Riding—he did not carefully restore and judiciously modernise it, as his wealth would easily have enabled him to do. Had it been so restored there can be no doubt that we should have had at Skelton one of the most interesting country houses—both architecturally and historically—in the North of England. The work of destruction, which was carried out only too thoroughly, took place between 1788 and 1794, when not only was the entire feudal castle pulled down, but all irregularities in the ground were carefully levelled. The modern castellated building is beautifully situated on the site of the ancient fortress, and a part of its long façade is evidently ancient work recased, judging by the immense thickness of its walls. This may quite possibly be part of the original walls of the great hall or solar.

¹ It is hardly possible to accept, as literally correct, Hall Stevenson's statement that the keep "threatened destruction every hour." Towers with walls from 8 to 12 feet thick, such as would be those of the keep at Skelton, are not very liable to destruction from natural decay. That for several centuries the tower had been left pretty much to the "owls, bats, and jackdaws" one can readily believe, for such structures, unless judiciously modernised, were not comfortable places of residence. Probably the floors had fallen in, but structurally the tower would be strong enough, and its complete and much-to-be-deplored destruction would be a costly undertaking. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to remark that in feudal times the ditches would be dry, as they are to-day. The construction of a dam, and the flooding of the ditches, would take place in comparatively modern times, possibly by Hall Stevenson's predecessor. Some fifty years ago the dam was cut through, and the ditches restored to their original condition. A portion of the ditch still, however, contains water, as will be seen by a reference to the plan. John Hall Stevenson's description of the "moat," as it existed in his time, is not very attractive:—

"Many a time I've stood and thought
Seeing the boat upon this ditch:
It looked as if it had been brought
For the amusement of a witch
To sail amongst applauding frogs,
With water rats, dead cats and dogs."

Ord (*History of Cleveland*, p. 253) gives us an extract, relative to the destruction of the ancient castle, from a letter written to him by "a West Riding clergyman."

The extract is here reproduced as the description, save for the dates and the very wild architectural observations, agrees fairly well with Hall Stevenson's description and drawing. "The enclosed sketch"—a copy of Hall Stevenson's drawing—"represents the castle at that period, and, it is supposed, for three centuries previously. The old castle, built about 1140, was a beautiful specimen of antiquity and picturesque loveliness, being nearly surrounded by a deep glen, finely wooded. In 1788 the grandson of John Hall, who assumed the name of Wharton, commenced the work of destruction, and, at an enormous expense, contrived to flood the glen, demolish the terraces, pull down every remnant of Norman antiquity, including a magnificent tower, and has left behind him the most extraordinary specimen of folly and bad taste to be found in the whole country. I have no doubt but that the round tower"—the writer evidently refers to the polygonal turret—"which had been converted into a pigeon-cote, and the large square tower introduced into the sketch"—i.e. the keep—"were there before the Conquest." Reading between the lines of this description one is inclined to think that the main body of the castle had been much modernised. We notice that neither Hall Stevenson nor the clergyman make any reference to the famous chapel, "one of the Jewells of this kingdom," and one is inclined to think that it really was destroyed in the reign of Mary Tudor, as narrated in the Cott. MS. already referred to.

The view of the castle given in fig. 8 is taken from the north-north-west in order to show the nab end of the promontory on which once stood the rectangular keep of the ancient fortress of the Bruces. One of the most interesting portions of the modern residence is the chapel-like part, running east and west, the position and dimensions of which may possibly be intended to represent the one-time existence on this spot of a chapel which, in mediæval times, would certainly appear to have been of note for its surpassing beauty. One of the windows is seventeenth century in date with original mullions, and contains some late seventeenth century stained glass, bearing the arms of Trotter impaled with Witham, Pudsey, Forcer, Cholmley, Boyce, and Lowther.¹

Below the castle is a deep, heavily-wooden glen, which winds down to the sea with the pretty little watering place of Saltburn-by-the-Sea on its banks.

THIRSK.

History.—At the time of the Survey,² Hugh Fitz-Baldric³ was the principal landowner in Thirsk, where he held 12 carucates of land, the king holding 8 carucates. After Hugh's death, c. 1190, Thirsk would appear to have passed to that powerful baron, Robert de Stuteville, who married Ernburga, Hugh Fitz-Baldric's daughter. Stuteville may have erected the castle c. 1092,⁴ but after the battle of Tinchebrai, in which he was captured (see Buttercrambe), Henry I bestowed this portion of his vast estates upon Nigel d'Albini, a cousin on the mother's side to Robert de Mowbray.⁵ Nigel had greatly distinguished himself at the ruthless battle of Tinchebrai, where he is said to have personally captured the unfortunate Duke Robert. He died in 1136.

¹ The writer desires to thank the owner of the castle, Mr. W. H. A. Wharton, who is a life member of this Society, for showing him all round the building and for allowing him to examine the working drawings used at the erection of the existing structure—these, however, throw no light upon the dimensions and arrangements of the ancient structure.

² *D.B.*, fo. 300b, col. 2; fo. 327a, col. 2.

³ Hugh Fitz-Baldric was, in 1069, appointed Sheriff of Yorkshire. He seems to have died whilst the Summary of the Domesday Book was being completed (Wm. Farrer, *V.C.H. of Yorks.*, vol. ii, p. 178). He gave lands in Hutton Le Hole, Normanby, and Kirkby Misperton to the abbey of St. Mary, York.

⁴ The first mention of the castle known to the writer occurs in the Pipe Rolls, 35 Hen. I (Rec. Com.), 138.

⁵ The story of how Mowbray was besieged by the Red King in his castle of Bamborough (*Ordericus Vit.*, viii, 23); how he left the fortress in the middle of the night, and was pursued by part of the garrison of the siege castle; how he was captured and brought as a prisoner before the walls, and how, in order to save her husband's eyes, his wife surrendered the stronghold, is a story too well known to bear repetition. With that brutality so characteristic of the age, the Earl's eyes were put out, and he was imprisoned for many years in the royal stronghold of Windsor. Released by Henry I, he became a monk at St. Alban's, where he died in 1106.

His widow, Gundreda, survived him, and the pretty story of how she sheltered at Thirsk Castle the homeless monks of Calder is narrated in Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*¹ Her son, Roger, who assumed the surname of Mowbray, fought at the battle of the Standard, and was the founder of the monastic houses of Byland and Newburgh. His descendants bore the arms: "Gules, a lion rampant argent." Of all the North Riding barons of his day Mowbray would appear to have been the most attractive. He wins our interest from the first as the boy-hero of the battle of the Standard, he is not only famous for his unfailing generosity to monastic houses, but as a distinguished

¹ In 1134 (Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, v, 349, No. 8) Gerald, a monk of Furness, with 12 companions, founded the Abbey of Calder, in Cumberland, but three years later the house was plundered and burnt by the Scots. The monks returned to Furness, but the Abbot refused to house them, consequently with only one wagon and eight oxen they set out to interview Thurstan, archbishop of York. As they were painfully making their way to York, they were met by Gundreda's steward, who suggested that they should call at Thirsk Castle. Gundreda, from an upper window of the fortress, watched the monks approach, and pleased by their demeanour, and pitying their miserable condition, sheltered them in the castle for a little time, finally committing them to the care of her relative, Robert d'Alneto, the hermit of Hode or Hood Grange. Here they lived until, a year or two later, Roger de Mowbray, the young heir, came of age. Roger gave them his cow-pasture at Cambe, with all the lands of Wilden, Scakilden, and Erghum, and at Hood they erected a timber church and house. For four years the community resided there, and then, finding the place unsuitable, they removed to Old Byland, where they built a small cell on the banks of the Rye. Mowbray again assisting them. Here, however, they found themselves too near the Abbey of Rievaulx, for "at every hour of the day and night, the one convent could hear the bells of the other," "quod non decebat, nec diu potuit aliquid sustineri." Again they appealed to the long-suffering Mowbray, who at once gave them two carucates of land at Oldstead, near Coxwold, together with the churches of Thirsk, Hovingham, and Kirkby Moorside, and at Stocking they erected a small stone church, a cloister and offices. Here they abode for thirty years, and finally, in 1177, they left the place and erected a new house at Byland, "ubi, Domino annuente, foeliciter manebunt in æternum." What particularly strikes one in the interesting history of the wander-

ings of this community is the unfailing kindness and generosity of Roger de Mowbray. In an earlier portion of this article we have commented unfavourably on the character of the average Norman baron. But it is pleasant to realise that they were not all men of the type of Robert Belêsmé or Hugh d'Avranches, and it is with a sense of relief that we turn from such to study the characters of say William de Warrenne, Robert de Brus, Walter l'Espece, and Roger de Mowbray, men who combined the qualities of a first-class soldier and an able administrator with that gentleness and courtesy which one has come to regard more as an attribute of the fourteenth than of the twelfth century. In 1145 (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 317) Mowbray founded the Priory of Newburgh, to which he gave, among other donations, the church of St. Mary at Hood—the original Yorkshire home of the monks of Byland (*ibid.*, 318, No. 1), which eventually became a cell to Newburgh. Several of these gifts were made by Roger for the souls of his father and mother, Nigel and Gundreda, for his own soul, and for that of Adeliz, his wife (*ibid.*, 320, No. 5). The gifts were confirmed by his son, Nigel (*ibid.*, vi, 318), and by his grandson, William. The famous Roger de Mowbray is said (*ibid.*, vi, 320) to have been interred at Byland, "in muro capituli ex parte australi juxta matrem suam Gundredam." For some unaccountable reason his putative bones were dug up in 1819 by Mr. Martin Stapylton, who is said to have taken them away in a basket hidden under the box-seat of his carriage, and to have buried them in the churchyard at Myton. It is also said that the bones were subsequently taken back and reinterred in the Chapter House at Byland, but on this point there would appear to be a good deal of doubt (*The Antiquary*, xxiv, p. 186). It is probable, however, that Mowbray died in the Holy Land, and that the bones taken from Byland were not those of the famous baron.

warrior and Crusader. In 1174 on his return from the Holy Land, when apparently about 55 years of age, he joined in the attempt made by Prince Henry to seize his father's crown, and aided the Scottish king in his invasion of the North of England. Geoffrey Plantagenet, bishop-elect of Lincoln—an illegitimate son of Henry II—and Roger de Pont l'Evêque, archbishop of York, laid siege to and captured Mowbray's castle of Malzeard; but the attempt by the royal forces to take Thirsk Castle was unsuccessful. The siege, however, was a determined one, and Mowbray sent messengers to William the Lion asking him to come to his relief. The capture at Alnwick of the Scottish king by Ralph de Glanville, the justiciar, and by Bernard de Balliol, was a death-blow to the success of the revolt, and Mowbray made submission to Henry II at Northampton. His voluntary surrender of Thirsk Castle may have been the means of gaining him the pardon he received. On 10 August, 1175, King William the Lion did homage to Henry II at York, and placed his helmet, spear, and saddle upon the High Altar of the Minster in token of his submission to his over-lord, the King of England. In the following year the great timber castle of Thirsk, which had been Mowbray's favourite residence, was dismantled and destroyed by order of Henry II. Camden, writing in 1582, says Thirsk "had formerly a very strong castle," but adds that he "could see nothing of it besides the rampire."

Description.—Thirsk is a pleasant but sleepy old town left stranded high and dry, as it were, by the railway; and from the few trains which, during the day, deign to stop at the distant station, an incongruous-looking motor 'bus, or a pre-historic and tyreless fly, conveys the long-suffering traveller to the town. Nor does the high road condescend to more than a nodding acquaintance with the slumbering town, for one merely catches a distant glimpse of the tower of the beautiful Perpendicular church as one motors from the north towards York. Possibly not one in a thousand who actually pass through the town has seen the scanty remains of the home of the Lady Gundreda and of the famous Roger de Mowbray, of the once great castle of the historic house who give their name to the pleasant vale of Mowbray. The motte, which appears to have been a small one—probably merely used as a citadel—has been lowered and partially levelled, and is now crowned by a modern house dignified by the name of "Castle Villa." The ditches and ramparts of the oblong bailey, still known as

"Castle Garth," may be traced in part, but are much mutilated.¹ The fortress would never appear to have developed any works in masonry.²

TOPCLIFFE, MAIDEN BOWER (fig. 6.)

History.—The history of this, in the opinion of the writer, the most typical of the Norman earth-and-timber castles of the North Riding, is well authenticated. It was erected, very soon after 1071, by William de Percy,³ and is of great interest as the original English home of one of the most historic of our great feudal houses. It is a significant fact that at the time of the Survey the manor on which it stood was worth more than it had been in the time of the Confessor.⁴ By his wife, Emma de Port, William de Percy had issue four sons, Alan (*obit* 1131), afterwards the second feudal baron, Walter, Richard, and William. Alan⁵ was succeeded by his son, William, third feudal baron, who was one of the principal commanders at the battle of the Standard, and is said to have borne the arms "Azure, five fusils in fess or." As he left no male issue, his daughter and heiress, Agnes, carried the barony and estates

¹ Thirsk Castle was probably a burgus fortress, as were Skelton and Whorlton. A local tradition exists that its defences extended from the outer ward of the fortress, still called Castle Yard, eastward towards Kirk Gate, including the present market place. The borough of Thirsk is mentioned in *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, iii, 78.

² The Mowbrays continued to reside at Thirsk after the destruction of the castle. The site of their manor-house, Woodhill, formerly la Wodehall, is marked by a moated enclosure, now overgrown with trees, less than a mile north of the church (*Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 104). Archbishop Wickwane stayed here September 27, 1282, presumably as a guest of Roger Mowbray, who died about 1297 (*Wickwane's Register*, p. 347).

³ William de Percy, the founder of Topcliffe Castle, came from Perci, in the departement of La Manche, where he was a feudatory of the Paynells. He did not fight at Hastings, but accompanied his friend, Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester, to England in 1067 (Dugdale, i, 409), and became his chief Yorkshire feudatory. He was with the king in his expedition to Scotland in August, 1072, and, after his return, superintended the rebuilding of York Castle in conjunction with Hugh Fitz-Baldric, the sheriff. He was subsequently appointed Governor of the city of York. He joined the first Crusade under Robert, Duke of Normandy, in

1096, and died at Monsgaudium, near Jerusalem, where he was buried. His heart, however, was brought back to England, and buried in Whitby Abbey, which he had refounded. His widow, Emma de Port, survived him for some six years, and was interred in the Abbey of Whitby.

⁴ *D.B.*, fo. 323a, col. 2. In Topeclive (Topcliffe) and Crecala (Crakehill), Deltune (Dalton), Estauesbi (Asenby), and Schripetune (Skipton-on-Swale), Bernulf had 26 carucates of land for geld, where 15 ploughs may be. Now William (de Percy) has three ploughs there, and 35 villanes and 14 bordars with 13 ploughs there. A church (is) there (at Topcliffe), and two priests having one plough, and a mill of 5s. (annual value). T.R.E. £1; now (it is worth) 100s.

⁵ Alan, under whom the Percy estates were considerably augmented (see Kilton), married Emma, daughter of Gilbert de Gant, a son of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, by Maud, sister of William the Conqueror. Gilbert de Gant was descended from Alfred the Great through that monarch's daughter, Elfthryth, wife of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and her grand-daughter, Leutgarde, who married Wichman, "Count of the castle of Gand," from whom Gilbert was the sixth in male descent (A. E. Ellis, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, iv, 230). The Gants bore the arms, "Barry of six or and azure, a bend gules."

to her husband, Joscelin of Loraine, who took the name of Percy, but retained his parental arms, "Or, a lion rampant azure," the famous blue lion of the Percies subsequently well known on many a stricken field.¹ In 1174, during the Mowbray rebellion, the castle of "Toppecliva" was garrisoned for King Henry II by Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln, an illegitimate son of that king, who strengthened its timber defences.² The payment for this work is entered in the Pipe Rolls, 21 Hen. II,³ where the use of the word "efforciamiento" shows clearly enough that it was simply a question of strengthening and not of rebuilding a then existing fortress. Topcliffe was probably the principal residence of the Percies until the acquisition, by purchase, early in the fourteenth century, of the Vesci castle of Alnwick, yet it never developed any works in masonry, and is one of several examples of early Norman timber castles, being occupied by an important baronial family down to a comparatively late date.⁴

Description.—This well-preserved and interesting motte and bailey castle occupies the nab end of a low, natural ridge rising above low-lying and somewhat swampy ground between the river Swale on the south and the Cod Beck on the north, which streams effect a junction a short distance to the east of the fortress. The site is locally known as "Maiden Bower." There can be no doubt whatever that in mediæval times all the land between the two streams and around the ridge on which the fortress stood was a swamp, and that the castle

¹ We are told (Sussex Arch. Soc., vi (1855)) that Joscelin de Alta Ripa, a nephew of Joscelin de Loraine, assumed the ancient arms of the Percies. The story about Joscelin of Loraine having been offered the choice of the name or the arms of Percy is doubtless merely a family tradition. The arms of Loraine differed materially from those of the Loraine Percies. See Round's *Peerage and Family History*, i, 42. From the notes by the Rev. C. V. Collier, F.S.A., on the heraldry which once decorated Wressle, a late Percy castle, it would appear that the ancient Percy arms were retained by the Loraine-Percies until the beginning of the fourteenth century. "In the roll of Henry III," says Mr. Collier, "the arms of Percy are given as azure, a fess engrailed or, for Henry de Percy."

² *Benedict of Peterborough*, Rolls Ser., i, 68. Geoffrey Plantagenet, an illegitimate son of Henry II, who appears to have been born about 1158, can have

been little more than a boy at this time, but he was of a very determined and resolute character, as his after life shows clearly enough. He took an active part in the suppression of the Mowbray rebellion, and, with the aid of Roger de Pont l'Evêque, archbishop of York, captured the Mowbray castle of Malzeard (*Roger of Houeden, Chron.*, Rolls Ser., ii, 58).

³ In operatione et efforciamiento castelli de Toppecliva, £7 10s. 2d.

⁴ The house of Loraine-Percy became extinct, so far as the direct male line is concerned, on the death of Joscelyn Percy, 11th and last Earl of Northumberland, who died without male issue in 1670. His daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, married Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset, whose son, Algernon, 7th Duke, had a daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, who married Sir Hugh Smithson. The latter was created Duke of Northumberland in 1766, and is the ancestor of the present Duke.

thus occupied a highly defensible position on what would then be practically an island.

The motte, which lies at the eastern end of the earthwork, was originally the nab end of the ridge, but was cut off from the remainder of the ridge by a deep ditch, and the soil thus excavated was utilised in heightening the natural motte, the upper 10 to 12 feet of which is probably artificial. The motte now rises some 45 feet above the low-lying ground between the two streams, viewed from which it is very formidable in appearance. It is completely separated from the bailey by the before-mentioned ditch; but there is no sign that the ditch was continued right round the base of the motte, indeed such a protection would be rendered unnecessary on the north, east, and south by the fact that these bases of the three-quarters detached motte would rise out of swamps. Unfortunately, the motte has been somewhat mutilated by three very narrow terraces or steps being cut in its sides, this doubtless being done when the earthworks were included as an ornament in the grounds of the later manor-house of the Percies to the immediate west of the Norman fortress.¹ This mutilation has, no doubt, slightly reduced the diameter of the summit of the motte, which is now only 27 feet. But it is obvious that when perfect the motte would not be more than 40 feet in diameter at the summit, if so much, a space insufficient to allow of the erection of a detached tower within the stockaded enclosure. It seems probable that the stockade would bear one or more small timber turrets on its enceinte in order to provide a certain amount of accommodation in the citadel.

The bailey, which is of horse-shoe shape, encloses about an acre of land, and the ditch, with its scarp and counterscarp banks, is still in very fair preservation. As at Nigel Fossard's contemporary castle at Langthwaite, near Doncaster, at the

¹ There is no doubt that this manor-house was of considerable size. It was roughly horse-shoe shaped, the curving side being towards the east, and measured some 580 feet from east to west, by 550 feet from north to south. It has been stated that the Earl of Northumberland was murdered here on April 28, 1489, by an infuriated mob, but it seems more probable that the murder was committed in or near Thirsk. That grasping and insatiable person, Henry VII, had ordered the Earl to levy an unpopular tax, which the Yorkshire people, by whom his predecessor, Richard III, had been greatly beloved, much resented. When the

Earl was compelled to admit to the assembled people that the royal miser intended to enforce payment of the tax, they suddenly attacked and slew him. The Earl was interred with great pomp at Beverley, his funeral costing, so it is said (*Archæologia Ælina*, N.S., iv, 192), a sum equivalent to about £15,000 of modern money. The enormous procession travelled from Topcliffe to Beverley, spending a night at Wressle, and another at Leckonfield, two other Percy manor-houses. The Earl was interred in the Percy Chantry of the beautiful East Riding Minster, where his altar tomb still remains.

Busli castle of Mexborough (West Riding), and at the motte-and-bailey castle of Vieux Conches (Eure),¹ there is no gap in the bailey ramparts, and the entrance can only have been by means of a light flying bridge of timber, which could be let down or drawn up as desired. Up this bridge horses would be trained to climb (see the Bayeux Tapestry). The timber great hall would certainly, from the first, be placed in the bailey, probably at the south side of the enclosure, with windows looking south across to the river Swale, and on this side the slopes of the natural ridge have been scarped away, and are so steep that the ditch is here discontinued as unnecessary.

WHORLTON (fig. 9).

History.—At the time of the Survey² Whorlton was part of the vast Yorkshire property of Robert, Earl of Mortain and of Cornwall, and was then retained by the Earl in his own hands. Although it did not form part of the Survey holding of Nigel Fossard of Foss Castle, it would appear to have been acquired by that energetic and insatiable baron soon after the Mortain rebellion of 1088, and would therefore be held by him *in capite*. It passed to his son and successor, Robert, the second of the Fossard barons, who, early in the reign of Henry I, gave it to his son in law, Robert de Meynell, to whom we may assign the foundation of the castle. Robert de Meynell, who gave the whole vill of Myton-on-Swale to St. Mary's, York, was succeeded by his son, Stephen. At the time of the accession of Henry II there is no doubt that Whorlton was an earth-and-timber castle of the usual Norman type; but it may have developed works in masonry during the lifetime of Robert de Meynell II, c. 1200, and is mentioned in 1216 as the castle of Potto.³

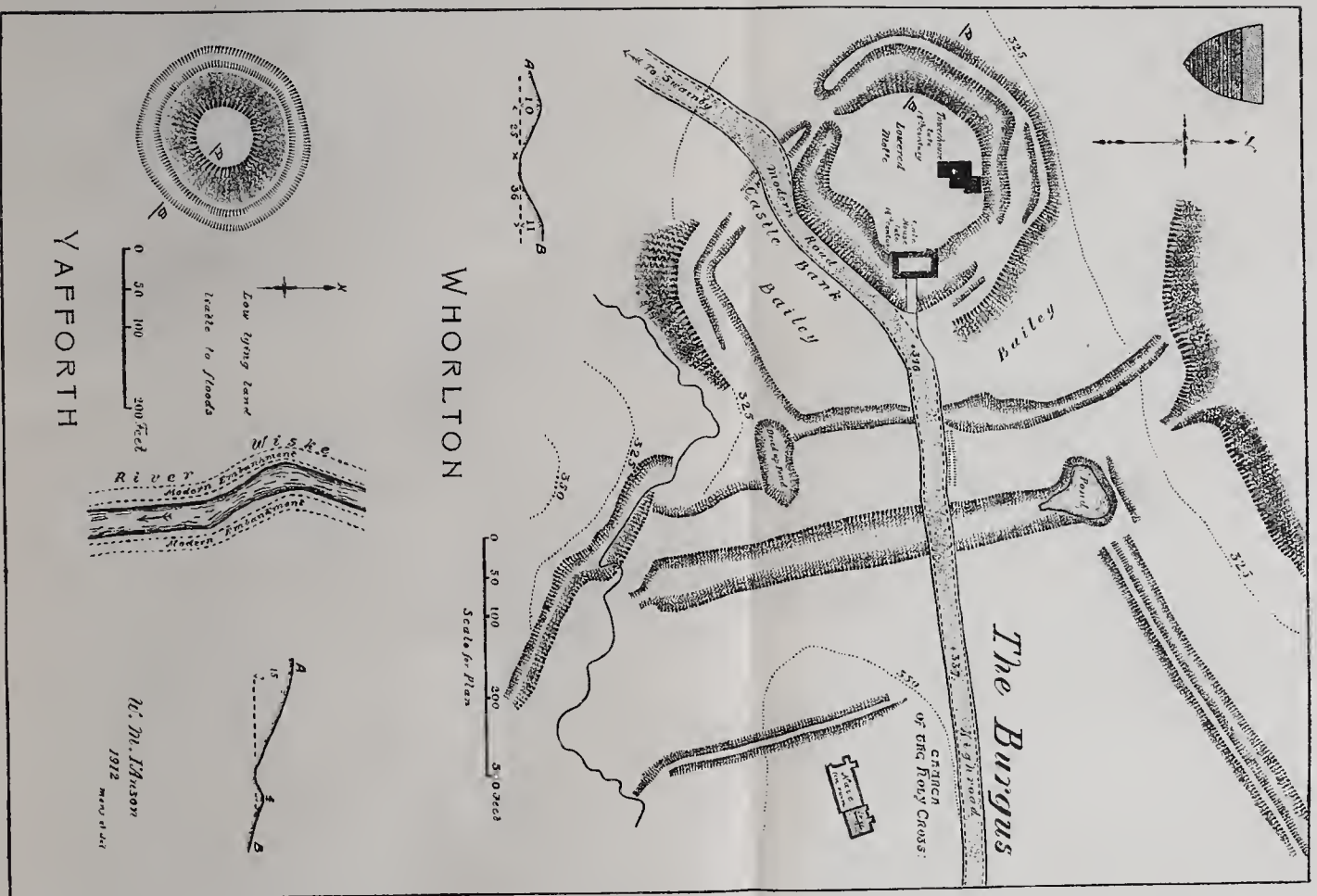
Description.—This fortress, like the neighbouring castle of Skelton and that of Barnard Castle, was a "burgus" fortress—the seigneurial stronghold in this case standing at the western

¹ At Vieux Conches the probable position of the entrance gate is indicated by a very small hillock just outside the ditch, which De Caumont (*Abécédaire*, p. 407) mistook for a second motte. But it is improbable that this hillock formed part of the original castle; it may have been thrown up by the Conqueror, c. 1040, to facilitate the dismantling of the fortress after its capture by him. Mrs. Armitage, however, who,

like the writer, has visited this castle, says, "I am disposed to think that it was thrown up by the besiegers in order to throw a bridge on to the embankment,—as they did from the movable *bretasches*."

² *D.B.*, 305*b*, col. 2. At the time of the Survey Whorlton formed part of the manor of Hutton Rudby, and there were there 20 villanes with 3 ploughs.

³ *Fœdera*, i, 142.



end of the large enclosure—and is very pleasantly situated at the entrance to Scugdale, immediately to the west of Whorl Hill, on a spur which projects westward towards the low-lying country. It commands extensive views to the north and west, is admirably placed for defensive purposes, and is not far distant from a branch Roman road leading to Yarm.

The motte, which is some 350 feet above sea-level, overlooks the plain beneath, and may be described as squarish in shape with the corners rounded off. It measures some 200 feet from north to south by about 170 feet from east to west, its summit being about three-quarters of an acre in extent. It is, however, at once apparent that the motte has been much lowered—possibly in the reign of Richard II when the Tower House and Gatehouse were erected—and it is now impossible to say what its original dimensions may have been. But there is no doubt that it was of sufficient size to have borne a timber tower of the first magnitude, and may have been crowned by a great wooden keep, like that of Ardres, containing both great hall and private apartments, in other words that the tower may have been a “palace-keep” such as we get in stone at Middleham. The bailey probably merely contained the stabling, outhouses, etc., and there are no indications that it ever developed masonry, the stone castle being confined to the summit of the lowered motte.

The bailey, which is roughly rectangular in shape, and is almost divided into two parts owing to the narrowness of its centre, covers an area of some $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

Here, as at Skelton, Barnard Castle and Castle Acre, Norfolk, we have, in connection with the fortress, a large strongly-fortified enclosure, or enclosures, which formed a “burgus” or village, protected and overawed by the castle. The ditch separating this enclosure from the bailey is of considerable breadth and depth. It would appear that, as at Skelton and at Barnard Castle, the original church was contained within the “burgus.”

This interesting castle will be fully dealt with when we come to consider the stone fortresses; it is, however, impossible to avoid expressing here one’s regret that the Gatehouse—one of the finest examples of its kind in the county—is allowed to remain in its present filthy and neglected condition.

YAFFORTH (fig. 9).

History.—When the Survey¹ was compiled Yafforth was a berewick of Northallerton; but Count Alan le Roux of Richmond held lands within it, and it was on these lands that the motte castle of Yafforth was erected. The history of the fortalice is involved in obscurity; but it is highly probable that here we have the site of one of those notorious robber strongholds of the time of Stephen referred to by the Anglo-Saxon chronicler in his narration of the horrors of that unhappy time.² The castle was probably erected, during the Cumin usurpation of the bishopric of Durham, by the Scotsman's ally, Alan Niger of Richmond.³ The reasons which led Alan to select this site are obvious. It commanded a ford of the Wiske; it occupied, moreover, a highly defensible site, for there is no doubt that in mediæval times it was surrounded on all sides by a swamp or morass, and even now the land around it is much liable to floods.⁴ When order was restored the robber den would be dismantled, and as early as the reign of Richard I we find, in a Fine, a suit recorded concerning "the pasture of the island where the castle of Yafforth was, and the meadow close to the island."⁵

Description.—The fortalice of Yafforth occupied the summit of a low rounded elevation, locally known as "Howe Hill," on the west side of the river Wiske, to the north-west of Northallerton Castle. The summit of the hillock, which rises some 50 feet above the land around it, was formed into a motte with a slightly rounded top, some 75 feet in diameter at the

¹ *D.B.*, fo. 380, 381b, 299a.

² It is possible that other North Riding castles were destroyed by Henry II, or by Stephen, in accordance with the terms of the treaty made with his rival in 1153. The castle of Wheldrake (West Riding), commanding the Ouse, was destroyed in 1149 by the citizens of York, with the permission of King Stephen, then on a visit to the city (Raine, York, 58). Philip de Colville erected a castle at Drax (West Riding), on the Ouse, which he refused to dismantle, and which Stephen besieged and captured in 1154 (*Chron. Stephen, etc.*, Rolls Ser., i, 94). That a number of these castles were an intolerable infliction is quite certain, and these quiet green mounds which mark their sites could, were they able to speak, tell us many horrible tales of the bestiality and vicious cruelty of their inmates. The Anglo-

Saxon chronicler gives us a graphic account of the tragic barbarity of the time, and concludes: "Never was a country delivered up to so many miseries and misfortunes, even in the invasions of the pagans it suffered less than now. It was openly reported that Christ and his saints were sleeping"

³ See Northallerton Castle.

⁴ On the occasion of three visits by the writer to the site of this castle, in the middle of the summer of 1912, all the fields around it were under water—owing to the long-continued wet weather—and he was informed by the tenant farmer that his hay, then floating about in some six inches of water, had been cut some weeks previously, but that he had never had an opportunity of getting it into cock.

⁵ Pipe Roll (Pipe Rolls Soc.), xxiii, No. 170.

summit. The motte rose some 16 feet above the ditch which encircled it, and part of the counterscarp bank of which still remains on the north and south sides. The motte measures some 210 feet in diameter at its base in the bottom of the ditch. There was no bailey. The accommodation afforded by this timber castle would probably be rude and primitive in the extreme, possibly consisting merely of a shed within the timber palisade. There are faint indications that the entrance to the motte was on the north side, towards the west.

THE ROMAN STATION OF LAVATRÆ (BOWES).

By EDWARD WOOLER, F.S.A.

Raised by that legion long renowned,
Whose votive shrine asserts their claim
Of pious faithful conquering fame.
Stern sons of war,
Behold the boast of Roman pride !
What now of all your toils are known ?
A grassy trench, a broken stone.—*Scott.*

Bowes, though now an inconsiderable place, has a history which dates back to far distant times, being the site of a Roman station. It is, however, unnoticed in Saxon records or in the Domesday Book.

The name Bowes is suggestive, and when we read its early forms—Boghes, Boges, and Bous—we are at once transported by the two former to late Norman times, the latter being the way in which Leland spells the name in 1538.

Camden informs us that the place was destroyed by fire, and that it was in consequence called Boeth, which in the ancient British language signified “that which is burnt.”

The remains of this Roman station bear eloquent testimony to the antiquity of the place. The name given to this fort by the *Notitia Imperii* is Lavatræ, a fact which is amply proved by the second and fifth Antonine Itineraries, and by existing remains.

Vestiges of the name yet remain in that of the adjacent stream called the Laver. This was probably the British appellation.

The station was a large one, measuring 143 yards by 133, and enclosed an area of nearly four acres, and was of the usual rectangular shape. Lavatræ continued to be garrisoned down to the time of Theodosius (379–95).

Its situation as a Roman fort resembles no other to be found in Britain. It is located neither on one of the highest and steepest fells, nor on the warm and sheltered bank of a river at its junction with a similar stream ; but is placed on a bleak and exposed summit 975 feet above sea level, ill watered and wholly unsheltered, but commanding extensive views to the south, east, and west.

The fort, as is frequently the case, has served as one vast quarry for the construction of the castle, the church, and the vicarage, which are included in its area.

The position has been admirably chosen from a strategic point of view. To the south the ground falls sharply to the Greta. The ditches are very distinguishable, especially on the west. The stone core of the walls is clearly visible at the south-west corner, and there are traces of two of the gates, the north and south. The north gate no doubt entered the station at the vicarage lane. The surface of the ground has undergone many and great changes. Besides this camp there was one at Greta Bridge, six miles to the east, and another six miles to the west, which is known as Reycross. That this camp was of great importance is obvious when we consider the extent of its communications. There was direct communication with the western portion of the Roman Wall at Luguwallium (Carlisle) by way of the famous pass over Stainmore, with Londinium (London) by way of Cataractonium (Catterick), Isurium (Aldborough), and Eboracum (York). This road was of course the great military road known as the second itinerary of Antonine.

There was in all probability also direct communication with Olicana (Ilkley) by way of the Stang and Arkengarthdale, and so with Mancunium (Manchester) and Deva (Chester) by way of Blackstone Edge. There was also communication with the eastern end of the Roman Wall to Pons Aelii (Newcastle-on-Tyne) by way of Barnard Castle, Vinovium (Binchester), and Chester-le-Street.

That a Roman road ran through Barnard Castle cannot be questioned for a portion of the Roman road, which came from Bowes to Piercebridge (Magis) and Binchester, and crossed the Tees at Barnard Castle a little above the site of the present town bridge, was uncovered on the north side of the river in the course of digging out the foundations of a new gasometer to the west of the old castle, and on the banks of the River Tees (43, *Archæological Journal*, p. 132 (1887)).

The strategic position of the camp at Bowes was greatly strengthened from the fact that it holds exactly the same position on the eastern side of Stainmore that Brough (Verteræ) does on the western side, thirteen miles distant.

As the home of a comparatively large number of troops, the camp was evidently not devoid of those comforts so dear to the Roman soldiers.

That these would be required on the confines of this inhospitable region will be generally allowed. That they were actually existent the spade of the antiquary has abundantly proved. First and foremost a bath was unearthed, the usual accompaniment of a Roman station, floored with large tiles, grooved to prevent the bathers from slipping. Considerable traces of this structure have been laid bare, and can be examined. It lies to the south of the church, and in close proximity to the south-east boundary of the cemetery. It is outside the limits of the camp itself, and is indeed a short distance down the steep descent towards the Greta. It is 27 ft. \times 18 ft.

The Romans had baths so splendid that they put our boastfulness about modern sanitation to silence. The most famous of these are the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian. In connection with these great baths, 4,000 yards of vast galleries were used by the slaves for marvellous heating and ventilating systems. While excavating near these baths, Profs. Valle and Gaetano Ferri have come upon excellent drains for carrying off the water. In spite of the many hundred years that have elapsed since they were built, these drains are almost as good as they ever were. In these galleries, besides the ordinary baths, there were halls with niches where baths were taken for sacrificial rites. This is proved by the inscriptions found on the walls. Many of these inscriptions are in Greek, and are prayers to the gods. The workmen have just finished carrying away about 200,000 cubic metres of earth. While excavating these drains they have found two treasures. One is Venus, with arms upraised. Only the head and some small fragments remain, but they are enough to show that it was a great masterpiece, and the bath probably was dedicated to Venus. Near by a library has been found, with thousands of rare volumes, showing that the bathers had access to good books.

On the enclosure of some common land at Bowes, several years ago, an aqueduct of Roman construction was discovered. It brought the water required for the station from Laverpool, two miles distant, in a north-western direction. A portion of lead piping was also dug up in the churchyard.

The appearance of the bath would lead us to suppose that it had at some time or other been burnt, and afterwards rebuilt. That this was actually the case seems to be abundantly proved by the discovery of a Roman altar, which I shall presently describe.

Numerous relics of Roman antiquity have been found here, amongst them being a stone slab bearing the votive inscription: "To the Emperor Hadrian," which was used as a Communion table in the parish church in Camden's time. Samian and other pottery, Roman sandals, altars, coins of Nero, Vespasian, Faustina, and Severus, together with others of the Lower Empire, and gold and brass medals of Nero and Antoninus Pius have also been discovered on the site of the camp.

Other relics include a Roman altar, on the rim of which are the letters "D.M.I." On either side of the north door of the church are two fountains of great interest. That to the east consists of a circular basin, ornamented with a pattern similar to that which is found at Romaldkirk, and supported by a Roman altar with an illegible inscription.

As to the nature and constitution of the garrison we have conclusive evidence so far as concerns the later Roman period. In the *Notitia Imperii*, written early in the fifth century, and in which the various stations and their respective garrisons are given, is to be found the following: "Præfectus Numeri exploratorium Lavatris," *i.e.* the garrison of Lavatræ consisted of a detachment of scouts under the command of a Prefect.

Two altars record the presence of Thracians and Frisians at the Bowes camp, *viz.* the last cohort of the Thracians and the fourth cohort of the Frisians. Further, one of these altars alludes to a cavalry cohort of Vettones.

Now, who were the Vettonians? They were a people of the Iberian peninsula, dwelling in what is now the Province of Salamanca between the rivers Douro and Tagus. They were renowned as horsemen. The Roman poet Lucian calls them, in the fourth book of his *Pharsalia*, "the swift Vettonians"; and Silius Italicus, in the third book of his *Punica Bella*, speaks of them and of the rare qualities of their horses, and of the marvellous manner in which, it was believed, the breed of their horses was maintained. They must have come into Britain at an early period, for they were in the possession of the privileges of Roman citizenship as early as A.D. 104. This is proved by what is known as the Malpas Diploma, in which they are mentioned. It will be observed that this fact entirely accords with the inscription of (Chyrs)ocomas. He is careful to note the distinction they enjoyed by the letters "C.R." The Vettonians are mentioned also in inscriptions discovered at Bath,

here at Bowes, and near Brecon in Wales. The first and last are sepulchral memorials of dead members of the force. The one here (Bowes) is an altar erected to the goddess Fortune, by whom is not revealed; but it commemorates the fact that the baths at this station having been burned down were re-erected by the first cohort of the Thracians under the superintendence of the præfect of the cavalry of the ala of the Vettonians, Valerius Fronto by name. Bowes is not far from Vinovia, and Valerius Fronto had probably a talent for military architecture and engineering; or possibly he had a wider district under his military superintendence than that which would be furnished by Vinovia alone.

As to the presence of the Thracian and Frisian cohorts we have incontestable proof, as the latter were in camp here about A.D. 120. With regard to the actual presence of the Vettones we have no certain proof. Indeed there seemed to be cogent reasons for assuming that they were not in residence but were probably in another camp. At the same time it seems possible that they may have been at Bowes. Into this interesting question we shall enter more fully when we come to speak of the altar which describes the restoration of the bath after its destruction by fire.

Who the ancient Thracians were has been much disputed. Their language has perished utterly, but there seems no doubt that they were a branch of the Indo-European stock, and kinsmen more or less remote of the Greeks, though they were regarded by the Greeks as barbarians. They inhabited a mountainous region which includes the district between the Hæmus and the Propontis, and from the Nestus River (mod. Karasu) to the Euxine. Thrace never constituted one powerful monarchy, though at times the kings of one or other of the Thracian clans extended his power over a great part of the country so as to be formidable to the Athenian colonists or to Macedonian monarchs. During the early period of the Roman empire the Thracian kings were allowed to remain an independent sovereignty, while acknowledging the suzerainty of Rome. In order to prevent the incursion of the Thracians a wall was built across its isthmus, which was less than five miles in breadth. It was not until the reign of Vespasian (70-9) that the country was reduced to the form of a province.

The Thracians were a fierce and warlike people. Their horses and riders rivalled those of Thessaly. The Thracians

every evening before they slept threw into an urn a white pebble if the day passed agreeably, but if not a black one ; and at their death by counting the pebbles their life was judged to have been happy or unhappy. As the Manes were supposed to be delighted with blood, various animals, especially such as the deceased had been fond of, were slaughtered at the pyre and thrown on it. Among the Thracians, widows were cast on to the pyres of their husbands.

The Thracians were great gladiators, and the Roman gladiators were divided into classes, and like the factions in the circus each of them had their partisans. The Emperor Domitian patronised the class called Mirmilions, and one day a poor citizen who was watching the gladiators fighting attempted to be witty. He was speaking in favour of the Thracian gladiators. He said "A Thracian may cope with the Mirmilions, but he will never be able to resist the power of him that protects his adversary." Domitian hearing this ordered the poor fellow to be seized and a label fastened to him on which was written, "Impious abettor of Thracia," and then to be devoured by a set of furious mastiffs.

If we inquire into the previous military history of the Frisians we find that early in the history of the Roman occupation of Britain they were present in this country in considerable numbers. "Cohors Prima Frisiavonum" (the first Cohort of the Frisiavonians) is commemorated both in the Sydenham and the Rivington Diplomas and in inscriptions found in Manchester and in Derbyshire. We meet also with "Equites Frisiavonum" at Exeter and with "Frisiavones" at Silchester.

Camden mentions that an altar of which the inscription is given below was found at Bowes. Unfortunately its present whereabouts is unknown, and also the date of its first removal ; but Camden (1599) refers to it as "an ancient large stone in the church, and sometimes used by them as an altar not long ago." Hübner gives the inscription as follows :—

Im[p(eratori)] Cæsari divi Traiani [Parthici f(ilio)], divi Nervæ nepoti, Traia[no Hadria]no Aug(usto), pontifici maxi[mo tr(ibunicia) pot(estate)], co(n)s(uli) I(II) p(atri) p(atriæ), coh(ors) IIII F [sub Iul]io Sev[ero? leg(ato) Aug(usti) p(ro)pr(ætore)], curante

Without going into details it will be necessary here only to say that this shows that the fourth cohort of the Frisians was stationed at Bowes during the reign of Hadrian (117-38).

This is probably the only reference to the presence of the Frisians.

As regards the Thracians, we have the evidence of two altars. The first of these, though really found at Bowes was apparently seen at Appleby by Horsley (1732), since which time it has disappeared. Camden gives the inscription as:—

NO D CÆ
FRONTINVS
COH . I . THRAC.

Horsley, however, read the first line as “NOB. CÆ.,” but this alteration does not affect the case, for although the altar decides the fact of the presence of Thracians, it altogether fails to give us any clue to the time in which it was dedicated. Frontinus may have been a prefect or other officer of the cohort, but we learn nothing else.

In 198 A.D. the Picts saw there was an opportunity for them to make a raid on the fair province of the south, which had been left defenceless because the troops had been drawn away to the continent to fight in a quarrel between Severus and Albanus, who had been governor of Britain, and wanted now to clutch the crown of Cæsar. So they came swarming over the Roman Wall and wasted the land with spear and fire. Severus settled with Albanus in a great battle near Lyons, was made emperor, and then hearing of the wild work these Picts were doing he sent Virius Lupus over speedily with troops to drive them north again and put a stop to the devastation. But Lupus was not the man for the time. He tried gold where steel was the true currency, bought their prisoners from them instead of cutting cords with his sword, and this led them naturally to the conclusion that he was afraid to fight. There was some years of this paltering, seven or eight, during which things went from bad to worse, and Lupus wrote to his Emperor and told him they had broken into revolt and were making havoc again far and near. Would he not then send some troops or come himself and see to it once and for all?

Severus came over in 207, and though he was getting into years and had the gout he cleared the land of the raiders in short time, but at a cost it is said of 50,000 of his men, and then retired to York quite worn out to die in 211. The following is the inscription found on the stone at Ilkley:—

IMP. . . . SEVERVS
AVG . ET . ANTONINVS

CÆS . DESTINATVS
 RESTITVERVNT . CVRAN
 TE VIRIO LVPO . LEG
 EORVM . PR . PR.

Emperor Severus Augustus and Antoninus Cæsar-elect restored under the care of Virius Lupus their *legate Pro Prætor*. This stone found at Ilkley tells us that Lupus restored the station for the use of the first Thracian Cohort.

The most important altar that has been discovered at Bowes is stated by Camden to have been removed to Connington by Sir Richard Cotton, and is now preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Hübner). The inscription of this altar is:—

DÆ . FORTVNÆ
 VIRIVS . LVPVS
 LEG . AVG . PR . PR
 BALINEVM . VI
 IGNIS . EXVST
 VM . COH . I . THR
 ACVM . RESTI
 TVIT CVRAN
 TE . VAL . FRON
 TONE . PRÆF
 EQ . ALÆ . VETTO

Which expanded is:—

Deæ Fortunæ Virius Lupus Leg
 (atus) Aug(usti) Pr(o) Pr(ætore)
 Balineum Vi Ignis Exustum Coh
 (ors) Prima Thracum Restituit
 Curante Val(erio) Frontone Præf
 (ecto) Eq(uitum) Alæ Vetto(num).

The “ala Vettonum” was apparently stationed at Vinnovium (Binchester) in Durham, to which a road led from Lavatræ by way of Barnard Castle (xlvihi, J.A.A., 132).

This inscription establishes the fact that the bath had been destroyed by fire; that it was restored by the first cohort of the Thracians; and that the altar itself was dedicated as a memorial of its restoration during the time when Virius Lupus was the Legate of Augustus (196–202). Thus the date is settled. It tells us that the restoration was carried out under the care of Valerius Fronto, prefect of horse of the Ala Vettonum. The name of this governor, Virius Lupus, Bailey states is only met with in Britain twice, at Bowes and Ilkley, both in connection with a restoration.

This altar advances no proof that the Vettones were actually in camp at the time. With a strong first cohort in camp, was it necessary to have a cavalry cohort as well? Granting that this was necessary, the case would be that Valerius Fronto would make periodical visits to Bowes during the progress of the work so as to be assured that his instructions were being

carried out, for we may assume that he was the person who made the plans, etc., as being better fitted for the work than anyone amongst the Thracians.

Now can we find any neighbouring station which would fairly meet all the requirements of the case? An altar at Binchester (Vinovium) may probably have an important bearing on this question. It is thus inscribed:—

ÆSCVLAPIO . ET . SALVTI
 PRO . SALVTE . ALÆ . VETTONVM
 C. R. M. AVRELIVS . . OCOMAS
 ME. V. S. L . M

i.e. it is dedicated “To Æsculapius and Salus for the health and safety of the Ala of the Vettonians Roman Citizens by Marcus Aurelius (Chrys)ocomas Physician has erected this in due and cheerful performance of his vow.”

The presence of the Vettones at Binchester thus seems established, but the most important part of the inscription is that in which the regimental physician states with pride that the Vettones were Roman citizens. This taken by itself would be of little moment, as unfortunately we are not given any direct evidence, if indeed any, as to the exact date of the dedication and hence of the presence of the Vettones in camp (Bailey). Could this only be settled we might be able to speak with a greater degree of certainty as to the exact circumstances attending the restoration of the bath at Bowes. However a certain amount of circumstantial evidence may probably be derived from the inclusion of these letters, “C.R.” In the year A.D. 211 Caracalla allowed all free inhabitants of the empire the privilege of becoming Roman citizens. This being so we may assume that the actual value of this designation would then in a measure decline, *i.e.* so far as stating the fact on a public altar is concerned. In other words we should expect to find the letters “C.R.” on altars dedicated previous to that date, rather than on those dedicated at a later date. That this is a fair assumption is allowed by Dr. Bruce in his remarks on the presence of the same letters on several of the Maryport altars. If this be admitted the inference is fairly clear. Thus the bath was restored between the years A.D. 196 and 202. This Binchester altar was dedicated probably at some date previous to A.D. 211, hence Valerius Fronto may have been the commander of the very cohort of which we have the dedication by its physician.

Nor would his official visits to Lavatræ involve any difficulty, as the distance between the two camps was only some twenty miles, and the road direct.

Granted then the feasibility of our assumption, everything seems to point to the fact that there is no real evidence that the Vettones were stationed at Bowes during the restoration of the bath, nor indeed at any other time.

This does not complete the list of altars found at Bowes, as there are two others at present in Bowes Church. We can gain nothing from these, as one of them is uninscribed and the other has only the letters "D.M.I." Probably owing to this fact they have been allowed to remain when the inscribed ones have been removed.

In January, 1850, six massive gold rings of rude workmanship were discovered at no great distance from the camp, and at a little depth below the surface. These rings though disunited could easily be rejoined into a chain, as the circles had not been welded together. Each piece of gold had been simply bent round until the ends touched. This chain, it has been suggested, had formed the torque or distinctive badge of rank of some Celtic prince or leader, and had probably been lost in battle or concealed in troublous time, the place of deposit being afterwards forgotten. As is usually the case in similar discoveries, the weights of the various pieces materially differ. The following is given as the separate weights of the respective rings by Longstaffe:—

| | | | oz. | dwt. | grs. |
|------------|----|----|-----|------|------|
| No. 1 | .. | .. | 6 | 10 | 17 |
| 2 | .. | .. | 5 | 12 | 0 |
| 3 | .. | .. | 2 | 17 | 12 |
| 4 | .. | .. | 1 | 10 | 19 |
| 5 | .. | .. | 1 | 10 | 5 |
| 6 | .. | .. | 0 | 19 | 15 |
| A total of | | | 19 | 0 | 20 |

They are stated to have been sold to the Duke of Northumberland, but no trace of them can now be found in the museum at Alnwick Castle.

In the north transept of the church there is preserved a round stone, which has certainly in comparatively recent times been used as a millstone. It has borne an inscription in Latin, of which a part remains. Mr. Robert Blair, of South Shields,

thinks that the stone is Roman. With the view therefore of putting it upon record and inviting its inspection by other antiquaries, I give the inscription:—

VSÆ V . .
IITIH . . . NI . . .
. . . IC KALI .
FECIT.

The stone is 2 feet 1½ inches in diameter and 6 inches in thickness, with a round hole in the centre. The late Rev. Dr. Hoopell published a somewhat different version of the inscription. He did not think it Roman.

There is but little doubt that many interesting relics still lie buried beneath the turf, and an effort should be made to raise subscriptions to cover the expense of a systematic exploration of the station. Many altars and inscriptions testify to the occupation of this quarter of Yorkshire by the Romans. One, found on the banks of the Greta in 1702, a votive offering of two females, appears to have been dedicated to a nymph, Elaune, perhaps the Lune river, distant only a few miles:—

DEÆ NYMPHAD.
NE INEBRICA ET
IANVARIA : FIL
LIBENTES EXVO
TO SOLVERVNT.

A milestone found by the side of the Roman road at Greta Bridge, very near the rampart of the castrum (*concangium*), is inscribed:—"To the emperors our Lords Gallus and Volusianus (his son)," probably A.D. 253 (Gough's *Camden*).

IMPP. DD
NN. GALLO
ET VOLV
SIANO
AVGG

8 Aug., 1913.

Proceedings in 1913.

The first summer meeting of the Society in 1913 took place on the 26th of June,—Barnard Castle, Bowes, and Eggleston Abbey being visited.

BARNARD CASTLE.

At BARNARD CASTLE Mr. W. M. I'Anson conducted a party of about fifty members over the ruins. The foundation of this is usually assigned to Bernard de Balliol; but this, Mr. I'Anson said, would merely appear to be one of several instances where the credit of actually founding a certain castle is given to the man who first substituted masonry for timbering, the actual founder probably being Guy Balliol, and the date of the foundation about 1093. The castle is a good example of the gradual evolution of an earth-and-timber motte and bailey castle of the usual Norman type into a great stone stronghold. The motte or citadel is defended on the west and north-west by steep precipices; on the other sides by a deep and broad ditch, which still exists. The bailey lies to the east of the motte, and was defended on the north, east, and south by a very deep and broad ditch, which has been entirely filled up and largely built upon. These two enclosures, together with the small middle ward, constituted the castle proper. To the south of the castle was the "burgus," or communal fortified enclosure, defended on the east and south by a continuation of the bailey ditch. Within the timber defences of this burgus would grow up the original Early Norman town of Barnard Castle, a collection of timber huts, and into this enclosure, which is larger than the whole of the rest of the castle put together, the inhabitants of the surrounding district would probably drive their cattle in case of an anticipated Scottish invasion. Within this burgus was the castle chapel referred to by Leland, and in which, in 1478, Richard of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III, founded and endowed a college, the establishment to consist of a dean, twelve chaplains, ten clerks, and six choristers.

About 1170 Bernard de Balliol II commenced the work of substituting masonry for timbering, and between that date and 1190 the whole enclosure, motte, bailey, middle ward, and

burgus was walled in, the castle developing on the lines of a shell-keep fortress, the natural and logical evolution of a motte and bailey stronghold. Various alterations were made about the middle of the thirteenth century; but it was not until the reign of Edward II that the entire remodelling of the shell-keep gave to the fortress the principal features we see to-day.

Each of the four wards was capable of being separately defended, providing a system of successive lines of defence which would offer an infinity of trouble to an enemy, but which could never offer a combined and concentrated resistance. From a defensive point of view the burgus was of little use in the event of an organised siege, unless the castle were held by a very large garrison, the feeding of which would have been a serious problem in the event of a determined siege. The middle ward and the bailey could be separately assailed and captured, the citadel on the motte hardly coming into action at all until after the fall of these two enclosures. It was this inability to bring to bear, at one and the same time, all the defensive properties of a castle which eventually led to the introduction of the concentric type of fortress, the highest development of mediæval military architecture, of which we get a magnificent example at Beaumaris.

The citadel, or shell-keep, was entered from the middle ward by means of a gatehouse, fragments of which still remain. Here was the dwelling-house of which, with the exception of the Juliet, only the north façade now remains. It is only remarkable for the fact that the additional private accommodation, rendered necessary by the growing luxury of the fourteenth century, instead of being contained, as usual, in a suite of rooms opening out of the solar, is contained in an early fourteenth century cylindrical tower, or Juliet. Otherwise the arrangements are quite normal, the kitchen opening out of the hall at its lower end, the solar opening out of the hall at its dais end.

After pointing out the arrangements of the kitchen, hall, and solar, Mr. I'Anson remarked that the so-called keep, a Juliet, was really not a keep at all, but merely an unusually large mural tower on the enceinte of a shell-keep. After referring to the Chateau-sur-Epte and Houdan, two of the earliest French towers of this type, and pointing out that this type was much better developed in France than in England, he compared the Juliet at Barnard with the better-known English examples of Orford, Conisborough, and Pembroke. An unusual feature

at Barnard is the spur which, however, is not introduced for defensive purposes but merely as a matter of convenience in order to contain a mural chamber. The interior of the tower was then examined.

BOWES CASTLE.

BOWES CASTLE was next visited. Like the neighbouring keep of Richmond it was commenced by Conan le Petit, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, and was completed by Henry II between 1171 and 1187. It is practically contemporary with Newcastle, Richmond, Scarborough, Bridgenorth, and The Peak. Mr. I'Anson, who has personally examined every rectangular keep castle in England, and a number of those in France, remarked that Bowes Castle appeared to be unique, either in England or in France, in that it consisted, from the date of its foundation to the date of its abandonment, merely of a large rectangular tower unconnected with any other works in masonry. In the very heart of the wildest part of Wales, however, is the rectangular keep of Dolwyddelan, which would also appear to have been unconnected with any other works in masonry. Both Bowes and Dolwyddelan were probably surrounded by palisaded enclosures or barmkins. Like the fortress of Whitecastle in Monmouthshire, Bowes Castle was a purely military structure; it was, indeed, merely a garrison castle, and was not intended either as a residence for the earls of Richmond or as a residence for an important royally-appointed constable, as were the neighbouring castles of Scarborough and Newcastle.

Although faced with ashlar, and although the workmanship is excellent, the exterior of the tower is unusually plain. There is no plinth or set-off, even the usual battering base is absent, and this base could be made very ornamental, as at Scarborough. The only ornamentation is the string-course marking the level of the upper floor, and this, as at Richmond, is carried round both walls and pilasters, a somewhat unusual arrangement. Each angle is capped by the usual broad flat pilaster buttress, and there is also a similar buttress in the centre of each façade. Everything is very plain, there is nothing, for instance, to compare with the simple, yet pleasing, effect produced by the shafts in the hollow angles at Castle Rising and Scarborough, or by the elegant cylindrical pilasters at Loches. Mr. I'Anson particularly called attention to the unusually large windows on the first floor level. At Loches, on every floor except the base-

ment, is one window much larger than the others, but the windows at Loches are much smaller than are these windows at Bowes. Such windows would never have been inserted in the residential citadel of a great seignorial castle. Bowes was merely a garrison castle; the only people likely to attack it were the Scots, and they invariably travelled light, and did not encumber themselves with heavy siege engines. The entrance to the keep was on the east on the first floor level. The entrance door was usually the subject of a considerable amount of ornamentation; but here, as at Kenilworth, it is exceedingly plain, consisting merely of a round-headed doorway, composed of two plain rings of voussoirs, and 5 feet 6 inches wide. There was no forebuilding.

The arrangements of the interior of the tower were examined. The first floor, as at Castle Rising, Middleham, and Domfront, is divided into two unequal parts: the hall on the east, the solar on the west. Opening out of the hall is a small kitchen, containing a concave-backed fireplace. Mr. T'Anson remarked that rooms specially set apart as kitchens are most unusual in rectangular keeps, Castle Rising being another example. The upper floor was probably added by Henry II. The addition of an upper floor soon after the completion of a rectangular tower was quite usual, similar instances occur at Richmond, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, Kenilworth, Porchester, etc.

The Roman remains at Bowes (Lavatræ) were next examined, under the guidance of Mr. Edward Wooler, F.S.A., and this forms the subject of a separate communication to the *Journal* at page 400.

EGGLESTON ABBEY.

After inspecting the interesting little moorland church of Bowes, which has two twelfth-century doors and contains several Roman inscribed stones, the party proceeded to EGGLESTON ABBEY. Mr. H. B. McCall here addressed the members on the different Orders of Monks and Canons, referring also to the Friars and the distinction between them and the monastic Orders. He then proceeded to point out the objects of architectural interest in the remains of the abbey, basing his remarks upon the article on Eggleston Abbey by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson (vol. xviii, p. 129), the general accuracy of which, he said, could not be called in question.

Notes.

[The Council has decided to reserve a small space in each Number for notices of Finds and other discoveries; and it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all matters of archaeological interest which from time to time may be brought to light in this large county.]

XIV.

YORKSHIRE PECULIAR WILLS.

In response to a further memorial from the Society, presented to the President of the Probate Division, the Richmond registers from Somerset House, London, and the documents of the West Riding Peculiars from Wakefield, have been deposited in the District Probate Registry at York.

RICHMOND REGISTERS.

These are small and in poor condition, most of them being fragments only of the originals. They are marked as follows:—

- ✠ A considerable portion of this register remains. Section I is marked 1474–1485; Section II, 1503; and Section III, 1529–1551 (?). One leaf is headed, “Book of Wills in the time of William Knyg[ht], archdeacon of Richmond, proved by Mr. William Cleyton, vicar-general, from Dec. 6, 1529, to the end of” There are several other small sections.
- A. Of this only a single leaf appears to have survived (1564).
- B. This is very imperfect. The wills in it appear to have been proved before the dean of the deanery of Boroughbridge (1564–1573).
- C. Appears to be almost perfect. It is marked on the cover, 1544–1553, and contains an index, which includes references to wills proved down to 1564.
- D. Also seems fairly perfect. It is described as containing wills proved at Richmond before Mr. Edmund Parkinson, LL.B., commissary, from the Annunciation of the B.V.M., 1573, to Jan. 11, 1579.
- F. A fragment (1576–1585). All the wills seem to have been proved before Percival Brodbent, clerk, dean of Boroughbridge.

WEST RIDING PECULIARS.

These consist of documents of the following courts :—

1. Barnoldswick manor court, 1660–1794. An index to these is printed in the *Northern Genealogist*, i, 113.
2. Crossley, Bingley, and Pudsey manor court, 1580–1676. Index in the *Northern Genealogist*, i, 33.
3. Marsden manor court, 1654–1855. Index in the *Northern Genealogist*, ii, 102 and 168.
4. Silsden manor court, 1587–1737. Index in the *Northern Genealogist*, i, 37 and 110.
5. Temple Newsam manor court, 1612–1701. Index in the *Northern Genealogist*, i, 34.

E.W.C.

XV.

“Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties of England,” by J. W. Clay, F.S.A. It would doubtless be a very desirable thing if the attention of members could be systematically called in the *Journal* to all publications of historical and archæological interest as regards Yorkshire. Mr. Clay has done much for Yorkshire genealogy, but even his monumental work, “Dugdale’s Visitation, with Additions,” may be of lesser value to the advanced student than the present volume. The pedigrees of some 88 families are given, and they include the counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, as well as Yorkshire. But almost all are families which the Yorkshire genealogist has constant need to refer to, and it is good to have a last word on the subject. The Nevilles, the Lacys, the Fitzhughs, the Marmions, and the Dacres are only a few of the important Yorkshire families whose genealogy is here given. The scions of these were “summoned to Parliament” in very early times; but even comparatively recent creations are not omitted, and Mr. Clay does not begin with the peerage, but gives the antecedent genealogy. Thus Lord Wandesford’s creation dates from 1707 only, and became extinct in 1784; but we have the family pedigree since 1345. The work is a most valuable one to the genealogist interested in the northern counties.

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